Eyal Regev

SECTARIANISM IN QUMRAN

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Eyal Regev

Sectarianism in Qumran

A Cross-Cultural Perspective

To my father and mother,
Zvi and Hannah Regev,

and my wife, Tanya

'לעשות הטוב והישר... להלך תמים איש את רעהו'

(1QS 1:2; 9:19)

Preface

Sectarianism is a fascinating phenomenon on both religious and social grounds. Sects usually hold fundamental and relatively esoteric beliefs, and conduct rituals that sometimes seem mysterious and subversive. But sects are also interesting because they enable us to take a closer look at small-scale societies and see how they create belief systems and social structures. Living in a state of social and emotional stress, sects express starker and more conspicuous representations of social and religious phenomena. The study of religion and society in general may therefore regard sects as a catalyzed laboratory for the development of new ideologies and social systems. Moreover, sects also teach us something about the larger society. By their very nature, sects challenge the outside society, its belief system and social institutions. They hold up a mirror, distorted as it may be, to society and reflect its flaws. Thus, sectarianism is a very biased reflection of reality and studying sects therefore provides an unconventional perspective that enriches any attempt to understand society as whole.

Perhaps the most ancient sect(s) known to us left its documents in the caves of waddi Qumran on the western shore of the Dead Sea, near Kibbutz Kalia, Israel. The so-called Dead Sea Scrolls (I prefer the term Qumran Scrolls) give us direct access to the thoughts and lives of these ancient sectarians. They provide us with extremely detailed records of laws, rituals, prayers, penal codes, administration, and theological manifests of Jews living in the Second Temple period. Since their discovery almost sixty years ago, the scrolls have been studied extensively from different standpoints, but surprisingly I am aware of only one monograph and three articles that have discussed the scrolls from a sectarian perspective through an application of sociological, anthropological and religious theories.

This book is therefore an attempt to draw a comprehensive portrait of the way of life (beliefs and behavior) of the Qumran sectarians from the perspective of the phenomenon of sectarianism. I believe that the application of theories of sectarianism is uniquely suited to reveal in what sense these groups were sects, and what kind of sects they were. I intend to explore the distinctively sectarian features of their treatment of atonement, revelation, moral and purity boundaries, wealth, gender, mysticism, cultic rituals, structure and organization. These subjects, I

believe, are the focal issues that divided the Qumran sectarians from their contemporaries and created an alternative way of life. I also discuss other movements related to the Qumran sects, including the Essenes and the movements which are reflected in the books of 1 Enoch and Jubilees.

In order to better understand the actual meaning of sectarianism in Qumran, I did not limit myself to social scientific theories of sectarianism, ritual and social interaction. My focus here is on a comparison of the Qumran sects with other sects sharing similar features, primarily Anabaptists (including Mennonites, Hutterites and Amish), Puritans, Quakers and Shakers. The attempt to identify similarities and discrepancies between all these sects highlights phenomena and correlations that I believe could never be revealed by even a close reading of the scrolls. By applying these insights to the ancient Qumran texts, several ideas and practices emerge as sectarian in nature. Although my aim is to understand the Qumran sectarians, my pursuit of comparative approaches has led me to suggest some conclusions that may be relevant to other sects as well. These suggestions, however, should be read in a tentative tone, since I am neither a social scientist nor a historian of the early modern period.

Thanks are due to many colleagues for their comments and support during the preparation of this manuscript. This project was proposed to me by the editors of the Religion and Society series of Walter de Gruyter Publishing, Prof. Gustavo Benavides and Prof. Dr. Kocku von Stuckrad, following my preliminary discussion of comparative sectarianism published in *Numan* 2004. They both encouraged me in the writing process, and contributed many comments on earlier drafts of the book. Prof. Joshua Schwartz guided me throughout my academic career and inspired me in this unusual project. This book also owes a great deal to Prof. Albert Baumgarten, who introduced to me the social sciences, the study of religion, and of course, the study of sectarianism. In his publications, courses, seminars, workshops, through his comments on several drafts of my work and many conversations throughout the years, Prof. Baumgarten has shaped my academic worldview more than I can adequately acknowledge. Profs. Hanan Eshel, James Kugel, Aaron Shemesh, David Chalcraft, John J. Collins, Lawrence H. Schiffman and Adam Ferzinger (as well as several anonymous readers) also commented on different portions of this book or on earlier papers from which it evolved. The inter-library lending desk at Bar-Ilan University is also deserving of my sincere appreciation in providing access to dozens of books.

Finally, my family gave me the spiritual support required to invest the time and effort in such an experimental work of scholarship. Most of all, my wife Tanya was patient, supportive and kind in her assistance. As always, she was the first to hear my ideas and discuss them with me. My loving children, Nadav, Tomer, Ori and Yotam also did their best to cooperate.

Portions of the following articles appear in revised version, in Chapters 1 through 8: "Abominated Temple and A Holy Community: The Formation of the Concepts of Purity and Impurity in Qumran," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10.2 (2003), pp. 243-278; "The *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant: Structure, Organization and Relationship," *Revue de Qumran* 21.2 (2003), pp. 233-262; "Comparing Sectarian Practice and Organization: The Qumran Sect in Light of the Regulations of the Shakers, Hutterites, Mennonites and Amish," *Numen* 51 (2004), pp. 146-181; "Reconstructing Qumranic and Rabbinic Worldviews: Dynamic Holiness vs. Static Holiness," in Steven D. Fraade, Aharon Shemesh, and Ruth A. Clements (eds.), *Rabbinical Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls,* Leiden: Brill, pp. 87-112; "From Enoch to John the Essene: An Analysis of Sects Development in 1 Enoch, Jubilees and the Essenes," in E. Chazon, B. Haplern-Amaru, and R. Clements (eds.), *New Perspectives on Old Texts*, Leiden: Brill (forthcoming); "Atonement and Sectarianism in Qumran: Defining A Sectarian World-View in Moral and Halakhic Systems," in David Chalcraft (ed.), *Sectarianism in Early Judaism*, Equinox: London (forthcoming). I would like to thank the editors and publishers of these journals and volumes for allowing me to republish these articles in a substantially different form.

Neve Daniel, Gush Ezion, Israel
Av 5766, July 2006

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Introduction:
From Scrolls to Sects

1   Yet Another Book on the Dead Sea Scrolls?

In 1947, Bedouin shepherds happened to find ancient Hebrew scrolls in a cave on the western shore of the Dead Sea, near waddi Qumran. Further excavations that continued until 1956 led to the greatest discovery in Biblical studies. Approximately 931 manuscripts (including variants of the same document, and many fragments) relating to 445 different literary compositions, most of which were in Hebrew and some in Aramaic, were discovered in eleven caves, and constitute what is sometimes called "The Qumran Library."[1] The scrolls, which contained religious manifests, manual of Jewish rules, communal regulations, and biblical exegetical writings, opened a window to a new understanding of the inner world of Judaean Jews who voluntarily withdrew from mainstream Jewish society around 150 BCE-70 CE.

From the very beginning of the study of the Qumran scrolls, scholars defined the community that produced or preserved these texts as a sect. Many hundreds of books and articles have since been written on the scrolls and the people behind them, but quite naturally focused mainly on philological and literary matters. Among the scholars who sought to analyze the religious ideology and social system reflected in the scrolls, only few attempted to study them in line with the scientific criteria of sociology, anthropology and the study of religion.

This book is an attempt to analyze the "people of the scrolls" viewed through the concept of sectarianism, since this concept embodies most of the dimensions necessary to understand their way of life. The theme of sectarianism may be regarded as an "organization principle" that allows us to understand many elements in the religious ideas and social system of the Qumran sectarians. My aim, however, is not to summarize the contents of the scrolls or previous scholarship, but to explore the world of Jewish sectarians as reflected in the scrolls and related texts: their ideology, their socio-religious background and the structure and organization of these sects.

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1   VanderKam and Flint 2002, ix, 3-19

Furthermore, instead of looking directly at the scrolls or comparing them to our knowledge of ancient Judaism and early Christianity, as so many others have done, I believe that the key to understanding sectarianism in Qumran is, to borrow Plato's metaphor, to look outside the cave. Studying the ideology and social systems of other sects that share similar features offers a refreshing, new perspective on Qumran sectarians, and leads to a deeper understanding of details in the scrolls that generally have been taken for granted without sufficient attention to their social significance. I have found the documentation of the Anabaptist sects (the early Anabaptists, the Mennonites, Hutterites and Amish), the Puritans, Quakers and especially the Shakers quite helpful in illuminating new details and providing a new understanding of familiar details. Actually, this comparative endeavor derives from an appreciation of the merits of applying sociology, anthropology and comparative religion in the study of ancient religious history.

Although my main concern is to understand the world of the individuals who wrote and read the scrolls, the comparisons with other modern sects and the application of socio-anthropological theories have led me to focus on the social phenomenon of sectarianism *per se*, and specifically, on the type of sectarianism termed "introversionist." Below, observations on the attitudes of several sects in this category towards atonement, revelation and mysticism, gender relations, wealth, admission processes and patterns of structure and organization, are framed by the evidence from Qumran. These components of sectarian ideology and behavioral manifestations have not attracted much attention in the social scientific study of sectarianism, which has largely disregarded sectarian belief systems and focused on sectarian development, survival processes or mechanisms such as boundary maintenance.[2] As a historian of ancient Judaism rather than a social scientist, I can only hope that my suggestions will be appreciated by others who engage in the study of sectarian societies from a perspective of religious history and the social sciences.

Readers of this book may have previous knowledge of the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls and their scholarship, but I have tried to present my study in a way that is easily accessible to those for whom this book represents their first encounter with the world of Qumran. The following introduction includes a brief summary of the major Qumran scrolls for those who are unfamiliar with them. More importantly, in the following introduction I discuss my premises regarding the study of the

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2   Cf. Wilson 1959; 1973, 1975; 1982; 1990; Stark and Bainbridge 1985; 1996; W. Stark 1967; Redekop 1974; Sosis 2000; Sosis and Bressler 2003.

Qumran scrolls and try to clarify the methodology that I follow in applying social theories and comparing ancient and modern sects.

2 A Brief Overview of the Major Qumran Scrolls[3]

The Community Rule (1QS) is a collection of rules, instructions, ceremonies and a hymn attributed to a group called *yaḥad* (meaning congregation or assembly; literally – "together").[4] The rules concern admission into the sect, decision management processes, and a detailed list of transgressions and punishments. Ceremonies include an annual communion ceremony in which members were blessed, and deserters and outsiders were cursed, as well as prayers or liturgies. One of the famous passages in this scroll recounts the sect's separation from the main body of Jews, with reference to a passage from Isaiah (Isa 40:3) on the exodus in the desert ("In the desert clear the road of the Lord; straighten in the wilderness a highway for our God").

The **Damascus Document** (CD) was discovered by Solomon Schechter among the manuscripts of the Cairo Geniza in 1898 and was first published under the title *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*,[5] since the Zadokite priests are mentioned several times in this text. Nine additional manuscripts of this text were later discovered in Qumran Caves 4 and 6. The Damascus Document is divided into an Admonition and Laws that follow and elaborate on the laws of the Pentateuch. The Admonition declares that Israel went astray in ancient times, and was consequently punished by God (referring to the destruction of the first Temple in 586 BCE). However, a remnant of just Jews survived and formed the sect that regarded its way of life and faith as a direct continuation of biblical tradition. This sect is called "those who have entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus,"[6] or "the Damascus Covenant," in abridged form. The Damascus Document also introduces the leader and founder of the sect, called "the Teacher of Righteousness." The laws cover many subjects, from Sabbath laws to communal organization and discipline. Both the Damascus Document and the

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3   For a clear introduction to the scrolls, see Schiffman 1994.
4   Talmon 1953. Cf. Ezra 4:1-3.
5   Schecter 1910.
6   This idea of a "new covenant" derives from Jer 31:31-32 concerning the renewal of God's covenant with Israel in the End of Days. On the meaning of Damascus as a geographical location or a symbol for exile, see Chapter 1.

Community Rule indicate that their members were mainly interested in the scriptural and legal study of the Torah.[7]

The **Pesharim** are unique interpretations of several biblical texts. A *pesher* interpretation is a form of biblical interpretation that reads biblical verses as pre-figurations of contemporary events. These texts therefore reveal certain details of the group's contemporary history and the authors' perceptions of these events. However, these descriptions are obscured by the authors' convention of refraining from identifying the historical figures by name, and using special designations understood only by insiders. Scholars have suggested several interpretations which have gained wide acceptance. For example, the *pesher* to the book of Habakkuk mentions a Wicked Priest (probably the Hasmonean high priest) who persecuted the Teacher of Righteousness. The *pesher* to the book of Nahum discusses the rise and fall of "Ephraim" (the Pharisees) and "Manasseh" (the Sadducees). The *pesher* method is also used in the Damascus Documents and other texts where the biblical prooftexts are selected by the author to represent certain themes (such as the End of Days).

The **Hodayot Scroll (1QH^a)**, or the Thanksgiving Hymns Scroll, is a collection of various hymns in which the author(s) express thanks and gratitude to the Lord. The most prevalent ideas in these hymns include confession of one's sin, guilt and nothingness, the belief in God's election and purification of the speaker, and faith in one's capability to atone for one's sins. The poetical structures attest to a polemic with the group's adversaries, and reveal the author's ideas and theology, including the heavenly election of the author and his fellow sectarians, predestination, the dualism of good and evil, and the revelations of heavenly mysteries.

The **Temple Scroll (11QT^a)** is an elaboration and reinterpretation of the laws of the Pentateuch, and includes many new additional rules that are attributed to God's revelation to Moses. Rules regarding Temple sacrifices and rituals throughout the festivals are followed by a description of the spatial plan of the Temple and its surroundings. The text also details other laws, such as the Law of the King which discusses administrative and legal issues of an imaginary Jewish monarchy. The Temple Scroll is written as orders which God gave to Moses at Sinai, and follows the language of the Pentateuch, probably in order to present its legal and cultic innovations in more authoritative manner.

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7   In CD 20:10, the sect is called "the House of Torah." For the means of Torah study, see Fraade 1993. For Qumranic modes of exegesis, see e.g., Brooke 1985; Campbell, 1995.

4QMMT (*Miqṣat Ma'ase ha-Torah*; literally – "some legal rulings pertaining to the Torah," a phrase which occurs in the opening of the scroll) is a "Halakhic Letter." It begins with a list of approximately twenty legal issues relating to sacrifices and purity in dispute between the authors and a certain opposing group (probably the Pharisees). The text introduces stringent legal views and justifications, implicitly referring to conventional customs. For example, the authors object to the acceptance of sacrifices from gentiles and to the existence of dogs in Jerusalem, the holy city, implying that these practices were prevalent at that time. These cultic debates are followed by a direct application to the addressee, encouraging him to accept the authors' views, arguing that the End of Days has already arrived.

The War Scroll (1QM) is a mythical description of a future war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, that is, between Israel and the neighboring gentiles. The war lasts forty years during which seven battles occur. The text focuses on the religious and cultic aspects of the war, including prayers, sacrifices rituals, purity, angels' participation, and similar issues. The Sons of Light are led by the Head Priest, probably the messianic high priest, return to the Temple and offer sacrifices at the beginning of the war. Their complete victory over evil occurs only at the end of these forty years.

3   The Qumran Sects: History and Identity

Almost all the scrolls discovered in the eleven caves near waddi Qumran were dated between the mid-second century BCE (immediately before the rise of the Hasmoneans and the establishment of their independent state) and the mid-first century CE (before the Great Revolt against the Romans and the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem). This dating has been supported by both paleographic examinations of the script and carbon-14 testing of several samples of the leather of the scrolls.[8] However, since the historical references of the scrolls are coded with soubriquets, such as Wicked Priest, or Man of Lies, and identities are intentionally obscured, the scrolls lack any straightforward historical background, even where the history of the Qumranites is described (in the Damascus Covenant and the *pesharim*). Nonetheless, there is broad agreement among scholars that the Wicked Priest is a Hasmonean high priest and leader, and that the Teacher of

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8   VanderKam and Flint 2002, 22-33. For problems in paleographic dating, see Van De Water 2000.

Righteousness, the Damascus Document and Community Rule (the latter two scrolls dated by paleography to around 100 BCE at the latest) should all be dated between 150-100 BCE.[9] Previous attempts to identify individuals and events mentioned in the scrolls have recently been regarded with more caution, consistent with a suggestion to view the evidence of the scrolls as ideological constructs rather than a straightforward account of historical reality.[10]

The Damascus Document, the Pesharim and MMT contain many traces of Qumranic polemics against the Pharisees and the Sadducees.[11] These two political and religious parties are mentioned by Josephus, as well as in the New Testament and rabbinic literature. The Pharisees (from the Hebrew *parash*, namely, to interpret or to secede) were sages who held a relatively innovative and lenient approach to the halakhah (Jewish religious law). The Sadducees (named after the high priestly family of Zadok) were largely members of the priesthood and were more conservative and strict in their halakhic approach. Both competed for religious and political power and aspired to influence the Hasmonean high priests and rulers.[12] The Pesharim mention two instances in which the Wicked Priest attempted to kill the Teacher of Righteousness and persecute his people. In one instance, the Pharisees and Sadducees also persecuted the sect.[13] In contrast to the Pharisees and Sadducees, the Qumranites appear to have assumed a rather passive role in the political-religious struggles during the Hasmonean period.

The consensus among Qumran scholars is that the Qumran sect was a small and specific group that dwelt in kh. Qumran (a small site adjacent to Caves 4-10, inhabited between 75 BCE and 70 CE), and belonged to the larger Essene movement which featured in accounts by

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9   Vanderkam and Flint 2002, 282-292; Eshel 2004. Wise 2003 challenged the consensus that the Qumran movement emerged around 150 BCE. Although I tend to concur with his criticism of the archaeological and paleographical foundations of this dating, I think that it is supported by the textual evidence and the contextual history, namely, Josephus (see Chapter 2).

10   Davies 1987, 87-105 doubted the historicity of the *pesharim* and regarded them as hagiography because of their dependence on biblical prooftexts and due to the possibility that they are a literary development of the hymns of the Hodayot. For the history of the sect in CD as ideological constructs, see Grossman 2002.

11   Jeremias 1963; Stegemann 1971. Flusser 1970; 1981; Murphy O'Connor 1974.

12   For a survey and interpretation of the halakhic and historical evidence concerning the Sadducees and Pharisees, see Regev 2005a.

13   Wicked Priest: 1QpHab 11:4–8; 4QpPs[a] 1–10 iv 7–9; Pharisees ("Ephraim") and Sadducees ("Manasseh"): 4QpPs[a] 1–10, ii 15–18.

the late Second Temple authors Philo and Josephus.[14] Nonetheless, restricting the Qumran movement, or even the *yahad* group alone, to the site of kh. Qumran is not consistent with the social complexity of sectarian organizations, as shown in Chapters 4 and 8. Moreover, it is now appears from paleograhic and archeological evidence that the Community Rule was drafted several decades before a sectarian group inhabited kh. Qumran.[15]

In fact, throughout this book I do not use the popular term "the Qumran community" (unless referring to the work of others who did use it) because I believe that no single definitive "Qumran community" ever existed. "The Qumran community" is a scholarly creation designed to reduce complicated literary evidence and social phenomena under a simple, appealing label. Instead, the Qumran sectarians comprised many communities in different times and places, as was the case for many early modern Christian sects discussed in this volume.

Actually, one should distinguish between two different branches or sub-groups within the Qumran sectarian movement – the *yahad* of the Community Rule (also represented in the Hodayot, the Pesharim and other fragmented documents) and the Damascus Covenant of the Damascus Document. Previous scholars tended to portray the *yahad* as the Qumran community, while the Damascus Covenant was understood to represent the broader Essene movement in Judaea. However, this view certainly distorts the social context of the Damascus Covenant.

Recently, Philip Davies has shown that, despite several conceptual connections linking the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant, each had its own distinctive ideology regarding Israel, the Temple, and the Torah: in all, the Damascus Covenant rebuked outside Jewish society whereas the *yahad* ignored or shunned the world at large.[16] Davies demonstrated the importance of being sensitive to differences within the different scrolls (and at times, within different redactions of a given text) that call for social interpretation, and maintaining a critical stance toward any

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14 This view was established in the 1950's and is still followed by the most recent and authoritative textbooks. VanderKam and Flint 2002 (255) assert that "a small group of Essenes occupied the area [of kh. Qumran] and was responsible for the scrolls." For an example on the manner in which this hypothesis is taken for granted as the basis for further ones, see Charlesworth 1980b. For the identification of the "Qumran community" with the Essenes, see e.g., Schürer-Vermes-Millar 1979, 583-585; Vermes 1994, 114-115; Sanders 1992, 341-379 and most conclusively, Beall 1988.

15 Magness 2001, 63-66 dated the "sectarian" phase to the late Hasmonean period, ca. 75 BCE. 1QS is dated by paleography around 100 BCE but it is evidently a later copy based on earlier sources (Metso 1997, 14, 143-155).

16 For these differences, see Davies 2000. For internal connections see Davies 1996, 139-150.

premise.[17] My own analysis of the social structure of these two sects in Chapter 4 also highlights their distinct social organization and social features. The ideological differences between the two groups in matters related to revelation, rituals and wealth are discussed in Chapters 1, 8 and 10.

In this book I also refrain from using the common phrase "the Qumran Essenes," as though these are interchangeable terms. I find no justification to automatically identify the descriptions of the Essenes by Philo and Josephus with the internal evidence of the scrolls. Even if the two groups were interconnected or even, as suggested in Chapter 7, the Essenes are a later development that evolved out of the Qumran movement, the evidence from Qumran should not be automatically attributed to the Essenes, or vice versa.

Since Chapters 5-7 discuss non-Qumranic evidence and relate to the background (Enoch and Jubilees) and subsequent development (the Essenes) of the Qumran sects, some preliminary comments regarding the historical study of the Qumranites and the Essenes are necessary. Several theories on the origins of the Qumran movement have been suggested. According to one theory, the Qumran movement originated in the Maccabean period, when the Hasidians, a group that opposed the Hellenization of Judaea, split in 170-160 BCE. According to Frank Moore Cross, the debate over the legitimate high priesthood (between the traditional Zadokites high priests and the Hasmoneams) led to the secession of the Qumranites: "The ancient Zadokite house [of high priests] gave way to the lusty, if illegitimate, Hasmonean dynasty. Essene origins are to be discovered precisely in the struggle between those priestly houses and their adherents."[18]

Another hypothesis concerning the origin of the Qumranites is that the Damascus Covenant immigrated from the Jewish Diaspora in Babylon.[19] Others have suggested that the sect evolved in Judaea from apocalyptic circles. Florentino García Martínez, in his so-called "Groningen hypothesis," proposed, for example "locating the ideological origins of the Essene movement in Palestinian apocalyptic tradition before the Antiochene crisis... before the Hellenization of Palestine and the ensuing of the Maccabean revolt," and suggested that the Qumran

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17   Davies 1987;1996; 2005.
18   Cross 1971, 81. For other versions of the theory of Maccabean origins, see, e.g., Jeremias 1962; Stegemann 1971; 1992. The weakness of such a concrete historical scenario is noted by Davies 1987, 15-31. Moreover, a Sadduccean origin is inconceivable on both philological and halakhic grounds. See Davies 1987, 51-72; Regev 2005a, 208-215; 2005b.
19   Murphy O'Conner 1974; Davies 1983. Cf. the criticism of Knibb 1983.

community derived "from a schism within the Essene movement."[20] Of all these theories, the latter seems to be preferable as much as it is based on actual texts rather than speculations grounded in historical theory.

The eagerness of many scholars to search for the origins of the Qumran movement or the Essenes should be regarded in light of social and historical evidence of sects that develop by splitting from previous sects, or becoming established as more mainstream movements ("denominations").[21] The obsession with the origins of historical phenomena was criticized by Marc Bloch as "the Idol of Origins." Bloch argued that historians should study available evidence, and not search for elusive explanations or a mysterious pre-history, since "a historical phenomenon can never be understood apart from its moment in time."[22]

Although Bloch's view is cogent in linking the Qumranites to a split within the Sadducees or Hasideans, the search for links between the Qumran movement, the Essenes described by Philo and Josephus, and the earlier apocalyptic books of 1 Enoch and Jubilees, is by no means an "Idol of Origins." It is both appropriate and necessary to compare these texts and bodies of evidence, identify similarities and differences in social and ideological stances, and place all these texts and groups in a historical perspective. Chapters 5-7 are devoted to this project. On the other hand, I did not use a direct historical approach in my search for links between different documents and my attempt to reconstruct the early pre-history and subsequent development of the Qumran movement. I believe that "external" arguments concerning the historical relationship between sources are inadequately grounded or based on inaccurate pre-suppositions, and should therefore be reduced to minimum. Only through an analysis of each text, and especially an analysis of its ideological agenda and social framework, is it possible to identify connections between different documents.

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20 Grarcía Martínez and Trebolle Barrera 1995, 77; Grarcía Martínez and van der Woude 1990. A more nuanced theory is provided by Boccaccini 1998. For criticism on the two previous theories, see Grarcía Martínez and Trebolle Barrera 1995, 78-82; Collins 1989; Davies 1992. Cf. also Collins 1997.

21 Niebuhr 1929; Wilson 1959; Redekop 1974; Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 25, 102-104, 134-167. See the many splits among Anabaptists-Hutterites, Amish (Old Order-Beachy/New Order/Amish-Mennonites), Quakers and different kinds of Mennonites. Another illustration is the movement of David Koresh, which committed mass-suicide in Waco Texas in April 1993. This was a branch of the Davidians (founded in 1935), itself an offshoot of Seventh Day Adventists.

22 Bloch, 1954, 29-35. Bloch has observed that "origins" means both "beginnings" and "causes." My discussion concerns beginnings, although the framework of sectarianism also implies the causes of the historical developments, which warrant treatment elsewhere.

4 Methodology in the Textual Study of the Scrolls

In dealing with sectarianism in the scrolls, it is important to note that not all the texts discovered in Qumran were composed by the Qumran sects. Several scholars have attempted to distinguish between sectarian (or "Essene") texts from Qumran, representing the beliefs and practices of the Qumran sectarians, and "non-sectarian" texts, which may have been copied by the sectarians, but had been originally written by others, probably before these sects were formed. There are indeed concrete internal criteria for sectarian authorship: historical or social allusions (persecutions and separation from the world), particular ideas (house of the holy), and a distinctive vocabulary (overseer, camps, the Teacher or Righteousness and the Wicked Priest).[23] The criterion of authorship is, however, somewhat problematic, since texts brought from outside may have been utilized to maintain sectarian ideology, due to their similarity to the compositions of sect members.[24]

In general, "a sectarian text would be one that calls upon its readers to understand themselves as set apart within the larger religious community of Israel and as preserving the true values of Israel against the failures of the larger community".[25] This definition coheres with the sociological characteristics of sectarianism discussed in Chapter 1. The only texts which fully correspond to this definition (if "set apart" is interpreted as actual social exclusion) are the Community Rule and the Damascus Document, and in a more flexible sense, also the *Hodayot*, the *Pesharim*. MMT is also included, albeit with considerable doubts. Smaller compositions that lack the language of total separation may still be related to the Qumran movement when they demonstrate a direct literary or ideological linkage to unquestionable sectarian writings.[26]

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23 Newsom 1990a, 175-179; Chazon 1992, 13-16; Dimant 1995. One may add the criterion of a relatively early date (usually no later than 150 BCE, supported by paleography or radio-carbon testing) as indicating non-sectarian provenance (Chazon 1992, 7-9). Several of these criteria may not be as definitive as they appear, since they may result from the adoption of a non-sectarian text (Davies 2005, 72), although the multiple occurrences of these criteria most probably refute such a possibility. In any case, there are no definite rules for establishing sectarian authorship other than assessing its socio-literary provenance by relating one text to another.

24 Newsom 1990a, 173-175; Davies 2005, 72.

25 Newsom 1990a, 178-179.

26 The question whether an absence of the above-mentioned sectarian characteristics necessarily indicates a non-sectarian provenance is debated. Compare Chazon 1992 9-17, who offers an affirmative answer, with Newsom 1990a, 175-176, who holds a more skeptical view. The War Scroll and the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifices are the only two sources I regard as reflecting a Qumranic stance although their sectarian prove-

The dominant trend in the historical study of the Qumran scrolls is literary criticism or redactional criticism. Many of the major texts from Qumran were decomposed into a sequence of redactional phases, distinguishing earlier sources from latter insertions, interpolations and editorial additions. Following the reconstruction of the sources and the literary history of the text, scholars attempted to reconstruct the socio-religious history of the "Qumran community."[27] This fervor for literary analysis probably derived from the fact that the same method is very common in the study of the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and other ancient texts. It undoubtedly made a crucial contribution to our understanding of these ancient texts, by pointing to new insights and illuminating inconsistencies and similarities.

When applied to the current study of the scrolls, however, this same method of redaction criticism is plagued by two major shortcomings. First, it draws attention from the meaning and coherence of the full text that ultimately functioned as a single, complete literary unit for the sect's members. As a result, our understanding of the coherence of its ideology is blurred.[28] Second, redaction criticism may be performed in several different ways, under different socio-historical premises. Therefore, historical conclusions based on the reconstructed composite history of a text are tentative at best, since the redactional literary process itself is founded on previous interpretations that cannot be confirmed rather than on evidence.[29]

In the case of the Qumran scrolls, literary and reduction criticism encounter yet another obstacle. The production of sectarian texts was a collective enterprise in Qumran. As such, there are numerous possible sources for many given literary units. Major texts such as the Community Rule and the Damascus Document were composed through a long

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nance is not accepted by all. In any event, their use or adoption by the Qumranites is beyond doubt.

27   Murphy O'Connor 1969 is the classical redactional study of the Community Rule. For the Damascus Document, see Murphy O'Connor 1974 (and his other studies cited there); Davies 1983. For the Temple Scroll, see Wise 1990. In the study of the Hodayot, however, form criticism was used by Jeremias 1963 and Kuhn 1966, who distinguished between the Teacher hymns and the community hymns. The redactional method was also used in comparing different manuscripts and versions of the same text (Metso 1997; Bockmuehl 1998; Cf. Hempel 1998).

28   Campbell 1995 178, 193 concluded that CD is a consistent framework of scriptural reminiscences, and that there are no grounds for linking the associated "paragraph" divisions with redactional processes. Cf. also Grossman 2002, 15, 32. There is a necessity for holistic analysis of other texts.

29   Certain limitations are now acknowledged by advocates of redaction criticism. See Davies 1983, 2-3, 48-53 (on CD) and especially Davies 1996, 151-161 (on 1QS). Cf. Metso 2002.

process of compilation, editing and revision. At least 150 different scri-
bes have been identified as copyists of the scrolls, and many manu-
scripts are the work of more than a single scribe. The diverse (and
sometimes contradicting) regulations collected in Community Rule, for
example, indicate that its editors documented changes in the life and
practices of the community. I am convinced that their sources were not
figments of the imagination but texts that reflected actual rules and
agendas. The Community Rule was not designed to serve as a law-
book, but rather as a record of judicial decisions and an accurate docu-
mentation of oral traditions.[30]

In Chapter 4 I suggest an alternative to traditional redaction criti-
cism, by approaching these texts with new questions concerning how
the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant operated. This functional ap-
proach allows us to reconstruct different organizational rules in their
original social context and explore how they reflect different social
structures and organization patterns of the Qumraic sectarian commu-
nities.

5   Were the Qumran Sects Similar to Greco-Roman Voluntary Associations?

The Qumran scrolls were written and used in Judaea in the Greco-
Roman period, between the rule of the Maccabees until the destruction
of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. Before turning to the sectarian para-
digm adopted in this book, a move which somewhat isolates the Qum-
ran sectarians from their historical and cultural context, it is necessary
to reflect on several studies that explain the social system of the Qum-
ran groups as an integral part of the Hellenistic civilization. Several
scholars have compared the rules of the Community Rule, and to a
lesser extent, those of the Damascus Document, to the rules of conduct
and social practices of Greco-Roman guilds, clubs and other voluntary
associations.

Moshe Weinfeld pointed to similarities between the Qumran sects
and Greco-Roman voluntary associations in terms of organizational
structures and terminology. He argued that the specialized terminology
of the Community Rule was intentionally coined to substitute for
common Hellenistic terms of association.[31] He also pointed to several

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30   Metso 1999b, 310, 314.
31   Such as *yaḥad=koinōnia, rabbim=plēthos* or *hoi polloi*. See Weinfeld 1986, 13-16 and
     Dombrowski 1966.

procedural parallels, such as hierarchically ordered ruling councils consisting of laymen and priests, priests serving as magistrates, gradual admission of candidates, an oath of membership, and listing of members by rank (among the Roman Bacchanalian association).[32] Although Weinfeld was only interested in noting the parallels and made no claims about any direct historical relationship, Klinghardt built on Weinfeld's work to argue in support of Hellenistic influence on the *yaḥad*, suggesting that its members imitated Hellenistic guilds and schools.[33]

Martin Hengel also viewed the term *yaḥad* as a Hebrew translation of a Greek concept, and even traced the idea of common property to Aristotle or Hellenistic protest movements. For Hengel, the entire concept of an organized and established voluntary community which is based on individual decisions originated in Hellenistic philosophical schools.[34] Doron Mendels pointed to similarities between the Essenes (whom, like most scholars, he identified with the *yaḥad*) as well as the Community Rule and the Congregation Rule, on the one hand, and the Hellenistic utopia of Iambulus (third to second century BCE), on the other hand. He even suggested that "the Hellenistic utopia was but a primary framework, or model, used by the first Essenes when they desired to create a perfect society."[35]

Although they shared some common practices, a closer look at the Greco-Roman voluntary associations and the Qumranites or Essenes attests to major differences. Many Greco-Roman voluntary associations did not demand exclusive allegiance, and membership in some guilds was a fairly undemanding matter although mystical cults had more comprehensive rules and elaborate initiation rites. Individuals could also belong to more than one guild or mystical cult. Even in the case of the more rigorous philosophical schools, adherence may often have been temporary, without necessarily prohibiting membership in other types of associations.[36]

The communal patterns of life of the Essenes and the *yaḥad* were much more intensive than among the Greco-Roman voluntary groups,

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32 Weinfeld 1986, following Bardtke 1961.
33 Klinghardt 1994.
34 Hengel 2000, 48-51. For Greek influences on the religious premises of the Qumranites and Essenes, see Hengel 1974, I, 217-247; 1978.
35 Mendels 1979 (citation from p. 209). For a further survey of scholarship, see Murphy 2002, 13-20.
36 Wilson 1996, 9-10. Walker-Ramisch 1996, 141 noted that a sectarian ideology of exclusive membership and antagonism to the existing socio-political order was uncharacteristic of the *collegia*.

where, for example, group meals were neither frequent (once a week or month) nor obligatory. The Essenes and the *yaḥad,* in contrast, apparently shared all their meals, from which non-members were excluded as a matter of purity. Greco-Roman associations were therefore much more closely identified with the mainstream institutions.[37] Most voluntary associations did not protest against the outside society and were therefore less occupied in drawing social boundaries (such as in relation to food) that separated these associations from mainstream society. In contrast to the Qumran sects, their aim was not to overthrow the existing political system, but to find their own niche within it.[38]

Only rarely were members of Greco-Roman clubs (e.g., the Epicureans, and the Roman Bacchic associations) highly committed to their group and its ideology. Even in the case of the Epicureans, members met for infrequent celebrations and many aspects of their lives were not shared. Members of the Jewish sects, however, ate exclusively with sect members. These groups demanded a far greater degree of adherence to purity regulations than Greco-Roman voluntary associations. Equivalents of such exclusivity can be found only in Greek utopian communities.[39]

Weinfeld's study shows that almost every detail of the organizational framework of the Qumran sects has a parallel in other groups: officers, modes of acceptance, disciplinary regulations and so forth: a council of twelve is attested to in the book of Acts and in Egypt, while a council of fifteen can be found in Delphi; certain sacral and economical officers held offices in some Hellenistic and Roman associations.[40] The question is whether such parallels are a matter of coincidence.[41] For instance, a certain Hellenistic Greco-Roman association accepted new members after approval by the priest and the vote of the other members; another association examined candidates according to their purity, piety and goodness; and a third group required an oath.[42] The *yaḥad,* however, practiced

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37   A. Baumgarten 1998a, 96-98.

38   Walker-Ramisch 1996.

39   A. Baumgarten 1998a, 97, 99-101, 105. A. Baumgarten also noted the general similarity between the two. The Greek philosophic schools and worship gatherings were an opportunity for the evolution of new religious ideas, and a means for introducing new cults. Like the Jewish sects, people came together on the basis of their shared appreciation of and solution to a problem or dilemma that was created by the new circumstances (*ibid.,* 109).

40   Weinfeld 1986, 18-19.

41   Weinfeld was aware of some of the limitations of such parallelism and consciously restricted himself to the organizational framework, *ibid.* 7-8, 46-47. The danger of incidental and unrelated parallels was noted by Sandmel 1962.

42   Weinfeld 1986, 21-22.

all three procedures, reflecting the most selective and separatist organization of any Greco-Roman association. The same reasoning applies to a long list of paralleling laws and penalties.[43]

Thus, the parallels merely illustrate that the possibilities for human organization are limited. The organizational features common to Qumran and certain associations in Hellenistic Egypt or Greece and Rome are insufficient to support a claim that the Qumran sectarians had any knowledge of these regulations, or that the Jewish separatists adopted the organizational structure composition of several Greek or Roman guilds. To argue for such dependence, one must demonstrate that the Qumranites maintained contacts with such guilds and cults, and had some additional cultural dependence on them. Since this is not the case, it is highly implausible that a given society would imitate the social structure and the penal code of another society while rejecting its most basic cultural premises. People do not change their way of life merely because they become familiar with a certain ideology (note that Iambulus's "utopia" was never realized in the Hellenistic world) or the rules of another distinct group.

Separatist groups such as the *yaḥad* evolve through internal historical processes and social mechanisms that foster their ideology and promote the establishment of unique rules of conduct. The paradigm of foreign influence as an explanation for organizational similarities therefore does not teach us anything new about the Qumranites themselves. If a comparison is used, it must be founded on a more solid theoretical ground.

6   The Sectarian Paradigm

Although there is a broad consensus that the scrolls were composed or copied by members of a sectarian movement,[44] only few studies discuss the phenomenon of sectarianism in Qumran. These studies merely argue that the Qumran movement should be identified as a sect, or that

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43   Weinfeld 1986, 24-43. Cf. the table, *ibid.*, 78. Admittedly, the parallels are numerous and impressive in the cases of Bacchic associations and Hyppolytus' *Apostolic Tradition*, but these two seem to bear a sectarian stance. See Weinfeld 1986, 37, 39, 55-57, 70.

44   Stegemann 1992, Talmon 1993, 8, and Golb 1995 are the only scholars I recall to disagree that the Qumran movement was a sectarian one. Stegemann claimed that "(t)he Essenes were the main union in late Second Temple times" (*ibid.*, 138). He regarded the rigorously secluded *yaḥad*, which practiced communalism, as a confederation of groups (*ibid.* 155-156). My discussion of the *yaḥad*'s egalitarian and democratic structure (characteristic of small-scale groups) and its intensive occupation with revelations and mysticism seems to contradict Stegemann's contention.

the theory of sectarianism should be applied to Qumran and did not discuss the nature of the sectarian experience, that is, how different aspects in the group's ideology and practices are related to the social concept of sectarianism.[45]

One scholar, however, addressed sectarianism in Second Temple Judaism in general and in Qumran in particular, using new methods and offering illuminating historical and sociological insights. In his *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Period,* Albert I. Baumgarten addressed the causes underlying the emergence of several sects in Judaea in that period, and consequently discussed the socio-historical contexts that promote sectarian membership. Baumgarten placed sectarianism in the context of the rapid social change of second century BCE Judaea, which included the urbanization of Jerusalem, the increase of literacy, the encounter with Hellenism, Hasmonean independence and subsequent messianic hopes.[46]

A sectarian understanding of a body of historical evidence requires a clear theoretical definition of a sect, against which the actual evidence can be tested. Baumgartern uses a rather broad definition of sectarianism that also encompassing the Pharisees. He defines sectarianism as "protest against the practice and belief of the rest of society"[47] and identifies its key marker as boundary maintenance, that is, the social means of differentiating between sect members and outsiders otherwise normally regarded as belonging to the same national religious entity (namely, other Jews). Issues implicated in boundary maintenance include food, dress, marriage, commerce and worship practices.[48]

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45   Martens, 1990; Esler 1994, 79-84; Davies 1996, 163-177. They discussed the general phenomenon of sectarianism in CD and 1QS following the definitions of Wilson 1958 and 1973. Jokiranta 2001 argued (but did not demonstrate) the relevance of definitions of sects in several sociological theories for understanding the scrolls. Davies 2005 asserted that the scrolls can and should be studied from the sociological perspective of sectarianism.

46   Baumgarten 1997a, esp. 26, 156-161. The historical scenario that led to this social change includes the encounter with Hellenism; the persecutions of Antiochus IV; the collaboration of several traditional leaders with the Seleucids during the Hellenistic reform of 175-152 BCE; the successful revolt against Antiochus IV and his decrees; the rise of a new dynasty of high priests (the Hasmoneans) followed by political independence and a state formation. For rapid social change as a cause of sectarianism, see Wilson 1959, 8; Burridge 1969, 6-9; Beckford 1986. For rapid social change as a background for the outbreak of millennial beliefs, see Cohn 1957, 22-32; Worsley 1968, 32-48.

47   Baumgarten 1997a, 6. Baumgarten follows the theory of tension of Stark and Bainbridge which I use in Chapter 1 and throughout this book, but does not believe that such tension is directed exclusively to an attempt to overturn established society.

48   Baumgarten 1997a, 5-7, 91-107; 1997c; 1998b.

Baumgarten's interpretation of each factor that he regards as a cata-
lyst of sectarianism is especially insightful due to his application of
multiple social and anthropological theories or models, and the analo-
gies he draws from the flourishing sectarianism of 17th century Eng-
land. Evidence of boundary maintenance among the Puritans, for ex-
ample, is used to illuminate the social significance of parallel
phenomena among Essenes, Pharisees, and in Qumran.[49] His book the-
refore puts sectarianism in a broad social perspective using methodolo-
gies that are rarely used by scholars of ancient history in general, and
ancient Judaism in particular.

My intellectual debt to Baumgarten's work on sectarianism and his
use of social-scientific and comparative methods cannot be overstated.
His book and teachings stimulated my thinking and led me to focus on
studying sectarianism in Qumran. However, I follow a more specific
definition of sectarianism,[50] based on ideological constructs of antago-
nism, separation and difference (see Chapter 1). In the first half of
Chapter 1, I examine the sectarian ideology of the *yaḥad* and the Da-
mascus Covenant with reference to two parallel definitions – those of
Wilson and Stark-Bainbridge. Stark-Bainbridge's theory is used repeat-
edly throughout the book in relation to different aspects of dualism,
atonement, revelation, law, ritual (purity and impurity), morality,
wealth and social structure in the scrolls. This enables me to discuss the
sectarian features of different bodies of evidence which were not trea-
ted by Baumgarten, and examine their interrelations in Qumran and in
other introversionist sects.

The merits of seeking sectarianism in the Qumran scrolls and re-
lated texts (1 Enoch, Jubilees, and the descriptions of the Essenes by
Philo and Josephus) transforms this endeavor into an exploratory
rather than descriptive study based on the application of certain mod-
els and methods of social sciences, in an attempt to understand the
evidence of ancient social and religious history.[51]

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49 Baumgarten 1997a, 201-208. Baumgarten is particularly inspired by the work of
    Christopher Hill.
50 Baumgarten 1997a, 12, 14 seems to be conscious of his rather broad or loose defini-
    tion of a sect. Such a view was also upheld by Wilson (1973) addressing third world
    movements that lack the social organizations typical of sects of the Christian tradi-
    tion. One may add that several scholars failed to distinguish between sects and "uto-
    pian communities" (e.g., Coser 1974, 140 and passim). There is also some confusion
    regarding sectarianism and the broader phenomenon of counter-culture (on the lat-
    ter, see Musgrove 1974, 9 and bib.).
51 As Jonathan Z. Smith's asserted, the scientific study of the history of religion re-
    quires that "the exemplum be displayed in the service of some important theory,
    some paradigm, some fundamental question, some central element in the academic

7 The Social Sciences

My relatively frequent use of social scientific theories on sectarianism, as well as other models pertaining to revelation, ritual, moral codes and gender, and my attempt to fully understand the world of past people, warrants some explanation, if not justification. Although more and more scholars of ancient Judaism have become aware of the advantages of applying theories of sociology and anthropology, some may resist it as "reductionist," that is, an over-simplification of the evidence designed to create an illusion of innovation.[52] Such critics regard their field of inquiry as the study of ancient texts, and are inclined to confine scholarship so as to remain mainly literary. They may therefore wonder on what grounds have I reduced the weight of the scrolls and decided to address the general social-scientific phenomenon of sectarianism. In my view, however, socio-religious history is indeed based on the literary evidence but nonetheless aims to study people, religions and societies, following certain methodological guiding lines. This view is too crucial and admittedly too controversial to be taken for granted, and hence deserves some words of explanation.

History is generally conceived of as the study of the particular, whether a text, an event or a certain phenomenon in a specific time and place. However, confining the inquiry to its specificity loses the insights of the larger frame. There are certainly other texts, events and phenomena that can teach us about the context and nature of our evidence, whether they are more or less similar. And there are established scientific fields that can assist us in doing so (although they lack the perspective of time): sociology, anthropology and the study of religion. Thus, for example when one deals with a case related to gender relations in the past, one cannot ignore theories of gender, since they may make sense of the already existing historical evidence.

As early as the 1960's, historians and anthropologists became more aware of the connections between the two fields. Thus, for example, Hughes addressed the critical premise that the application of social sciences leads to generalizations and abstractions of concrete historical evidence. Hughes responded that historians also make such generalizations and abstractions, although unconsciously, and that the social sciences enable the historian to make these more explicit, inclusive and

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imagination of religion", and "that there will be some method for explicitly relating the exemplum to the theory, paradigm, or question and some method for evaluating each in terms of the other" (Smith 1982a, xi-xii).

52 This methodology has been debated in the study of religion. See the responses to criticism in Segal 1983; Idinopulos and Yonan 1994.

precise, by way of schematization. He added that since history has no generalizations of its own, it must necessarily borrow its intellectual rationale from elsewhere.[53]

The most intensive application of social theory in historical research was conducted in studies of the so-called *Annales* School. These French historians (following the lead of Fernand Braudel and others) were interested in "Total History," that is, "not an account of the past including every detail, but one which emphasizes the connections between different fields of human behavior."[54] They looked for a "history of mentalities," a history of modes of collective thinking, rather than a history of given events and chronology.[55] This kind of history cannot be perceived without the application of social scientific theory.

Quite similarly, once we define the subject of our research as *sectarianism* in Qumran, we cannot avoid applying sociological theory of sectarianism. Moreover, confining the application of social theory (including the study of religion) to the specific subject of sectarianism is unwarranted. Many further related aspects of human experience – ritual, gender, mysticism etc. – should be explored following existing studies that develop applicable models to enrich our understanding of the meaning of these phenomena in Qumran.

After all, a model is an intellectual construct which simplifies reality in order to understand it, in order to emphasize the recurrent, the general, and the typical of its traits and attributes. A model transforms limited elements or 'variables' into an internally consistent system of interdependent parts.[56] When we use a model, we are not ignoring the data not incorporated in the model, but draw a relationship between the more common and general aspects of the data and its peculiarities.[57] The use of such models enables us to separate the general from the particular, the common from the unique, and to better understand their meaning.

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53 Hughes 1961, 25-28, 32. Burke, 1992, 30-33 argues that most historians use models, perhaps unconsciously (e.g., 'class'). Evans Pritchard (who was qualified as a historian before he became a leading social anthropologist) noted the affinities between the work of the historian and the anthropologist: Both do not deduce facts from laws or explain them as instances of laws, but see the general in the particular. He concludes that, "social anthropology and history are both the branches of social science." See Evans Pritchard 1962, 174, 176-177 (citation from p. 188).

54 Burke 1992, x.

55 Burke 1990, 67-74.

56 Burke 1992, 28.

57 See Segal 1983 and the different views for and against the application of social sciences to the study of religions in Idinopulos and Yonan 1994.

However, one should be cautious not to force a model on the historical evidence or adopt a model when the evidence is too scant. In the end, the merit of applying social theory must meet the test of the text, whether we gained a new insight about it, or merely rephrased what we already know in a more sophisticated manner. The question is, however, what kind of historical evidence should be analyzed using these models.

8   Postmodern History

In recent years serious doubts have been raised concerning our actual ability to learn about the past. The rise of so-called Postmodern History challenges most of the historical writing and forces us to rethink the endeavor of the historian. It seems to me that some scholars of ancient Judaism and Qumran in particular have been influenced, perhaps even unconsciously, by this relatively new spirit.[58] I find it necessary to address this subject so that my attempt to reconstruct a detailed historical system of sectarianism in Qumran rather than merely "reading" ancients texts will not seem too naïve for those familiar with the theory of postmodern history.

Postmodern critique of traditional historical theoretical methods argues that at the basis of the historical discipline are realism and empiricism, assuming that history is real and not reconstructed. Events described by the sources become facts. The belief in the reality of the past is turned into empiricist conception of the historian's practice. However, even if past events are ontological facts, their study is by no means empirical. We cannot directly approach the past. The historian works with sources that are narrative accounts, not with "facts."[59] Theorists of postmodern history therefore reduce history from objective facts to narrative discourse, claiming that it is socially constructed (similarly to literature, language and other cultural phenomena).

Hayden White, perhaps the most notable among these theorists, asserted that "no given set of casually recorded historical events can itself constitute a story; the most it might offer to the historians are story *elements*. The events are *made* into a story by the suppression or subordination of certain of them and the highlighting of others, by characterization, motif repetition, variation of tone and point of view, alternative descriptive strategies, and the like," as in "the employment of a

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58   I have Davies 1996 specifically in mind.
59   McLennan 1984, esp. 141-142.

story or a play."[60] He also stressed the subjectivity of the historian's interpretation, which he viewed as "the projection, on the cognitive, aesthetic, and moral (or ideological) levels of conceptualization of the various tropes authorizing pre-figurations of the phenomenal field in natural language in general."[61]

It is hard to deny that the subjectivity of both the sources and their interpreter complicates the quest for historical truth. One must also accede to the postmodern premise that there is no independent standard for determining which of many rival interpretations of an event is the true one.[62] However, one "conservative" historian responded in criticizing postmodern historical theory for absorption of literature and history (or society), text and context, without any access to 'reality': "if we want to contextualize texts, we cannot achieve this merely by textualizing the context. New Historicism, like cultural history, appears to gloss over the problem of the text-context relationship by the adoption of semiotic mode of analysis which occludes the issue altogether by treating culture, institutions, ideology, and power as merely interworked sets of symbolic systems or codes."[63] The vocation of the historian therefore cannot be fully 'textualized' or reduced into a 'narrative.' The use of evidence for reconstructing history, however, has become a much more complicated task, and is not always successful. Nonetheless, it is a much more interesting and beneficial than studying ancient texts merely as literature.[64]

Being aware that there is a certain intellectual and methodological void in the direct use of the historical evidence,[65] I have tried to use several methodological tools. I have used first-handed sources (from the scrolls as well as of the later early modern sects) as much as possible, and was quite cautious in making too many presumptions about the historical relationship between the different scrolls. The use of socio-anthropological theory and especially the systematic comparisons between sects in relation to specific beliefs and practices also reduces the effect of the "metaphorical constitution of a domain of experience"[66] in these sources, or at least shows that these "tropes" are not incidental but are rather integral parts of the sectarian experience.

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60   White 1978, 84.
61   White 1978, 74. For the problem of "objectivity" and multitude interpretations, see the bibliography in Collins 2005.
62   Cf. Stanly Fish's assertion, cited in Collins 2005, 150.
63   Spiegel 1997, 192.
64   Himmelfarb 1997, 173.
65   White 1978, 40.
66   White 1978, 6.

In a way, I have tried to show that a certain "complex of symbols" that Hayden White attributes to every reproduced historical narrative,[67] is too common to exist solely in the mind of the historian. The fact that the quest for atonement, revelation, the mystic experiences of the founder, the condemnation of wealth, etc. recur in similar historical contexts of introversionist sectarianism points to its "being there" as a solid part of the sectarian thinking. My response to postmodern critique of history is therefore that when different 'narratives' resurface in similar social and historical contexts, their historical validity is reinforced.

Nonetheless, the question I posed at the outset of this project, and the ways I have tried to address it, are by no means "objective." There are many ways to study sectarianism, and my focus on atonement-revelation-morality-ritual-organization-gender-wealth-mysticsm   may be seen as unconsciously biased in a certain way. What I am trying to do is to focus on the inside story of the Qumran sects and their equivalents. My attempt is to explain their way of life using their own words and ideas, rather than by social formalism and functionalism. I am well aware, however, that in doing so, one cannot escape introducing one's own subjective conceptual thinking, for instance, in the decision regarding the issues that deserve attention more than others, and how they should be interpreted.[68]

Ultimately, the crucial question is not merely whether I was right or wrong. What I can only hope for is that those who study Qumran will better understand the scrolls after reading this book, and that those interested in sectarianism in general, or in the other early-modern Christian sects discussed here in passing, will benefit from new insights about the sectarian phenomenon.

9   The Comparative Method

Although I have applied social scientific theories of sectarianism in Chapter 1, I have found these theories to be too general to provide explanations for the very detailed evidence of the scrolls concerning the Qumran sects, their beliefs and practices. This observation is supported by the absence, as far as I could find, of any social-scientific study that analyzes or offers an understanding of the particular features shared by many sects, such as perspectives on atonement, revelation and organization.

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67   White 1978, 88.

68   Cf. the criticism of Pecora 1989 on Geertz's supposedly objective semiotic interpretation of cultural structures of signification and commitment to local expression, and the negation of the power of the scholar's culture (Geertz 1973).

Due to the limitations of social theory, I have chosen to take a comparative approach. In Chapters 8-12 as well as in the second half of Chapter 1, I draw comparisons and analogies between the Qumran sects and early modern Christian sects – Anabaptists, Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish, Puirtans, Quakers and Shakers. In specific cases, I also use comparisons with additional sects such as Seventh Day Adventists, Pentecostals and the Oneida. These comparisons relate to atonement, revelation, mysticism rituals, gender, approach towards wealth, structure and organization. Although these analogies are neither conclusive nor full-scaled comparisons of one sect with another, they are based on an enormous amount of comparative data on these introversionist sects collected specifically for this purpose, and on close attention to the similarities and differences of the social contexts of these sects. According to Bryan Wilson, introversionist sects are sects that separate themselves from the irredeemable world and regard their seclusion as their major *raison d'être*.

Certain comments regarding the rationale and methodology of these systematic comparisons are therefore necessary. "Comparison seeks to extend the scope and power of theory in order to provide a lens for viewing the particular phenomenon in terms of general analytic puzzles it presents and to promote generalization and explanation."[69] Simply put, comparisons and analogies provide alternative possibilities of interpretation for the evidence we have, rather than a supplement to evidence we do not have.

The comparative method has benefits as well as limitations. Although the comparative method has been criticized in the social sciences and religious studies as involved with generalizations and the abstraction of differences, it is still a predominant means of scientific theory, as long as it is not abused by denying the importance of differences or taking the evidence out of its context.[70] When we compare two bodies of historical data we do not mean that they are essentially identical. Comparison is merely a scientific and theoretical tool to better understand the available data, and a necessary act of identification and categorization of a given phenomenon.[71] It is based, first, on the gener-

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69 Poole 1986, 414. The necessity of comparisons in scholarship in general is stressed by Smith 1978, 240-264 and Segal 2001. For the method of "New Comparativism" (some of which is detailed here following Smith and Poole), see Paden 1996; 2000.

70 Segal 2001. The comparative method has several advocates among scholars of the study of religion. See: Smith 1982a, xi; Smith 1990; Martin 2000; Paden 1996; 2000; Bourgeaud 2003.

71 "The enterprise of comparison... brings differences together solely within the space of the scholar's mind" (Smith 1990, 115).

alization of the particular, based on perceived similarities in various qualities or aspects of the phenomena to be compared.[72] The character-istics of a good analogy include clear and systematic definitions and classification of the compared data, as well as a richness or density of predicates, especially relational predicates.[73]

In making comparisons and analogies involving complex historical and cultural data, it is important to pay attention to differences as well as similarities. Religious similarities may be understood as the conse-quence of "analogical processes, responding to parallel kinds of reli-gious situations," in a shared historically constituted cultural field.[74] Although the similarities make the comparison possible, comparison requires the postulation of differences in order to be interesting rather than tautological.

Finally, the crucial question that the comparative method seeks to address is "How am I to apply what the one thing shows me, to the case of two things?" Comparisons and analogies allow us to grasp his-torical evidence, but they do not necessarily tell us how things 'are.' "Like models and metaphors, comparison tells us how things might be conceived, how they might be 'redescribed.' A comparison is a disci-plined exaggeration in the service of knowledge. It provides the means by which *we* 're-vision' phenomena as *our* data in order to solve *our* theoretical problems."[75] A comparison becomes interpretable if it is possible to infer something theoretically significant about the relation-ship of two or more variables.[76]

In what follows I have tried to apply these principles in using the evidence from the scrolls as the ultimate basis of any comparison and in classifying the different comparisons to restricted themes which are interrelated. I have also tried to make sense of the similarities as well as the differences. Most importantly, I have not regarded the similarities and differences as my initial aim. I apply the comparative method to illuminate different details in the scrolls and the hidden relationship between them, and especially as a means for *explaining* the Qumranic phenomena. My readers will judge if I was able to resist the strong temptation for multiple and superficial analogies which do not explain as much as they claim to do so.

The same rationale applies to the more conclusive and systematic comparisons between two historical entities. Comparative history (a term

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72   Poole 1986, 414.
73   Poole 1986, 422.
74   Smith 1990, 112-113.
75   Smith 1990, 52.
76   Poole 1986, 415.

developed by Marc Bloch) is an explanatory tool. It enables us to test our hypothesis – if the historian attributes the appearance of phenomenon A in one society to the existence of condition B, he can check this hypothesis by trying to find other societies where A occurs without B or vice versa.[77] Nevertheless, it does not supply explanations by itself.[78]

I have tried to follow this reasoning when comparing the Qumran sects with specific introversionist sects (rather than theoretically conceptualized sects in the wide sense of the term). My methodological premise is that if a certain ideological characteristic or specific phenomenon is observed in Qumran as well as in other introversionist sects, it suggests (although does not prove) that the compared item is derived from or relates to the general phenomenon of introversionist sectarianism. As more and more similarities appear and show themselves to be related to each other (whether in relation to rituals, taboos, organization patterns, gender relations and attitude towards wealth), their connection to the introversionist sectarian worldview and modes of behavior is reinforced. Consequently, the relationship between many scattered details in the texts becomes clearer and the Qumranic beliefs and modes of behavior are perceived as elements in a *sectarian system* within which details from the scrolls are explained.

Furthermore, in the course of the discussion, the other introversionist sects that are used for these systematic comparisons and analogies are also brought into this general system, albeit tentatively. Although each sect has its own peculiar characteristics and social context, several ideological and behavioral characteristics are shared by most of the early modern Christian sects discussed here. Although my initial aim is to use the comparison to understand sectarianism in Qumran, the intensive use of the evidence regarding these other sects inevitably leads to certain general conclusions about their nature, conclusions that obviously should be further examined by experts of these sects.

Comparisons and analogies are made between the Qumran sects and early modern introversionist Christian sects because these are the most documented of all introversionist sects (and perhaps of all sects in general). These comparisons illuminate what already exists in the texts composed by the members of the Qumran sects, with a wider perspective on the nature of sectarianism and how introversionist sects think and behave.

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77 Sewell 1967, 208. The necessity for being aware of the larger picture encompassing all the compared sects derives from the fact that, although comparison should be fixed on something precise, one needs to compare between whole societies in order to avoid superficiality. Cf. Burke, 1992, 27.

78 Sewell 1967, 217.

10   Problems Concerning the Comparisons to
Early Modern Christian Sects

Comparing Qumran sectarian with these specific groups may be ques-
tioned on several grounds. Some readers may argue that the similari-
ties identified between the Qumranites and the later sects, such as be-
lief in distinctive revelation, aspiring for alternative modes of
atonement and holding common property, reflect a common Jewish-
Christian heritage in which Paul's letters and the Jerusalem church
provide a link between Qumran and the Anabaptists, Puritans, Shak-
ers, etc. However, current scholarship of Qumran and the New Testa-
ment does not recognize a direct relationship between the Qumranites
and the early Christian church (especially since the Qumran sects
emerged more than 150 years before Jesus).[79] I concur with this posi-
tion, primarily on the basis that many of the similarities between the
Qumran sects and various early Christians are quite general. I believe
that they derive not from early Christian imitation of Qumranic ideas
but from basically similar but independent social approaches, namely,
from sectarian tendencies.[80]

     Another serious reservation may be that the major features which I
regard as sectarian, such as atonement, revelation, mysticism, and op-
position to the accumulation of wealth (sometimes labeled as asceti-
cism), are almost universal features of religions, and are especially
typical of many Christian movements throughout history. Neverthe-
less, there are several exclusive features that characterize these ideas
among the introversionists sects. Their role in the belief system is more
significant, they have distinctive characteristics (for example, the role of

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79   According to Fitzmyer (1966), when one compares the Qumranic documents (espe-
     cially the Community Rule) with the Acts of the Apostles, it is impossible to prove
     direct contact or influence of the Qumran sectarians on or with the early Christians.
     Fitzmyer concludes that the early Jewish Christians did not develop out of Qum-
     ranic or Essene framework. The most that one can say is that the early Christians
     were influenced by them in a certain sense. Buckham (2003) also concluded against
     Qumranic/Essene influence on the self-designations of the Jerusalem church. A case
     for indirect influence of the scrolls on Paul was made by Flusser (1988), but I find his
     thematic comparisons too general to account for actual dependency. Moreover, the
     biography of Paul, a Hellenistic Jew and presented in Acts 22:3 as a Pharisee (advo-
     cate of Gamliel), and as an agent of the Sadduceen high priesthood (Acts 9:1-2; 12:4-
     5), would not cohere with a Qumranic background. For the differences in the social
     outlook of the Qumranites and the early Christians regarding sinners/outsiders and
     the Temple, see Regev 2004c; Regev forthcoming b.
80   For the ideology of moral and social separation in Paul's lettres, see Meeks 1983, 94-
     103. Cf. also the separation from the world and attitude towards wealth in the letter
     of James. I hope to devote a separate study to early Christian sectarianism.

atonement and revelation in creating a complete separation between the sect members and the outside society), and they are all performed in a given social context of sectarian setting (that is, in a state of tension with the world). When viewed as a whole, these distinct features and emphases of otherwise "conventional" religious ideas create a cumulative effect that exposes the sectarian character of the religious system in question.

A few examples are necessary to demonstrate the distinctive characteristics of the sectarian religious phenomena. The quest for atonement dominated the early Christian and Roman Catholic idea of penance. Penance was a process by which Christians sought to atone for their sins through confession and penitential acts (such as repentance by fasting or alms-giving, abstinence from sex and expulsion) that were necessary in order to ensure their salvation at the Last Judgment. But penance was not necessarily an inward experience (as it was for the Qumranites and the Shakers, for example), but a publicly performed ritual which in many cases was imposed by the bishops, and even used as a social sanction against political enemies.[81] It seems to me quite remote from the internal sectarian self-guilt and quest for individual and communal atonement.

Sectarian movements also share with other Christian ones a self-sacrificing detachment from the world. Self-restraining the worldly and carnal, as well as a feeling of remorse, is rooted in Augustine's *Confessions* and early Monasticism. Ideas and practices such as opposition to the accumulation of wealth and carnal pleasures, communal discipline and penalties, quest for penance, frequent confessions and gradual admission into membership are common to sectarianism and monasticism.[82] There are, however, significant theological and sociological differences between the two.

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81 Hamilton 2001, 2-7. Cf. Luther's opposition to the Catholic process of remission of sins and indulgence, and his own approach to the issue of repentance (Atkinson 1968, 141-151). Luther maintained a doctrine of salvation by faith alone, which the Anabaptists opposed (Williams 1962, xxiii-xxxi). Another example of the differences between the idea of repentance in Catholicism and in the beliefs of the Anabaptists, Puritans, Quakers and Shakers, is the old Roman Christian creed that the mere ritual of (infant) baptism leads to the remission of sins (cf. Kelly 1972, 160-163). Furthermore, in Byzantine Christianity for example, forgiveness and the overcoming of sin is rather certain, not to say "automatic" (Maloney 1983, 129-132, 137, 166-167), and baptism is a spiritual shield, a grace freely given, without any reference to penitence (*ibid.*, 98-101).

82 Weber (1930, esp. 118-119; 1948, 291) defined what he called sectarian asceticism as inner-worldly asceticism, in which members reject the world and despise the taboos and values of dignity and beauty, secular power and worldly pride. Compare, for example, the Puritan ethos of restraint from self-satisfactions (Morgan 1999, 5-10).

The major aim of monasticism, taking the Order of St. Benedict as an example, was a strict bodily asceticism and spiritual humiliation. Religious life is regarded as "a combat against oneself," a chastisement of the body that is an obstacle to the attainment of the perfect truth.[83] While this aspect is indeed present in the sectarian way of life, it is not the member's body that is his/her major enemy, but the evil social world and the religious establishment from which members detached themselves. Bodily asceticism and spiritual restraint are mainly conse- quences of the withdrawal from the world into the sectarian enclave. From a sociological and historical perspective, monasticism is an ascetic activity within the social world, while sectarianism resides outside of it.[84] Thus, for example, Benedictine monastic orders enjoyed hegemony in Western Europe during the early Middle Ages (supported by the Carolingian rulers). Monasticism was widely believed to be the best chance for eternal salvation. Monastic asceticism also served political ends of medieval kings, and monks had an official role in official me- dieval division of labor.[85]

Furthermore, the study of non-Christian sects reveals that the sec- tarian characteristics I discuss are not unique to Christian sects. A few examples from Islamic sects shows that the special stress on revelation, self-guilt or atonement, and common property are typical of other sects as well. The Mahdawi movement of Sayyid Muhammad Jawnpuri (late 15th-early16th century India) was a sect in the full sense of the term, sin- ce its leader called "to pull you away from the love and attractions of this world," shun the world and remain aloof from the people.[86] Sayyid Muhammad claimed to be the *Mahdī* (the divinely appointed), claiming that he could see God, and that other members should also desire to see God in their own eyes and would be able to do so in a state of a com- plete absorption in the presence of God.[87] Sayyid Muhammad also had a special opposition to wealth. He established communal life with no private property, separated from towns and villages, and devoted to

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For Augustine, see Chadwick 1986. The aim for the union with God and the rather mystic pursuits, also characteristic to monasticism, were not followed by all of the sects discussed here.

83   For the Order of St. Benedict, see Butler 1924; Asad 1993b, esp. 105-106, 112. There are also more specific differences, such as the centralized authority of the abbot's monastery (Southern 1970, 218-221), in contrast to the tendency toward relative de- mocracy or egalitarianism in many (though not all) of the sects discussed here.

84   Cf. Weber 1930, 120.

85   Southern 1970, 28-29, 217, 225-227.

86   Ansari 1963, 52, 55, 57. For its social seclusion from non-Mahdawis, see Qamaruddin 1985, 61-62.

87   Ansari 1963, 46, 56-57; Qamaruddin 1985, 66-68.

prayer.[88] People from all walks of life came to him to confess their sins, and members were punished by the community for any sin or transgression.[89]

The Ahmadia sect (which emerged in India in the late 19th century) felt hostility towards contemporary Islamic religion and society.[90] Ghulam Ahmad, its founder, had revelations and claimed to maintain a direct and frequent connection with God and His angels and also claimed to be a *Mahdī* (the messiah of the End of Days).[91] The notions of self-guilt, confession of sin and the quest for atonement are notable among the Shabak (a Shiite sect in Northern Iraq, related to the Alawis). Members regularly confess their sins to the Pir (elder) and also maintain a public confession ceremony on the Night of Forgiveness of Sin. They regard confession as a religious duty that no member should neglect.[92] On the Night of Forgiveness of Sin, those who have borne a grudge or hatred are to reconcile with one another and apologize for the sins they have committed against their neighbors.[93] All this demonstrates that the traits I regard here as sectarian characteristics do not emanate from the Jewish-Christian tradition.

11 Notes on Translations and Editions

Throughout this book I have used the English translations of Grarcía Martínez and Tigchelaar 2000 of the Dead Sea Scrolls, with minor amendments. When other translations are used, they are acknowledged in a footnote. Translations of 1 Enoch follow Nickelsburg 2001, those of Jubilees follow VanderKam 1989a, those of Josephus and Philo follow Loeb Classical Library, and passages from the Mishnah follow Neusner 1988. The numeration of the columns of the Hodayot Scroll (1QH^a) is according to Puech 1988, followed by Eileen Schuller in her addition of the Hodayot from Cave 4 (Chazon et al. 1999, 69-254). The older numeration of Sukenik (followed by all editions until the 1990's, such as

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88 Ansari 1963, 56, 59. Qamaruddin 1985, 61 discusses his opposition to the accumulation of wealth. For the distribution of wealth between members, see *ibid.*, 72-73, 85, 93-96.

89 Qamaruddin 1985, 80, 89.

90 Friedmann 1989, 105-106.

91 Friedmann 1989, 7, 49, 107-142.

92 Moosa 1988, 123-127. Their hymns promise a heavenly reward for those who confess, and retribution for those who do not.

93 Moosa 1988, 132-136. The Baktashis and Kizilbash sects also practice similar rituals. The Shabak also maintain initiation rites and a probation period similar to those discussed in Chapter 8 (*ibid.*, 138).

Licht 1957) appears in square parentheses. In citations from the scrolls, square parentheses mark text restoration, sometimes minimally preserved in the manuscript. Regular, circular, parentheses mark explanations required for the meaning of the English text.

Part I

Sectarian Ideologies in Qumran

Chapter 1

Sectarian Ideologies and Social Theory: From Separation to Revelation

1 Defining Sectarianism

1.1 Introduction

Any discussion of sectarianism in Qumran must begin by first demonstrating that the ideologies of the Qumran sects meet the common social-scientific definitions of a sectarian worldview. At first glance, this may seem quite self-evident and superfluous. However, when two different sociological approaches to the definition and characterization of sectarianism, those of Wilson and Stark-Bainbridge, are applied to the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, new aspects of Qumranic ways of life are revealed, and differences between the sectarianism of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant are highlighted. Moreover, this approach also serves as a basis for comparisons of the Qumran groups to other sects.

In this chapter I attempt to address several major ideological elements of the Qumran sects, as reflected primarily in the Community Rule, the Hodayot (which are also related to the *yaḥad*) and the Damascus Document (focusing on a limited number of examples). My purpose is to introduce a relatively systematic synthesis of the Qumranic ideologies of introversion (separation), revolution (messianism and eschatology), atonement and divine revelation. These are, in my view, the main elements of the Qumranic ideology. Like most ideologies, they reflect an aspiration for an ideal realization of cognitive and moral values, contained in the sacred, through the "total transformation" of society.[1] Integrating these different components into the Qumranic worldview as well as into the general framework of introversionist sectarianism, enables me to discuss in detail more specific modes of belief and behavior in the following chapters.

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1   Shils 1968, 67. Cf. the survey of Schwartz 1970, 1-8. Shils' characterization of ideology is strikingly similar to the concept of a sectarian worldview suggested by Stark and Bainbridge's (1985). Admittedly, my use of the term below is occasionally synonymous with worldview.

1.2 Sectarianism as Social Tension: Stark and Bainbridge

Since Max Weber and Ernest Troeltsch discussed the differences be-
tween 'church' and 'sect,' many sociologists of religion have attempted
to adequately define the concept of 'sect.'[2] Building on Benton John-
son's assertion that "a sect is a religious group that rejects the social
environment in which it exists" and that "a sect tends to be in a state of
tension with its surroundings,"[3] Rodney Stark and William Sims Bain-
bridge define a sect as a religious group in *a state of tension* with the
surrounding environment.[4] This tension stems from the group's rejec-
tion of the social order at large and its subsequent development as a
separate sub-culture.[5] Sects are social movements that wish to cause or
prevent change in a system of beliefs, values, symbols and practices
concerned with providing general supernatural compensators. They
wish to become an institutionalized religion and the dominant faith in
their society.[6]

Stark and Bainbridge point to three markers of sub-cultural tension:
antagonism, separation and difference.[7]

Antagonism: Sectarians believe in the exclusive legitimacy of their
own belief system, and distrust nonbelievers. Adoption of a sectarian
doctrine implies rejection of the society as a whole.

Separation: Sects maintain a separateness from the larger society
(such as objection to marriage with members of other religious groups,
whereas relations with other insiders are favored). The social separa-
tion from outsiders and the closer relations with insiders constitute an
encapsulation of the sect, creating a closed social world. In extreme
cases, high-tension groups withdraw completely from the social life of
the larger society into geographical isolation. The rigid behavioral re-
quirements of sect members reinforce this separation.

Difference: Sects impose norms on their adherents that are sharply
distinct from those common in the surrounding society, and reject

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2   See Swatos 1976 for a detailed history of research. Swatos noted that the prevalent
    term "church/sect theory" is inaccurate.
3   Johnson 1963, 542, 544.
4   Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 23. This tension results not only in a rejection of the
    surrounding society but also in the society's rejection of the sect and its members
    (*ibid.*, 49). A. Baumgarten (1997a, 76) followed a similar but more neutral definition
    suggested by Gerlach and Hine (1968, 34), defining sectarianism as narrow limits of
    tolerance of the gap between the ideal and the real.
5   Stark and Bainbridge follow Dynes 1955, 555.
6   Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 23.
7   Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 49-60. The importance of separation in defining a sect
    was already noted by Wilson 1959, 4.

normative standards that the society at large accepts. Sects are deeply dissatisfied with the world, reject the world as they perceived it because they believe that the material world is not rich enough unless supplemented by the supernatural.

Considerable group resources and efforts are required to maintain a continuous state of high tension with the outside society. However, the tension between the sect and its environment also enhances the sense of comfort afforded to sect members who are frustrated in their pursuit of earthly rewards.[8]

The definition proposed by Stark and Bainbridge enables us not only to identify sectarianism but, by illuminating elements of sectarian tension, this definition allows us to compare sectarianism in different documents or different sectarian groups. Below, I briefly illustrate high tension with society (antagonism, separation and difference) using the documents of the two main Qumran sects.

The Damascus Covenant

Declarations of *antagonism* frequently appear in the Damascus Document, which, at the outset, refers to the People of Israel outside the sect as a "congregation of traitors, ones who stray from the path" (CD 1:12-13). The members of the outside society, also called "the builders of the wall," are accused of transgressing laws of matrimony and expressing disapproval for the laws of the sect, and are thus portrayed as those who "have no intelligence" (CD 4:19-5:17). Such people are sentenced to death by God since they are immoral: "all are rebels because they have not left the path of traitors and have defiled themselves in paths of licentiousness, and with wicked wealth, avenging themselves, and each one bearing resentment against his brother, and each one hating his fellow. Each one becomes obscured by blood relatives and approached for debauchery and bragged about wealth and gain. Each one did what was right in his eyes and each one has chosen the stubbornness of his heart" (CD 8:4-8; cf. 19:16-21).

Members are commanded to maintain *separation* from "the sons of the pit" (*shahat*) and abstain from wicked wealth, which defiles (CD 6:14-15). Furthermore, deserters are condemned since "all the men who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus and turned and betrayed and departed from the well of living waters shall not be counted in the assembly of the people, they shall not be inscribed in their lists" (CD 19:33-35).

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8   Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 153.

The sect's declarations of its ethos or general legal precepts implic-
itly underlines the *difference* in its moral and religious standards com-
pared to those of its adversaries: "to separate unclean from clean and
differentiate between the holy and the common; to keep the Sabbath
day according to its exact interpretation, and the festivals and the day
of fasting (i.e. day of atonement), according to what was discovered by
those who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus; to set
apart holy portions (i.e. priestly dues) according to their exact interpre-
tation; for each to love his brother like himself; to strengthen the hand
of the poor, the needy and the foreigner; for each to seek peace of his
brother and not to be unfaithful against his blood relation; to refrain
from fornication in accordance with the precepts, and not to bear re-
sentment from one day to the next (cf. Lev 19:17); to keep apart from
every uncleanness according to their regulations" (CD 6:17-7:3).

The *yaḥad*

The *antagonism* of the *yaḥad* toward the rest of society is apparent in
phrases such as "the congregation of men of injustice" (1QS 5:1-2; cf.
8:13) who "walk along the path of wickedness" (1QS 5:10-11). Else-
where, they are called "men of deceit" who are presented in contrast to
the sect's "men of holiness" (1QS 9:8). Members are committed to "love
all the sons of light... and to detest all the sons of darkness according to
their guilt in God's vindication" (1QS 1:9-11).

Manifestations of *separation* are very frequent in the *yaḥad*'s Com-
munity Rule. The most prevalent verb in this document is *bdl* (to sepa-
rate/be separated), implying alienation from the corrupt external soci-
ety (e,g., 1QS 8:13). One passage defines the final status of acceptance
into the *yaḥad* as "segregated (like?) holy (ones?) in the midst of the
council of the men of the community," implying that the entire sect is a
segregated group (1QS 8:10-11).

The theology of separation from the stubborn and the wicked is
elaborated in a passage that discusses the sect's annual rite of passage,
where the one who transgressed the covenant or declined entering it is
harshly condemned: "may he be cut off from the midst of all the sons of
light because of his straying from following God on account of his idols
and obstacles of his iniquity. May he assign his lot with the cursed ones
for ever...His soul loathes the disciplines of knowledge of just judg-
ment. He has not the strength to convert his life and shall not be
counted with the upright. His knowledge, his energy and his wealth
shall not enter the council of the Community because he ploughs in the
mud of wickedness and there are stains on his conversion. He shall not
be justified while he maintains the stubbornness of his heart, since he

regards darkness as paths of light. In the source of the perfect he shall not be counted" (1QS 2:16-17; 3:1-3).

Attestation to an explicit *difference* can be found in the passage which opens the Community Rule, where the members declare their commitment "not to walk anymore in the stubbornness of a guilty heart and of lecherous eyes performing any evil; in order to welcome all those who freely volunteer to carry out God's decrees into the covenant of kindness; in order to be unified (*yaḥad*) in the counsel of God and walk in perfection in His sight" (1QS 1:6-8).

Although the ideological elements of the Damascus Document and the *yaḥad* are similar, the *yaḥad's* declarations and laws reflect a higher state of tension with the external society and are more intensely concerned with maintaining strict segregation from the outside world.

Cosmic Tension in Qumran

In the passages above, sectarian ideology makes two major claims. The first claim is moral (already noted by Stark and Bainbridge), that is, the sect is committed to righteousness whereas the outsiders are wicked. The second is concerned with the contrast between God and man. The sectarians follow God's orders whereas the outsiders are slaves of their own desires and ignorance. The latter contrast reflects not only social tension between the sect and society, but especially *cosmic tension* which leads to dualistic oppositions between God and disobedient humans. Extending Stark-Bainbridge's model of social tension to the more theological and theoretical beliefs expressed in the scrolls will allow us to identify the conceptual roots of the idea of tension in Qumran.

The very first sentence of the Damascus Document introduces the idea that "God has a dispute (*rib*) with all flesh and will carry out judgment on all those who spurn him" (CD 1:2). Time and time again, the Damascus Document mentions that the Israelites were unfaithful by forsaking God. God, in turn, hid his face from them and punished them.[9] In the Damascus Document, the present is termed "the age of

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9   CD 1:3-4. Cf. 2:5-9; 2:16-12; 4:18-5:2. The significance of this theme was noted by
     Davies 1983, 57-60. The idea of opposition and dispute between God and man is, of
     course, grounded in the Hebrew Bible. In Mic 6:2, for example, the prophet an-
     nounces to "the mountains" that God has a quarrel (*rib*) with "His people" and God
     is arguing with them. Although God rescued them from Egypt and gave them
     Moses, the Israelites still disregard judgment, charity, and modesty in relation to
     God. This is a moral dispute resulting in divine punishment due to God's demand
     that humans follow His righteousness while they fail to do so due to their corporal
     nature. Cf. the occurrences of *rib* in Isa 3:13; Jer 2:9; 25:31.

wickedness,"[10] in which the sectarians live in some isolation, obeying God's orders, atoning for its sins, and await the messianic age.

A much more sophisticated and detailed presentation of the same idea is found in the famous "Instruction of the Two Spirits" in 1QS 3:13-4:26. This long passage introduces a dualistic dichotomous belief-system that contains a predestined opposition between righteousness and evil, the two spiritual forces appointed by God to govern man. These spirits act on three different levels.[11] On the cosmic level, there are distinctive heavenly beings who govern the two spirits, the Prince of Light (also called "the angel of God's truth") and the Angel of Darkness or Belial. Man's deeds are inspired by these angels, and righteous men are driven into sin by the Angel of Darkness or Belial. On the ethical level, all humanity is divided into two classes of people according to their fate (that is, the predestined divine plan): those who have the virtues of truth, justice, humility, wisdom, etc., and those who are inflicted with wickedness, greed, falsehood, etc. On the psychological level, both spirits struggle in the heart of every man, a fact which explains why even the Sons of Light are attracted to sin. This structured system is, however, only temporary, since at the Time of Visitation, at the end of all days, God will eliminate evil and execute divine judgment, rewarding the just ones with divine grace.

The Instruction of the Two Spirits provides a solid basis for the high social tension manifested in the Community Rule. The ideology and rules of the *yaḥad* applied this doctrine viewing their community as the sole stronghold of the righteous who completely segregate themselves from those possessed with the spirit of Belial. In the Damascus Document, however, cosmic tension is less explicit than the ethical level of dualism, but it is still fully acknowledged.[12] It is necessary to add that the Instruction of the Two Sprits is not necessarily the creation of the *yaḥad*, since different sections are familiar from other pre-Qumranic

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10   CD 6:14; 12:23; 15:7.

11   I am following the classification of Frey 1997, 290-294. For a more complete presentation, see the commentary by Licht 1965a, 81-125. For broader discussions of cosmic dualism, see von der Osten-Sacken 1969; Davidson 1992, 255-275.

12   Traces of cosmic dualism are indeed scattered in the Damascus Document. There is an opposition between the Prince of Light and Belial (CD 5:18), Belial is the source of evil (8:2; 12:2), and is "set loose against Israel" (4:13). Cf. also the tree "nets" of Belial (4:15) and the view that the angel of Mastema (Satan) leaves those who join the sect alone (16:4-5). The authors/redactors of the Damascus Document were therefore acquainted with the cosmic dimension of the Teaching of Two Spirits, but chose not to use it as a programmatic explanation of the problem of evil. Similar traces are alluded in references to the "age of anger of all Belial" in the Hodayot (1QH^a 11[3]:28). For isolated components of cosmic dualism in the Hodayot, see Allison 1980.

writings such as 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and the Levi Document, which tend to present these ideas in a context of wisdom genre (without calling for social segregation). The *yaḥad* embraced different components of this dualistic thinking and, more important, translated them into social action.[13] Viewing cosmic tension as the precursor of a sectarian world-view will be further developed in the examination of MMT, the Temple Scroll, 1 Enoch and Jubilees in Chapters 3, 5 and 6.[14]

1.3 Patterns of Sectarian Self-Identity and Organization: Bryan Wilson

Bryan Wilson, the most influential sociologist who studied sectarianism, identified sectarian patterns of self-conception and social organization. Wilson's ten points provide a framework of an ideal type of sectarianism, based on the historical Christian experience.[15] Some of these patterns are too specific to appear in full in any given sect, since they are characteristics of (mainly) Christian sects.[16] Nonetheless, they en-

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13   For these and others pre/non-Qumranic dualistic compositions, see Frey 1997 with bibliography. Frey (295-307) argues that the Instruction is an independent literary unit that lacks the distinctive terminology of the *yaḥad* and thus preceded the Community Rule. Compare the literary criticism of the Instruction in Metso 1997, 135-140 with bibliography. The reception or influence of the Instruction on the *yaḥad* in its formative phase is uncertain. Metso's theory of the redaction-history of the Community Rule regards the Instruction as a possible later addition, since it is found in only one of the eleven incomplete manuscripts that were found in Caves 4 and 5 (Metso 1997, 90-91, 145). Frey (*ibid.*, 296) also noted that the dualistic ideas in other passages of the Community Rule do not perfectly cohere with certain details contained in the Instruction. In any event, the prevalence of ethical and cosmic dualism in other writings (including several sapiental works, see Frey 1997, 302-307), may indicate that these ideas existed before the *yaḥad* emerged and affected its worldview.

14   Several scholars engaged in a redactional-critical analysis of dualistic passages, tracing different stages of reworking and arguing that certain features of cosmic or psychological dualism result from a secondary development. See Von der Osten-Sacken 1969; Davies, 1996, 72-75; and the survey and references in Duhiame 1995, 86-87. The literary history of the relevant passages in 1QS, 1QM and CD notwithstanding, the extensive evidence for dualism in these and other Qumranic documents as well as in the earlier 1 Enoch, Jubilees and the Levi Document indicates that dualism was not a later ideological development in Qumran.

15   Most of the following points were first surveyed in Wilson 1959, 4 and repeated in subsequent publications. Those dealing with the monopoly of truth and with a sect as a protest group were discussed in Wilson 1982, 91-93.

16   On these methodological limitations see Wilson 1982, 95-96, 101-110.

able us to trace the sectarian phenomena in the scrolls by comparing degrees of sectarianism of the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant.[17]

Voluntary association: Members voluntarily join the *yahad* (e.g. 1QS 6:13) or convert into the Damascus Document (CD 13:11; 15:5).

Membership is proof to sect authorities of some claim of personal merit, such as knowledge of doctrine, affirmation of a conversion experience, or recommendation of members in good standing: Converts to the *yahad* take an oath to the Torah and the sect's doctrines in the presence of all members (1QS 5:7-10), or are examined by sect authorities and members in a multi-phased screening process (1QS 6:14-23). Those who join the Damascus Covenant also take an oath and are examined by the overseer who then teaches them the sect's disciplines (CD; 15:7-13 cf. 13:11).

Exclusiveness is emphasized, and expulsion is exercised against those who contravene doctrinal, moral, or organizational precepts: Exclusiveness has already been discussed above, in relation to patterns of separation and difference. Expulsion ceremonies are described in 1QS 2:26-3:6 (cited above) and 4QD^e 7 i-ii 5-16.

A self-conception of an elect group or remnant, possessing special enlightenment: The *yahad* announced itself as those who walked to the desert to prepare the way of God, to study the law which God commanded in order to act in compliance with all that had been revealed "from time to time" (1QS 8:13-15). Other self designations are "holy house" and "chosen by the will of God" (1QS 8:5-6). The Damascus Covenant regarded itself as the followers of "those who remained steadfast in God's precepts... God established His covenant with Israel for ever, revealing to them hidden matters in which all Israel had gone astray... But God, in his wonderful mysteries, atoned for their iniquity and pardoned their sin. And he built for them a sure house in Israel, such as there has not been since ancient times" (CD 3:12-14, 18-19; cf. 20:28-34).

Sect claims to have a monopoly over the complete religious truth, which others do not enjoy. This truth provides the framework for all aspects of faith, religious worship, social practice, ethics, politics, and all areas of human affairs. It may also embrace an understanding of the natural world, and the purposes and order that are thought to underlie the universe: As was shown above, the foundation for the establishment of both the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant is fulfillment of the laws as revealed by God, while all others lack such revelation.

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17   A similar application of Wilson's model to the Damascus Document was already performed by Martens 1990. The Qumranic evidence is sampled or summarized here and is further discussed in the following chapters. More general attempts to apply Wilson's definition to Qumran are Davies 1996, 163-177 and Esler 1994, 79-84.

Personal perfection is the expected standard to which members aspire: The members of the *yahad* are committed to "implement truth, justice, judgment, compassionate love and unassuming behavior of one another, to preserve faithfulness in the land with firm purpose and repentant spirit in order to atone for sins by doing justice and undergoing trials, and to walk with everyone in the measure of truth" (1QS 8:2-4). In the Damascus Document members are called to "see and understand the deeds of God... choose what he pleased with and repudiate what he hates, so that you can walk perfectly on all his paths and not allow yourselves to be attracted by the thoughts of a guilty inclinations and lascivious eyes" (CD 2:14-16).

Acceptance, at least as an ideal, of the priesthood of all believers; extensive lay participation: Members were thought to have special merit since, in contrast to the other people of Israel, they volunteered to serve God's truth and to attain eternal life (1QS 1:1, 12) or repented their sins and followed God's true orders (CD 1:1; 8:11-13). All members are required to study Torah or "in a book" (1QS 6:6-7), or are taught wisdom by the overseer (CD 13:7-8), and all must be well educated in order to follow the very detailed, scrupulous sect rules. The *yahad*'s members, however, enjoy high status and a much higher spiritual experience (see the discussions of revelation and social structure below). Although full lay participation or "priesthood of all believers" was typical of the *yahad*, there was no such spiritual egalitarianism in the Damascus Covenant. This may indicate a relatively lower level of spiritual tension in the Damascus Covenant.[18]

Opportunity for members to spontaneously express their commitment: Apart from the differences in lay participation, *yahad* members prayed a communal prayer twice a day (1QS 10:9-11:2) and it is more than probable that Damascus Covenant members prayed in a similar manner, or at least prayed privately. Daily and public prayers were exceptional in Jewish society of that period.[19]

Hostility or indifference to outside society; the sect as a protest group: This was fully discussed above in relation to the element of antagonism in the theory of social tension proposed by Stark and Bainbridge. Wilson's definition of a sect as a "self-distinguished protest movement"[20] corresponds to this theory.

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18 The lack of such spiritual egalitarianism, which is implied by the substantial social stratification within the Damascus Covenant, does not mean that it was not a sect in the full sense of the term. Stark and Bainbridge 1996, 163 note that sects seldom seek equality in terms of status and power.

19 Regev 2005c.

20 Wilson 1973, 12.

The sect claims to provide better access to salvation than available else-where:[21] This general characteristic of sects is discussed in the following discussion of introversionist and revolutionist responses to the world. [22]

Thus, the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant correspond to almost every element of sectarian ideology featured in two different theories of sectarianism, and can therefore be defined as sects. Nonetheless, a certain difference between the two groups should be noted. The *yaḥad* reflects a higher degree of separation from society, and uses a self-concept of "priesthood of all believers" ("holy house") that is almost absent in the Damascus Document. Moreover, the Admonition of the Damascus Document focuses on the sect's opponents in the outer society, and on the history of Israel, rather than on rules of social separation. This may indicate that its audience maintained closer ties to the outer society, compared to the *yaḥad*.[23]

2   Introversionist Sectarianism in Qumran

2.1   Wilson's 'Responses' to the World

In *Magic and the Millennium*, Wilson introduced a classification of sectarian types that was subsequently adopted by numerous scholars.[24] Wilson's typology was based on "responses to the world," that is, methods of coping with the belief that the world is disrupted and evil, stressing the nature of salvation which men seek. He lists seven such responses: introversionist, revolutionist, reformist conversionist, thaumaturgical, utopian, and manipulationist. The responses are complex orientations to the broad society, its culture, values, and cultural goals and the experience of evil (which together may simply be referred as "the world"), as

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21   Wilson 1990, 47.
22   Another, much broader characterization of sect, proposed by Saliba (1996, 6): Sects are characterized by a social cohesiveness strongly influenced by group behavioral norms, imputed charismatic or divine power. These are attested to in Qumran by a high degree of in-group discipline (see Chapter 2), and dependence on revelation (see below).
23   Davies 2000 has shown that the *yaḥad* is less concerned with the People of Israel, more remote from the Temple, and more occupied with its special teaching and interpretative authority, while the Damascus Covenant emphasizes the dependence on the Mosaic Torah.
24   Wilson 1973, 18-30. For previous attempts to formulate classifications (influenced by the framework of Protestant Christianity and based on sect mission types), see Wilson 1959, 5-7; Berger 1954.

well as the means of escaping evil and attaining salvation.[25] All the responses in his typology reject the world and its cultural arrangements and suggest a path to salvation, yet differ in how they conceive the source of evil and the methods through which evil will be overcome.[26]

Wilson's taxonomy is a heuristic device[27] that identifies the issue of coping with evil as the grounds for all sectarian ideology, and correlates between social behavior and cosmological beliefs. It is important, however, to clarify that this taxonomy is comprised of 'ideal-types,' and any given sectarian ideology effectively contains more than one 'response.' Wilson's typology is nonetheless suggestive since it allows us to identify a sect's key ideological feature, to which other marginal ones may be related.

In Wilson's taxonomy, the introversionist and the revolutionist responses (epitomized in segregation and messianism, respectively) are applicable to the Qumran documents.[28] The segregation and messianism of the Qumran sectarians have been analyzed extensively by numerous scholars from textual, redactional and exegetical perspectives, although the only analysis of their social significance was performed by A.I. Baumgarten who applied social-scientific theory to Qumran texts. Later in this chapter, my discussion of Qumran texts extends this analysis by incorporating other essential elements of sectarianism, namely, atonement and revelation.

2.2 Defining Introversionist Sectarianism

The introversionist response to the world sees the world as alien and irredeemably evil, and from which individuals must withdraw as fully as possible in order to attain salvation. The self may be purified by renouncing and retreating from the world. As a result, a distinct community is established, preoccupied with its own holiness and methods for maintaining its isolation from the broader society. This faith re-

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25 Wilson 1973, 12-19. These responses do not necessarily represent organized movements or well-established sects, but rather activities, life-styles and ideologies (*ibid.*, 20).

26 *Ibid.*, 21.

27 *Ibid.*, 20.

28 Although a conversionist tone is expressed in the wisdom teachings of the Admonition of the Damascus Document, it is directed to "all those who know righteousness" or all who enter the Covenant (CD 1:1; 2:2), that is, solely to insiders. In my view, the "Missionary Document" in CD II, 14-VI, 1 (Murphy-O'Connor 1971) may have been used to teach new converts and was not directed exclusively to outsiders.

moves man from the world into the private realm of a protective community that is insulated from the tensions of life in the broader society.

The retreat from the world to an inner social realm is not the ultimate aim of the introversionist sect, but rather a preliminary stage of development where members attempt to live in accord with the divine will, while waiting to fulfill their truly utopian life in the world to come.[29] Salvation, although usually predicted for the afterlife, also has implications for present life. "The conditions for the attainment of salvation imply a range of taboos and injunctions for everyday living. The realization of life in obedience to those strictures is also in some measure in itself seen as an at least partial achievement of salvation. The sect becomes a location for the experience of salvation as well as an agency of promise".[30] The issue of present and individual salvation is also illustrated in the discussion of atonement and revelation in Qumran.

In order to establish a utopian or moral community, it is necessary to achieve absolute social integration, limit social relations with outsiders, and establish a nearly self-sufficient economic unit.[31] But such withdrawal is a feasible reaction for individuals or groups only when its own social institutions have achieved a certain degree of autonomy, and when religious expression and practice have ceased to be a necessarily public performance for all members of the wider society. Withdrawal can occur only when social diversity obtains; a conception of religion as a private commitment with some freedom of choice must be established before introversionist tendencies can occur.[32] Indeed, the establishment of an introversionist community in Qumran is an outcome of a social crisis or at least an immense social change. These gradual developments of social withdrawal were present in the scrolls, as discerned in the following discussion of other documents: 1 Enoch, Jubilees, MMT and perhaps also the Temple Scroll in Chapters 2, 3, 5 and 6.

In what follows, I identify introversionist sectarianism in the Qumranic ideology and life-style, and examine whether this "response" is a

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29 Stark and Bainbridge 1996, 162 refer to 'new utopian community' or 'counterculture community.'
30 Wilson 1990, 48. Cf. Wilson 1973, 23-24, 410. According to Wilson (1973, 385), the introversionist response implicitly assumes a corporate salvation, since the individual is assumed to be eligible for salvation by his voluntary participation in the new rites and beliefs.
31 Stark and Bainbridge 1996, 157.
32 Wilson 1973, 43.

core ideological element or an instrumental mechanism for sect perpetuation. [33]

2.3 The Sect as an Enclave: The Symbols of the Desert and "Damascus"

The Community Rule and the Damascus Covenant illustrate sectarian segregation on both declarative and behavioral levels. According to the *yaḥad's* manifesto, "they are to be segregated from within the dwelling of the Men of Injustice to walk to the desert in order to open there His path, as it is written 'In the desert, prepare the name of the Lord, straighten in the steppe a roadway for our God'" (Isa 40:3). Scholars debated whether the desert in this passage is the actual location of the *yaḥad* or merely a metaphor, following Isaiah.[34]

In the Hodayot (in which the word *yaḥad* is mentioned several times), the sectarian group is conceived as an unbreakable fortress of salvation. The author of one of the texts views himself (and probably his group, the *yaḥad*) as one "who enters a fortified city and finds shelter on a high wall until salvation... since You (i.e. God) build a fortress which will not shake and all those who enter it will not stagger for a foreigner will not penetrate it. Its [ga]tes are armored doors which do not permit entry, with unbreakable strong bars."[35]

The exact name of the Damascus Covenant, "those who have entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus,"[36] alludes to an exegesis on Amos 5:26-27 ("I will deport the *sikkut* of your King and the *kiyyun* of your images away from my tent to Damascus"). CD 7:14-18

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33 A. Baumgarten 1997a, 13 identified the Qumran sects as introversionist sects due to their strong boundary maintenance. Esler 1994, 76-84 classified the *yaḥad* as introversionist on the basis of the Instructions of the Two Spirits. However, the introversionist aspects of Qumranic ideology have never been discussed in detail.

34 1QS 8:13-14 (the passage continues to imply that the way of the Lord is the exegesis of the Torah according to the sect's revelations). For the different interpretations, see Brooke 1994 (desert) and Dimant 2004, 27-36 (metaphor). The "time for making ready the path to the desert" is mentioned again in 1QS 9:19-20. The sect designates itself as "those who returned (*shavei*) from the wilderness" (4QpPsᵃ 3:1), which may also be translated as those who repent in the wilderness (For *shavei Israel* in CD as those who repent their sins, similarly to *shavei pesha* "those who repent their transgressions" in CD, see Knibb 1983, 105-107). For viewing this passage as a part of the original core of the Community Rule, see the survey in Metso 1997a, 9.

35 1QHᵃ 14[Sukenik 6]:24-28, already noted by A. Baumgarten 1997a, 91. This fortress will survive until "the s[words]of the wicked battles will come to an end" (lines 28-30). For the *yaḥad* as a wall, see also 1QS 8:7-8.

36 CD 6:4-5, 19; 8:21; 19:23-24.

interprets this verse as referring to the exile of the Torah, that is, the Torah was exiled since the People of Israel did not follow it. Whether or not the sect actually remained in Damascus, the term Damascus denotes as interim space, "a Law-observing enclave, separating the righteous from 'the sons of the pit.'" It is a place free of corruption, where the new covenant is made.[37] The theme of exile reoccurs several times in the Damascus Document, including "the converts (*shavei*) of Israel who left the land of Judah (that is, Judaea)."[38]

2.4   Exclusiveness and Exclusion in the *yaḥad*

Introversionism or social separation is especially notable in the rules of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. Various pronouncements in the Community Rule call for segregation from the people of injustice/deceit/the pit/perversion (*matta*).[39] The rigidity of the social boundaries between the *yaḥad* and outside society is fully demonstrated by the group's treatment of candidates – individuals who are neither full members, nor total outsiders. Until their complete repentance, candidates are regarded as being almost as evil and contaminating as the others in the surrounding society, and are not permitted to share members' pure water (i.e. drinks and ablutions) until their full repentance.

Members are not allowed to share possessions or associate with candidates in their work, to prevent candidates' tainting members with their blameworthy iniquity. Members are forbidden to eat from candidates' possessions or beverages, or accept anything from their hands unless as payment.[40] New *yaḥad* members were not permitted to eat, drink or immerse with the other sectarians during their first two years

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37   Lied 2005 (with bibliography). Lied also believes that the references to the "camps" in CD 6-7 are allusions to the Exodus story. Recently, Dimant (2004, 26-27) rejected the widespread view that Damascus is a symbolic *topos*, since CD 6:4-5 seems to provide a rather realistic geographical description. Dimant views the interpretation of 'Damascus' mentioned by Amos as a prooftext of their stay there.

38   CD 4:2-3; 6:4-6; Knibb 1983, 105-107.

39   1QS 9:8, 16-17, 22; 11:1-2. See the collection of references in Hempel 2004. Sehmesh 1997b compared the *yaḥad*'s laws of separation with the attitude of the rabbis towards gentiles.

40   1QS 5:13-17. The context of this passage is the admission of new members. Lines 19-20 seem to deal with complete outsiders. The fact that the passage relates to a potential candidates as complete outsiders, caused some scholars to interpret it as the treatment of such outsiders. See the discussion of Licht 1965a, 128-129.

of membership.[41] In their daily life, the members of the *yaḥad* practiced a very strong closed communality: "They shall eat together (*yaḥad*), together they shall bless and together they shall counsel" (1QS 6:2-3). Here, "together" means an exclusivist social approach to all mundane activities, to the exclusion of non-members.

2.5   The Laws of Separation of the Damascus Covenant

In contrast, the Damascus Document contains no such laws of exclusion or prohibitions of contact with non-members or new converts. It similarly lacks mention of common meals or other shared daily public occupations of the sectarians. Reading the Damascus Document from the standpoint of the stricter Community Rule has led scholars such as Philip Esler to label the Damascus Covenant as a "reform movement."[42] However, as I have already shown, the Damascus Covenant certainly corresponds to the definitions of sectarianism on an ideological level. The Damascus Document reflects neither a conversionist nor a reformist sect, since it refers not to outsiders but to members and current converts, and its teaching and legislation do not express a desire to transform outside institutions, but to pronounce that the true practice that God ordered and the accomplishment of atonement are possible only within the realm of the sect.

The introversionist strands of the Damascus Covenant are reflected in its laws and regulations, which were apparently formulated to suit the life-style of communities in which members' bonds were less all-encompassing than in the *yaḥad*, and limited to the religious realm. Below, I extend my discussion of the introversionist elements of the Damascus Covenant in order to show that although these are less rigorous compared to the *yaḥad*, the Damascus Covenant certainly separated itself from the surrounding society. These rules of separation pertain to the overseer as a "boundary manager," social and moral boundaries in relation to the Temple, separation from gentiles, and a commercial excommunication of disobedient members.

The relations of the members of the Damascus Covenant with the surrounding society are inspected by the overseer of the "camp" (namely, the local community). "No-one should make a deed of purchase or sale without informing the overseer of the camp; he shall pro-

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41   1QS 6:16-21. These strict social boundaries were also applied to members who transgressed the discipline of the sect. See Chapters 2 and 8.

42   Esler 1994, 76-79. Esler also assumed that it is a premature sect, since it not as separatist as the *yaḥad*.

ceed in consultation lest they e[rr. And likewise], with regard to
[any]one who ma[rr]ies a women and... likewise with regards to any-
one who divorces".[43] Although we have no specific information on the
criteria that guided the overseer's decisions to approve or oppose
members' commercial or matrimonial ties, these criteria undoubtedly
functioned as a boundary mechanism designed to limit social ties with
outsiders. Moreover, the "camps" of the sect, namely, the local com-
munities, seem to be regarded as islands in the sea of wickedness, since
the legislation concerning the "camps" begins with the phrase "And
this is the rule of the assembly of the cam[ps], those who walk in them
in the age of wickedness until there arises the messiah of Aaron" (CD
12:22-23).

The Damascus Document expresses more concrete social bounda-
ries in relation to the Temple. CD 11:18-20 orders that "No-one should
send to the altar a sacrifice, or a an offering, or incense, or wood, by the
hand of a man impure from any of the impurities, so allowing him to
defile the altar, for it is written 'the sacrifice of the wicked ones is an
abomination, but the prayer of the just ones is like an agreeable offer-
ing' (Prov. 15:8)". The prooftext of this ruling does not deal with ritual
defilement but with wickedness, thus hinting that this rule is not refer-
ring to the halakhic problem of the ritual purity of the messenger who
delivers the donation to the Temple. Moreover, in Second Temple Juda-
ism it is hard to imagine anyone consciously entering the sanctuary in a
state of ritual impurity and contaminating the holy offerings.[44]

The issue here seems to be the moral impurity of the messenger, as
an outsider, a man of injustice, whose immorality contaminates the
holy. It therefore seems that the members of the Damascus Covenant
sought to restrict the physical contact of their Jewish contemporaries
with the Temple by posing a moral boundary dividing those who were
not worthy of coming into contact with the center of worship, from the
others. Indeed, other treatments of the Temple in the Admonition of the
Damascus Document attest to a certain tension towards, or even avoid-

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43 CD 13:15-17; 4QD^a 9 iii 1-10. Note that according to the corrected reading of J.
Baumgarten (1983a), members must not trade with associate members ("sons of
dawn') other than "hand to hand", that is, by internal exchange of goods. Exchange
of money is thus limited to contacts with outsiders. It seems that the consult with the
overseer pertains only to commerce with outsiders (cf. A. Baumgarten 1997a, 106 n.
67).

44 Even those who were labeled as 'Am-ha'aretz, and did not observe bodily purity in
their ordinary life throughout the year, attended the purity laws in relation to the
Temple and holy things. See m. Hagiga 3:4, 6; m. Taharot 8:2; t. Demai 4:22, 28. (ed.
Lieberman, 82-83); m. Bikurim 3:2; t. Bikurim 2.8 (ed. Lieberman, 292).

ance of the Temple.[45] This separation or withdrawal from the Temple which was the central and national site of religious worship, certainly indicates on introversion.

As a community, the Damascus Covenant forbids any relations with gentiles, even in cases when such relations are profitable. Both gentiles (as well as gentile lands) are regarded as polluting.[46] "He is not to stretch out his hand to shed the blood of the one of the gentiles for the sake of riches and gain. Neither should he take any of their riches, lest they blaspheme expect on the advice of the company of Israel. No-one should sell clean animals or birds to the gentiles lest they sacrifice them. And he shall not sell them anything from his granary or his press at any price. Neither should he sell his servants and his maidservant to them, for they entered the covenant of Abraham with him."[47] Apparently, interactions with non-Jews were prevalent in contemporary Jewish society, otherwise there was no use in such a prohibition.

Interestingly, the most complete segregation refers to the commercial excommunication of disobedient members, the one who "is slack in the fulfillment of the instructions of the upright": "He shall be expelled from the congregation like those whose lot did not fall among the disciples of God... No-one should associate with him in wealth and work, for all the holy ones of the Most High have cursed him" (CD 20: 2-4, 7-8). This ban suggests that outcast members were treated as the most loathed outsiders.

The different degrees of social separation that are evident when comparing the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, give rise to the more theoretical question of how to draw the line between introversionist and non-introversionist sects. Wilson's definition of the introversionist response is overly broad and does not adequately define the factors that distinguish between an introversionist sect and standard sectarian separatism (and this may be the reason that so many sects can be classified as introversionist). Therefore I suggest that an introversionist response is identified by (a) the degree of the boundaries of separation and (b) the role of these boundaries in the sect's ideology. An introver-

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45 On the ideology of the Temple in CD, see Davies 1996, 45-60. Davies chose to focus on the opposite aspect of this ruling, that is, participation in the Temple cult. See the discussion of the problem in Chapter 2.

46 On the impurity of the land of gentiles and the pre-occupation with gentile, see 4QDᵃ Frg. 5 ii ll. 4-5, 8-9 and par.; J. Baumgarten 1992. The sources of gentile impurity are idolatry and the belief that they commit adultery and incest (Klawans 1995).

47 CD 12:6-11. CD 11:14-15 also prohibits resting on the Sabbath in proximity to the gentiles (Schiffman 1975, 123-124; 1993, 127-128). A. Baumgarten (1997a, 106 n. 68) notes that "the restrictions on trade with gentiles in CD are less stringent than those on trade with other Jews according to 1QS."

sionist sect maintains relatively stronger boundaries, and these boundaries serve as the most essential elements in its ideology. Of course, such a definition is merely relative and cannot fully correspond to the social context and complexity of the sectarian way of life. The following comparison with other sects that demonstrate introversionist tendencies is especially suggestive since it underlines the diversity of introversionist patterns, their context, implications and relationship with other ideological traits.

Similar to the *yahad*, the Covenant regards the separation from the world as its *raison d'être*. This last point is sustained in the Damascus Document by the fact that only living within the community (the camp) and a commitment to the overseer enables one to follow the Covenant and adhere to God's true commands. In order to "act in accordance to the exact interpretation of the law in the age of wickedness," one must "keep apart from the sons of the pit" (CD 6:14-15).

Living in the Damascus Covenant communities enables one to know and keep the true Torah and to stay away from the wicked and the unlawful. Those who despise the sect's precepts and ordinances will be heavenly punished by sword (CD 19:5-26; cf. 6:21-7:14), hence it is the sect's way of life which assures redemption. The enclave of the sect as set against its sinful Jewish adversaries is the main lesson the Damascus Document is trying to teach its readers. Nonetheless the fact that the Covenant reflects a more latent degree of introversionism than the *yahad* leaves more room for other aspects of sectarianism – its messianic expectations.

3 Excursus: The Anabaptists, Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish, Puritans, Quakers and Shakers as Introversionist Sects

Since the social-scientific study of sectarianism is limited to generalizations such as Wilson's typology of sectarian responses, studying other sects may provide new insights on the essence of introversionist sectarianism. In the remainder of this chapter and especially in Chapters 8-11, the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant are compared with several early modern sects: the early Anabaptists, the Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish, Puritans, Quakers and Shakers.

These analogies are based on our ability to identify introversionist elements in all. In this excursus I introduce the reader with the historical background of these sects, and illustrate several introversionist tendencies. Although their introversionist features are treated in detail in

the following discussion of communal rituals and approaches to atonement and wealth, it is necessary to establish, from the outset, that these indeed are introversionist sects. The following review stresses the social and moral boundaries of these sects as characteristics of sectarian separation. It also shows that these boundaries play an essential role in the sectarian way of life, which is typical of introversionist sects.

It is necessary, however, to note that the Quakers and especially the Puritans are not introversionist sects in the full sense of the term. Moreover, their introversionist markers have varied over time. Therefore, comparisons with the Puritans and Quakers focus on the phenomena, times and places when their markers of introversion were more apparent.

The *Anabaptists* originated in several locations in Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands in the early 16th century. They were a radical reform movement of the Church, headed by different figures including Conrad Grebel, Thomas Müntzer and Malchior Hofmann. The Anabaptists rejected infant baptism and baptized each other on a confession of faith. They were therefore called Anabaptists or "rebaptizers" by outsiders. Influenced by late medieval mysticism and asceticism, some (Müntzer and Hofmann) held apocalyptic beliefs in the imminent return of Christ. In response to clashes with the Church and local governments, the growing Swiss and South German Brethren migrated to Austria and Moravia. Some practiced collective ownership.

Although there was much variety and pluralism within the movement, they shared several common beliefs, including baptism as a profession of faith, the importance of redemptive church discipline, rejection of oaths as an affirmation of truth, pacifism, and the belief that they have been called to be a suffering church. They adopted a radical dualistic worldview, maintained a complete separation of believers from all others,[48] and viewed the non-Anabaptist ideas, Catholic as well as Protestant, as abominations. Members regarded their past beliefs and religious practices as severe transgressions against God.[49]

The *Mennonites* were formed in the mid 16th century in the Netherlands. They were named after Menno Simons who joined the Anabaptists, and are regarded as his direct descendants. They held a dualistic worldview of good versus evil, darkness versus light, and God versus Belial. They believed in a gradual transformation of the disciple's life in the image of Christ himself. After a period of persecution, they flourished in the 17th century, although later were largely assimilated into

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48   Dyck 1987a. For the Anabaptist doctrine of separation, see Williams and Mergal 1957, 246-248.

49   Goertz 1996, 40.

the outside society. In order to maintain their social segregation, some
migrated to Eastern Europe or North America. Today, over 700,000
Mennonites are organized in many groups and factions, the largest is
the General Conference Mennonite Church. Few uphold the early Ana-
baptist doctrine, although most members have had a conversion ex-
perience and practice daily prayer.[50]

When Menno Simons and the Mennonites first separated from the
Anabaptist movements, they established their self-identity by banning
outsiders (including Lutherans). Menno called to "…shun them as chil-
dren of darkness and of death." Excommunication (*Meidung*) was so
central to the Mennonite belief-system that it replaced the medieval
sacrament of penance. Its aim was to preserve doctrinal purity and
purity of the fellowship, and secure eventual salvation for wayward
brothers.[51]

Modern Old Order Mennonite groups, including the Old Colony
Mennonites, separated from the Old Mennonite Church and are proba-
bly the only Mennonites that conform to the original introversionist
ideology. They separate themselves from the world by limiting their
use of technology, such as electricity, radio, refrigerator and tele-
phones. In their colony in Mexico, tractors are allowed, excluding rub-
ber tires, which are a taboo, though members who buy a truck risk ex-
communication. Cars and trucks are forbidden because they would
bring the world closer.[52] Furthermore, clothing styles and patterns are
closely regulated, emphasizing the community's separation from the
world, an absence of pride, and preservation of their status as genu-
inely 'separate people'.[53] The desire for group conformity is related to
the idea of collective salvation and is viewed as a pre-condition for
discipline which prevents people from succumbing to the temptation of
straying from the faith.[54]

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50 Dyck 1987b. Redekop 1989, 39-44 surveys the schisms between the different Men-
    nonite groups.
51 Williams 1962, 396-397. Hence, the practice of *Meidung* separated Mennonites from
    other Anabaptists.
52 Redekop 1969, 36-37, 43, 47. Some members do use electricity and refrigerators. On
    rubber tires, see *ibid.*, 43, 48-50, 127, 141-142. For the origins of these groups, see Re-
    dekop 1989, 40-42.
53 *Ibid.*, 43-44.
54 *Ibid.*, 35-36, 112. Another boundary characteristic of Mennonites, Hutterites and
    Amish is an autonomic and independent education system without any interference
    of the government. See Redekop 1969, 194-199; Hostetler 1989, 130-154. Redekop's
    study shows, however, the dependency of the Old Order or Old Colony Mennonites
    on commerce with outsiders and other urban services.

The *Hutterites* ("Hutterian Brethren") are a branch of the Anabaptists, organized by Jacob Hutter in the 1520-30's. They have held their property in common since 1528. Hutter was a Swiss Anabaptist minister who rejected oaths, and advocated adult baptism, non-assimilation and pacifism. He founded the new movement when observing the disarray and dissention among various Anabaptist congregations in Moravia and Tyrol. Membership reached 25,000 in 1600, but persecutions drove them to move from Moravia to Ukraine. In the 1870's, the entire Hutterite population of about one thousand emigrated to the United States, especially to South Dakota, and later to Canada, where they established dozens of self-supporting agricultural colonies (Bruderhofs). By the 1980's, membership grew to thirty thousand.[55] According to their official *Chronicle*, the early Hutterites abstained from any contact (including eating and drinking) with Protestant priests.[56]

The *Amish* split from the Swiss and Alsatian Mennonites in the 1690's, following the lead of Jakob Ammann. Ammann called for changes and renewal in church life, including the role of church discipline, foot-washing, excommunication of liars, and especially observing strict excommunication (compared to the more lenient Swiss Anabaptists/Mennonites), and advocated certain restrictions against fashionable dress and trimming breads. Ammann excommunicated his Swiss adversaries, and his supporters formed the Amish church. The Amish immigrated to America as early as the 1730's. The population of the largest Old Order Amish contemporary settlement in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, currently exceeds 22,000, and is comprised of over 130 congregations. There are over 180,000 Amish in the entire US, including New Order Amish (Amish Mennonites) and the Beachy Amish that uphold different practices.[57]

The Old Order Amish continue to follow physical social boundaries, such as their special clothing, that were established by Jacob Ammann, symbolizing their separation from the world.[58] They maintain other patterns of simplicity, modesty and humility and avoidance of luxuries or products of modernity and technology, such as cars, tractors, and electricity.[59]

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55   Kephart 1987.

56   Hutterian Brethern, 1987, 238, 337-338. The very structure of the separate Hutterite colony indicates its introversionist character.

57   Kraybill 1989, 7-14.

58   Nolt 1992, 39. 139. For Amish social separation (German dialect, ethnic garb), see Kraybill, 2001 54-60. For the tension between the Amish and the world, see *ibid.*, 44-46, 268-294.

59   For their rejection of modernity and technology, see Hostetler 1964; Kraybill, 2001, 21-26, 41, 70-79, 188-237. For the Amish ideology of Gelassenheit, including self-

The *Puritans* were formed in England in the second half of the 16th century and flourished until the first half of the 17th century. The Puritans rejected certain Roman Catholic signs and ceremonies and sought to purify the English Church of its Catholic remnants.[60] They separated themselves from the Anglican Church and its bishops, viewing the latter as blind and corrupt. Many of the Anglicans were regarded as unfit to join the Puritan Separatist church.[61] In general, Puritans made efforts to keep away "from the common corruptions of this evil world."[62] They emphasized God's majesty, righteousness and sovereignty, viewed humans as depraved sinners (in contrast to the orthodox Anglicans), and believed in predestination and the gifts of salvation in the covenant of grace. They emphasized moral life and were involved in the world and had no desire to change its natural order. They enrolled "godly companies" or social covenants, supporting each other in their commitment to God,[63] establishing a disciplinary system of collective watchfulness, where members examined and admonished one another.[64]

The Puritans envisioned themselves as a group apart, a saved and saving remnant that was creating a New Jerusalem. Consequently, some migrated to New England following the leadership of John Winthrop (1630). These Puritans conducted an "errand into the wilderness"' to New England as a divine revelatory vision, set against sinful England which God deserted.[65]

The Puritans believed that although no human deserved salvation, God in his mercy had chosen to save a few, to whom he gave saving faith, which cannot be attained by human effort. Consequently, they screened new members and accepted those who appeared to be saved, who, by their lives, beliefs and religious experiences, demonstrated that they apparently had received saving faiths. Membership included a

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denial, obedience, humility and simplicity, see *ibid.*, 29-36. For their rejection of the outside world (such as refraining from buying salves in 18-19th century Pennsylvania), see Nolt 1992, 54, 113, 125-127. In the second half of the 19th century, the Amish Mennonite, who chose social accommodation and adoption, eventually became indistinguishable from the greater American society, and abandoned the practice of *Miedung*.

60   Puritans viewed the papist clergy as negligent ministers, blasphemers, Sabbath-breakers, idolatrous, etc. See Cliffe 1988, 1-2.

61   Morgan 1963, 7-39.

62   Winthrop 1996, 8.

63   Zakai 1992, 211-218.

64   Walzer 1965, 221-222.

65   Zakai 1992, 152-155. For the Puritan concepts of Exile and Wilderness, see *ibid.*, 190-206.

declaration explicitly rejecting the fellowship of the Anglican Church.[66] The New England Puritan congregations also regarded saving grace as a requirement for accepting members and restricted themselves from the rest of the people.[67]

The Puritans were deeply involved in the so-called Puritan Revolution (1642-48) when Parliament stood against the King of England. Splits within the movement, however, prevented its hegemony, and the movement finally returned to nonconformity after the return of the monarchy.[68] The deep social and political involvement of the English Puritans and the dominating New England Puritans may be inconsistent with their definition as a sect. However, the fact that Puritan social organization and political activities do not cohere with the usual sectarian characteristics of withdrawal and seclusion should not obscure their actual religious ideology.

Although the Puritan movement was too broad and elusive to fit clear-cut definitions, Puritan *ideas* correspond to Stark-Bainbridge's definition of sectarianism and to many of the points of Wilson's definition.[69] On the other hand, the Puritans cannot be classified as a purely introversionist sect, since they moved between introversion and reformation in both Old and New England. In what follows, I focus on the aspects of separation and difference in Puritan ideology and practice.

The *Quakers* ("Religious Society of Friends") emerged in mid-17th century England under the leadership of George Fox. They opposed the

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66 Morgan 1963, 33-37. These characterizations apply mostly to the Separatists Puritans. On the Separatists, as well as the phenomenon of screening new members, see Chapter 8.

67 *Ibid.*, 93, 129, 132. The early New England Puritans (led by governor John Winthrop) were caught between separation and involvement (that is, between introversionist and reformist sectarianism) in what Morgan called "the Puritan dilemma" (*ibid.*, 114-115; cf. Morgan 1999). For their separation from the corrupt and ungodly forms of the world's church, outside the walls of the Puritan fellowship, see Hambrick-Stowe 1982, 39-40, 50.

68 Certain Puritan preaching against the King and the clergy were regarded as one of the reasons for the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. The Parliament was sometimes described as 'the Puritan Party.' In Parliament, the Puritans established rules against swearing, drunkenness, blasphemy, idolatry and Sabbath breaking. See Cliffe 1988, 19-21, 43-45, 120, respectively. For a survey on Puritan doctrine and history, see Bremer 1987. For the ideological and socio-political background for the rise of English Puritanism, see Walzer 1965.

69 Cf. the portrayal of Puritanism in Walzer 1965, 317-319. For a flexible definition of English Puritanism and the manner in which contemporaries (e.g., James I) regarded them as a sect, see Hill 1964, 13-29. Troeltsch (1931, 590-598) discussed the sectarian traits of Calvinism (on which Puritanism was based) and its resemblance to Anabaptism, and emphasized Puritan asceticism (*ibid.*, 679, 941-943).

contemporary way of Christian worship and clergy practice,[70] and re-garded the world and its people as evil, full of sin and "worldly lusts."[71] The Quakers believe that there is Light and Spirit of God within every person, and demand from each other uncompromising honesty, simplicity of life, non-violence and justice. Their worship is based on silent waiting upon God without outward rituals (rejecting the sacraments). The name Quaker reflected the physical impact of their inner struggles to yield all self-will to the judgment and justice of the Inner Light of God. Early Quaker ethical standards were a part of the crucial internal war of truth against human pride (such as the use of "thee" and "thou" for individuals, the refusal of "hat honor" and reject-ing oaths and slave trade). They were persecuted and arrested by the English authorities after the restoration of Charles II and many immi-grated in the late 17th century to America, mainly to Pennsylvania, un-der the leadership of William Penn. Their total number in the 1980s was about 60,000 in North America and 100,000 overseas.[72]

For the Quakers, solitude, or "retiring into the soul," drowns out the world and all the distractions from God. Withdrawal into solitude was believed to be necessary to advance the work of salvation. Quakers sought "to mortify their lusts, control their affections, resist evil mo-tions, deny themselves, and overcome the world in its most enticing appearances."[73] Friends banned virtually all activities that did not tend toward religious reflection (such as music or hymns).[74] Their separation from the world was accomplished by separate meetings, simple dress, plain language, refusal to customary ceremonies and marks of social respect.[75] Instead of complete social and spatial withdrawal from soci-ety, they maintained that "the only possible way to overcome the world is to carry the forces of the spiritual life into the veins of society until peace and love and righteousness prevail there."[76]

Quakerism has gone through many shifts and transformations since its beginnings, especially in America. Although not always regarded as a sect and not always engaged in separation from the world, the Quak-

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70   Penn 1999, 54-56.

71   *Ibid.*, 3, 8-9, 12.

72   Barbour 1987.

73   Penn 1999, 19. For Quaker self-denial, see *ibid.*, 38-42.

74   Hamm 1992, 5-6. "A community of Quakers is almost a world within itself...It is as nearly separated from the world without... as any circle of mortals well can be" (*ibid.*, 10).

75   Jones 1965, 465-466.

76   *Ibid.*, 93. Jones also refers to their simplicity and rejection of pleasure and luxury. For their "nonconformity to the world," see Penn 1999, 152.

ers demonstrated strong characteristics of introversionist sectarianism, at least in 17th century England.[77]

The *Shakers* ("the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing") originated near Manchester in 1747, by breaking away from the Quakers. They were led by James and Jane Wardley and influenced by the millenarian French Prophets. The nickname Shaking Quakers/Shakers was applied to the movement because of its unstructured and highly emotional services, during which members sang, shouted, danced and spoke in tongues. Under the leadership of Ann Lee, who believed that celibacy was essential for salvation, the core of the Shakers immigrated to America in 1774, were they recruited a growing number of converts. The Shakers were a charismatic movement that oversaw the establishment of parallel male and female orders. Shakers also lived together in celibate communities practicing communal ownership. They were the largest religious communitarian group in 19th century America.[78]

The Shakers rejected state law, suspecting that it might harm believers.[79] According to their rules, no one was allowed to leave his Family (the spatial community) without the permission of the elders. Visits to the outside world, even to one's own natural family, were generally forbidden. Visits from one Shaker Family to another were controlled by the ministry.[80] They maintained plainness and simplicity in food and dress,[81] and uniformity of style, color, and quality of fabrics, since "equality of furnish in dress between members contributes to peace and union in spirit."[82]

Together with the Qumran sects, many of the introversionist sects reviewed above, also share revolutionist tendencies, to which I now turn.

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77 Troeltsch (1931, 780-781) characterized the Quaker doctrine as similar to the Anabaptists or Mennonites.

78 Foster 1987; Stein 1992. For the Shakers as introversionists see, Wilson 1973, 26 n. 18.

79 Shakers 1888, 224 (attributed to Ann Lee).

80 Desroche 1971, 222.

81 Evans 1858, 40.

82 Andrews 1963, 150, 281-282.

4 Revolutionist Sectarianism in Qumran:
Messianism and Eschatology

4.1 Definition of Revolutionist Sectarianism

Wilson's revolutionist response to the evil in the world argues that only destruction of the present social order will save men. This process must be supernaturally wrought by divine action, for men lack the power to destroy, and especially re-create the world. Nonetheless, believers may be called to participate in this process of overturning the world, which is believed to be imminent.[83]

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the revolutionist approach is expressed in two main themes: expectations for specific messianic figures, and the eschatological belief that the messianic age will come at a certain time, probably in the near future.[84] Although all contemporary Jews also expected the messiah's future arrival and collective national salvation,[85] the Qumran sectarians anticipated these events as imminent and this anticipation affected their daily lives. The following survey of revolutionism in Qumran begins with the Damascus Covenant and the *yaḥad* and proceeds to other documents which are probably related to one or both of these sects.

4.2 The Two Messiahs: The Son of David and the Priest

The personification of millennial beliefs in the scrolls of the Damascus Covenant and the *yaḥad* is indeed inherited from biblical prophecies on the Davidic messiah, but its intense enhancement and extensions require explanation. Unlike more vague eschatological expectations (discussed below), these scrolls reinforces the millennial idea and give future salvation a more definite essence by envisioning a known

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83   Wilson 1973, 23.
84   Both may be termed 'millennial expectations' or simply 'millennialism.' According to A. Baumgarten (1997a, 154), "Millennial expectations are a sub-group of eschatological ones. They set forth the belief in the imminent commencing of the eschatological era, leading to the ultimate collective salvation." Baumgarten does not restrict this definition to particular notions regarding the exact time of the millennium and the specific conduct performed in anticipation of imminent salvation. See the discussion and bibliography *ibid.*, 154-156.
85   See, e.g., Ben Sira 36: 1-17; 1 Mac 14:41; 2 Mac 2:18; A. Baumgarten 1997a, 168, 171 and bibliography.

personage, a specific messiah or Interpreter.[86] The messiah is the one
who is destined to initiate and direct the cosmic revolution that will
culminate with a complete collective salvation.[87]

An interesting feature of the messianic beliefs in the Dead Sea
Scrolls is that both the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant awaited two
separate messianic figures, the Messiah of Aaron (the future high
priest) and the Messiah of Israel, the offspring of King David.[88] CD
7:18-21 professes that two different leaders, one political and one reli-
gious leader, will appear: "And the star is the interpreter of the law
(*doresh ha-Torah*) who will come to Damascus, as is written 'A star
moves out of Jacob, and a scepter arises out of Israel' (Num 24:13). The
scepter is the prince (*nasi*) of the whole congregation and when he rises
'he will destroy all the sons of Shet.'" The arrival of "branch of David
who will arise with the Interpreter of the law" at the End of Days is also
mentioned in 4Q174 *Florilgium.*[89]

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86 Cf. the typology of millennial beliefs in Wilson 1973, 382.

87 Compare Burridge's concept of the myth-dream which awaits initiation by a char-
    ismatic figure, who can articulate the concept and offer himself as a model for the
    'new men' of the indigenous society (Burridge 1960; cf. Wilson 1973, 327).

88 CD 12:23-13:1; 14:19; 19:10-11; 19:35-20:1 mentions the messiah (sing.) of Aaron and
    Israel. 1QS 9:11 explicitly mentions two different messiahs, as does the Rule of the
    Congregation (see below). See Talmon 1989, 273-300; VanderKam 1994. Abegg 1995
    argued that CD refers here to only one Messiah that is common to the priests and Is-
    raelites (note that the distinctions between these two classes are prevalent in CD and
    the Community Rule), or that in their early stages of development, CD and perhaps
    also the Community Rule anticipated only the priestly messiah. Collins 1995, 78-83
    rejected this view, since there are explicit references to two eschatological figures in
    CD and other associated sources. For a survey of the belief in two messiahs during
    the Second Temple period, see Goodblatt 1994, 30-56. 'Messiah' (literally, anointed in
    oil) means elected and nominated by God. For the High Priest as anointed, see Ex.
    29:7; Lev 4:3-5, 16; 8:12.

89 4Q174 *Florilgium* frg. 1 col. I, 21, 2, line 11 (Allegro 1968, 53-57). For the affinities of
    Florilegium with the Damascus Document, see Brooke 1985, 206-209. The "Interpreter
    of the law" as an historical or ideal religious leader is also mentioned in CD 6:7 as
    "the staff" (*meḥokek*, literally: the one who inscribes), the legislator who constitutes
    the laws of the Torah (cf. Num. 21:18; CD 6:4). It is unclear whether this past Inter-
    preter should be identified with Teacher of Righteousness, preceded the Teacher or
    perhaps even was as a mythic, fictional figure (cf. Callaway 1990, 384). One should
    recall that "the staff" bears a messianic connotation in Gen 49:10 and is used as the
    designation for the reign of Davidic messiah in 4Q252 v 2 (Brooke et al. 1996, 205).
    The identity of the future Interpreter is disputed. Some identify him with the priestly
    messiah, while Davies (1996, 89-94) argued that the Interpreter was proclaimed be-
    fore the emergence of the Teacher, basing his argument on an obscure reference in
    CD 6:7. This view is challenged by Collins 1995, 103-104, 114 on the basis of other
    expectations of the Interpreter's arrival.

The two messiahs also appear in two documents related to the
yaḥad, the Messianic Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) and in the Rule of
the Benedictions (1QSb). The Messianic Rule describes the public meal
at the messianic age of the End of Days. The Priest would enter at the
head of the congregation with the other priests, and only then the mes-
siah of Israel and the leaders of Israel would sit before the priest. When
they would meet at the communal (the *yaḥad*'s) table, the priest would
precede the messiah of Israel in setting out bread and wine and bless-
ing over it (1QSa 2:11-22). The context clearly indicates that "the priest"
is the priestly messiah and that his status is distinctively higher than
the Davidic messiah.[90] The Rule of the Benedictions includes a blessing
of the prince of the congregation who "[will stand at the End of Days in
the head of all his conger]gation and he will re[new] forever the
c[ove]nant of his people for him".[91]

The Qumran sects conceptualized the messiahs as representatives
of their sectarian ideology, that is, their appearance proclaims the ulti-
mate triumph of the sect's doctrine and, of course, the truism and ful-
fillment of its expectations for the future. The Damascus Covenant an-
ticipated that the sect ("Damascus") would be joined by the Interpreter,
who is associated with its doctrine.[92] CD 7:10-11 also anticipates the
coming of "the one who teaches justice at the End of Days," a designa-
tion that recalls the Teacher of Righteousness. Even the messianic king
was expected to follow the laws of the *yaḥad*, "Until the messiah of
righteousness comes, the branch of David. For to him and to his de-
scendants has been given the covenant of the kingship of his people for
everlasting generations, which he observed [...] the Law with the men
of the *yaḥad*, for [...] it is the assembly of men [...] He gives."[93] In the
Rule of the Congregation, the two messiahs are introduced in the con-

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90   Collins 1995, 76; Schiffman 1993, 272, 300-306. Schiffman, *ibid*, 302-303 notes the
      primacy of the priest in the meals of the *yaḥad* (1QS 6:4-5). The primacy of the
      priestly messiah also appears in other sources, including some of non-Qumranic
      provenance, and is probably a conventional element of the belief in two messiahs
      also outside Qumran. See Collins 1995, 76, 87-94, 115. The earliest possible attesta-
      tion is in Aramaic Levi (4Q213 *Leviᵃ ar* 1 II + 2, 15-19; Brooke et al. 1996, 14-19). The
      War Rule refers to both the prince (*nasi*) of the congregation and the leading priest
      (1QM 5:1; 15:4; 16:13; 19:12). For the role of the Davidic Messiah in the eschatological
      war, see Collins 1995, 59.

91   1QSb 5:20-22 (translated following the restorations of Licht 1965a, 288), 23-29. The
      prince is portrayed here in light of the biblical prophecies on King David.

92   CD 7:18-19. Cf. 6:7-10.

93   4Q252 v (Brooke et al. 1996, 205). The context is the interpretation of Jacob's blessing
      of Judah (Gen 49:10).

text of a sectarian legislation which is directed at the entire congrega-
tion of Israel at the End of Days.[94]

4.3 The Coming Day of Judgment and the Eschatological War

More general eschatological expectations for Judgment Day are very
frequent in the Qumranic corpus. The *yahad* waited for "the day of re-
venge" (1QS 9:23), or "the last age," when "God... has determined and
end for the existence of injustice and on the Time of Visitation (*mo'ed
pequda*) He will obliterate it for ever" (1QS 4:17-19). The Damascus
Covenant waited for the end of the period in which Belial is set loose,
and announces that, from that point onwards, new converts will no
longer be accepted to the "sure (*ne'eman*) house."[95] There are several
references to the eschatological age in the Damascus Document, includ-
ing the "Day of Visitation" of the sect's renegades who will be de-
stroyed by Belial.[96] Indeed, it seems that the Covenant was more in-
tensely occupied with such expectations than the *yahad*, using them to
counter polemics and defection.[97]

But what exactly was expected to occur in the age of heavenly in-
tervention? The most radical and detailed millennial expectation in the
Qumranic corpus is the eschatological war envisioned in the War Rule.
In this war, the Sons of Light will be marshaled to battle against the
Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial (the archangel of evil), the tradi-
tional enemies of the Jewish nation (Edom, Moab Amon, etc.), as well
as the Kittim (identified with Seleucids, and later on, with the Romans).
Angels, especially the Prince of Light, Michael, also join the Sons of
Light. The war will include seven battles that last forty years, until Be-
lial is annihilated. The War Rule presents a detailed description of the
fanfare of trumpets, banners, officers and weapons, ritual instructions
and prayers, rather than tactical guidelines to military combat.[98]

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94 For the legislation of the Congregation Rule (1QSa), see Shiffman 1993, 273-309.
95 CD 4:8-13. Cf. Schwartz 1981.
96 CD 8:2-3//4QDᵃ 3 III 23-25; 19:10, 14-15. CD 20:25-26 refers to the time when the glory
    of God is manifested, when the transgressing members as well as those who acted
    against "Judah" (the sect) are cut off. See also the following discussion of CD 20:14-
    15.
97 The reflections of such splits are found in CD 19-20. For attempts at historical recon-
    structions of such polemics and splits in CD and the Pesharim, see, Stegemann 1971,
    39-185; Murphy O'Connor 1974, 233-244.
98 For a current survey of the War Rule and its literary development, see Collins 1997,
    91-109. For the imprints of the Qumranic laws in the scroll, see Schiffman 1994a, 331-
    332. For the pre-Qumranic origin of its dualistic framework and theme of the war at

4.4   Waiting for the End of Days: Continuing
Eschatological Calculations

Several texts discuss the time when the messianic age, the End of Days
(*aharit ha-yamim*), will arrive. Most strikingly, the authors of MMT ar-
gues that "And we are aware that part of the blessings and curses have
occurred that are written in the b[ook of Mos]es. And this is the End of
Days, when they will return in Israel to the L[aw...]and not turn bac[k]
and the wicked will act wickedly..." (C 20-22). It seems that in the ear-
liest days of the sect, its members believe that the messianic age was
more than imminent – it was already present! They used this argument
in their attempt to persuade the addressee (probably the Hasmonean
high priest and ruler) to cooperate with them in implementing their
halakhic doctrine at the Temple.[99]

Many other documents which reflect a later period discuss the End
of Days as a limited period of time, the last of a series of divinely pre-
planned periods into which history is divided. This would be the last
period of time directly before the time of final salvation, the final pe-
riod of history.[100]

Two documents even mention a specific date for the eschatological
age. 11QMelchizedek predicts the coming of Melchizedek (the priestly
messiah or an angel) "in the first week of the jubilee which follows the
ni[ne] jubilees. And the d[ay of aton]ement is the e[nd of]the tenth jubi-
lee in which atonement shall be made for all the sons of [light and] for
the men [of] the lot of Melchizedek."[101] If one begins counting ten jubi-

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the End of Days, see the Enoch Apocalypses discussed in Chapter 5. Von der Osten
Saken 1969, 84-90 concluded that col. 1 is of pre-Qumranic origin since it contrasts
the entire nation of Israel with the gentiles instead of setting the sect against its op-
ponents (as in 1QS, CD and the Hodayot). Davies 1977, esp. 32, 65-67, 123-124 ar-
gued that cols. 2-9 (which lack dualistic fervor) are pre-sectarian.

99   For the interpretation of the End of Days as imminent, see Steudel 1993, 231, 241 and
especially A. Baumgarten 1997a, 175-177. For the chronological, political, and ha-
lakhic aspects of MMT, see Chapter 2.

100 Steudel 1993, esp. 231. According to the *yahad*'s Eschatological Midrash of 4Q177, at
the End of Days, the members of the *yahad* will be put to test and refinement, when
the congregation of the seekers of smooth things will seek to destroy them by their
fervor and animosity, but later (and this part already recalls the War Rule) God will
rescue the Sons of Light who will enter Jerusalem, and the men of Belial will be fin-
ished for ever (4Q177 II 9-13, IV 14-16; Allegro 1968, 67-74).

101 11QMelchizedek II 7-9 (García Martínez et al. 1998, 224-233). The passage continues
describing "the time for the Year of Grace of Melchizedek," "of [his] armi[es the
nat[ions] of the holy ones of God, of the rule of judgment" and "Melchizedek's re-
venge of Gods' judgment, [and on that day he will fr]e[e them from the hand of] Be-
lial and from the hand of all the sp[irits of his lot]" (II 9-13).

lees from the exile of Nebuchadnezzar (586 BCE), the final age ends in the first half of the first century BCE.[102] This calculation probably derives from Danielic traditions, since Daniel provides several predictions (and in some cases, the exact day) of the age of salvation, among them seventy weeks (of years).[103] The only other occurrence of such an exact and definitive date for the eternal salvation in Qumranic compositions is found in CD 20:14-16. This vague passage mentions the age of wrath, when God will be kindled against Israel, which will occur forty years after the death of the Teacher of the *yaḥid* (*yaḥad*), namely, the Teacher of Righteousness.[104]

Traces of unsuccessful attempts to foresee the End of Days are found in *pesher* Habakkuk, where the delay of the fulfillment of eschatological expectations is implied: "the final age will be extended, even longer than all that the prophets said, because the mysteries of God are wonderful.... The man of truth, the observers of the law, whose arms will not weaken in the service of truth when the final age seems to them to be delayed (or: is extended beyond them), because all the ages of God will come at the right time, as he established for them in the mysteries of his prudence."[105] The composition of *pesher* Habakkuk is usually dated to *ca.* 70-60 BCE,[106] much later than the

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102 For different calculations, see Steudel 1993, 233 and the studies cited there.

103 For the latter calculation, see Daniel 9:24. Note that seventy weeks of years (490) are roughly equal to the ten jubilees of 11QMelchizedek and results from the same "sabbatical theology" (cf. Collins 1993, 352-353). For Daniel's tendency to calculate future events of salvation, see 7:25, 8:14; 12:7, 11-12. A similar tendency (although with less precise calculations) is found in the visions of Enoch and other books of the Pseudepigrapha. For the phenomenon of eschatological calculations in Qumran and other documents following Daniel, see Werman 2003 with further literature.

104 Steudel 1993, 236-239 and Werman 2003, 52, 59 attempt to calculate 490 years (similar to 11QMelchizedek and other compositions that followed Daniel) from the destruction of 586 BCE to this deadline, conjecturing that the Teacher led the sect for another forty years. For the typological nature of the forty year motif of Israel's wandering in the desert until the unlawful generation perishes, see H. Eshel 1999.

105 1QpHab 7:7-14. I have followed the interpretation of A. Baumgarten 1997a, 178-180 and slightly amended the translation following his discussion.

106 For the dating, see Steudel 1993, 236. Nitzan 1986, 123-132 identified the *Kittim* with the Romans, and dated the document to the eve of the Roman occupation in ca. 84-63 BCE. Studel, *ibid.*, 235-236 and A. Baumgarten 1997a, 180, concluded that the disappointing predictions had already been made by the Teacher of Righteousness, mainly because in 1QpHab 2:5-7 "the traitors in the last days... they are violators of the covenant" disbelieve "when they here all that is going to happen to the last generation from the mouth of the Priest" (who is identified with the Teacher in 4QpPs[a] 3:15). Steudel suggests that millennial disappointed occurred when the ten Jubilees (mentioned in 1QMelchizedek and, in her view, also implied in the Damascus Document) had passed and the old wicked world remained intact.

Community Rule or the Damascus Document. In this period, the sectarians apparently failed to understand why earlier predictions had not been realized and salvation had not arrived, but continued to seek explanations for the failure of their predictions.

4.5   The Social Function of Millennial Beliefs

Sociological and anthropological studies provide explanations for the essence of millennial expectations as well as the social circumstances that lead to their appearance, based on the experience of the Christian tradition from medieval to modern periods, and the experience of so-called Third World religions in modernity. Millennial beliefs are mostly ideas and visions that are not translated into action, but nonetheless play an important social role in promoting social cohesion. They reflect dissatisfaction with reality, but take the place of political or military action that could change the state of affairs. These beliefs serve as a social mechanism that preserves discontent without compromising with reality, but also avoids the risk of a violent confrontation.[107]

From a sociological perspective, millennialism may be approached in light of the characterization of religion as a system of rewards (that is, the sense of salvation) and compensators. When people are not satisfied by current rewards, they tend to have faith in compensators, that is, they believe that a reward will be obtained in the distant future or in some other context which cannot be immediately verified.[108] Millennial beliefs are thus compensators that create a sense of empowerment and consistency by creating faith in an imminent reward in the form of salvation. [109]

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107 Revolutionist movements are not necessarily revolutionary, since they do not necessarily expect to implement God's will through their own actions (Wilson 1973, 196).

108 Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 6.

109 Cf. Wilson 1973, 410. Wilson also comments on the use of religion and magic in order to create a sense of control over important activities whose outcome cannot be controlled by more direct means, especially where the need for control is great and the means for control are lacking (*ibid.*, 510-511). Millennial expectations may even include practical arrangements towards "The Day," such as in Cargo Cults (Worsley 1968). These preparations demonstrate the self fulfillment of prophecies (Wilson 1973, 312). Such preparations for the future return to the Temple and executing the Qumranic special 364-day cultic ("solar") calendar are attested to in the *Mishmarot* texts. These are tables of priestly watchers expected to officiate in the Temple in weekly turns of duty. They are designed as practical guidelines for Qumran priests to determine the immutable dates for festivals and cultic events over the course of the year, representing six-year cycles. See: 4Q320-324a, 325c-325, 328-330 in Talmon, Ben-Dov and Glessmer 2001, and the introductory comments, *ibid.*, 8-14.

From an anthropological perspective, this phenomenon is not so exceptional in light of the general "irrational" framework of religion. In fact, it is contained in most religious beliefs. In his *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities,* anthropologist Kenelm Burrdige defined religion as basically concerned with power, or more particularly, with the discovery, identification, moral relevance and ordering of different kinds of power, particularly those seen as significantly beneficial or dangerous.[110] A belief in the supernatural is the belief that there are existing kinds of power whose manifestation and effects are observable, but whose nature is not yet fully comprehended. Within these terms, a certain spiritual being becomes named and identified as the source or principle of power.

If one translates Burridge's terms into more common ones, the messianism and eschatology of the Qumran sectarians are an integral part of their conception of God, and specifically and distinctively represent Qumranic attempts to resolve the sharp conflict between the will of God and their contemporary reality, through expectations and predictions. Representing a revolutionist response to the world, the Qumranites try to impose their utopian conceptions upon reality by envisioning a future and awaiting its imminent victory.

4.6   The Socio-Historical Context of Qumranic Millennialism

Millennial beliefs are generally thought to emerge when aggressive opposition to an invading culture fails. As a result, the relationship with the invader grows closer, and cultural assimilation becomes possible. Thus millennialism may reflect the self-preservationist responses of a society in transition, compelled to adapt to a radical transformation imposed by external forces.[111] Although such a scenario suits the eschatology of 1 Enoch and Jubilees (whose authors contended with radical Jewish Hellenizers and the religious persecutions of the Seleucids in 175-164 BCE), the political and cultural threat or presence of Greek or Roman civilizations was not exceptional when the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant flourished (ca. 150-50 BCE) compared to past generations. In this period, Judaea enjoyed independence and was led by the Hasmonean high priests and monarchs. The Hasmoneans were indeed affected by Hellenism and were occupied by their political relationships and military conflicts with the Seleucids and Romans, but this

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110 Burridge 1969, 5-6.
111 Wilson 1973, 272-273.

was not as intense a process as the colonialist invasion that sparked the millennial movements called Cargo Cults in South East Asia and Oceania.[112]

However, millennialism is not merely a defensive response designed to protect a native society and culture from invaders or religious assertion of political aims.[113] It is a means of coping with a changing reality when history develops in radical opposition to a society's traditional expectations (such as social or political changes which result in cultural disintegration), and causes disappointment resulting with cognitive dissonance. Under these circumstances, people seek a new coherent set of values and norms, and a new cultural identity.[114]

Thus, millennialism may be prompted not only by conquest, but also by sovereignty. From this perspective, Qumranic millennialism may therefore be seen as an extension of the apocalyptic tradition of Daniel, Enoch and Jubilees, triggered by the emergence of Jewish independence and a Jewish state in the Hasmonean period. Indeed, Wilson refers to cases in which millennialism is affected by the sudden acquisition of political independence, and Baumgarten also pointed to the emergence of Hasmonean independence as one of the factors that explains the flourishing sectarianism of in this period.[115]

As I suggest in Chapter 2, the Qumran sectarians believed that the anticipated salvation would be shortly realized through Maccabean independence that would implement their program of religion and law. Their deep disappointment at their rejection by the Hasmoneans, and the subsequent persecution of the sect, accelerated the return to millennial visions. These beliefs were revised and adapted to the new tensions and discontents, as well as to their new social situation as sects.

4.7 When Prophecy Fails: The Constructive Impact of Millennial Disappointment

The continuous messianic and eschatological expectations in Qumran which lasted, presumably, between ca. 150 BCE and 50 BCE (and probably later, since scrolls were copied and retained by the sect until

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112 Cf. Burridge 1960; 1969; Worsley 1968.

113 Wilson 1973, 328.

114 Talmon 1962, 137-138. Cf. Meeks 1983, 173-174; A. Baumgarten 1997a, 164-165. Burridge (1969, 41) notes that millennialism occurs when a group fails to gain rewards for its religious suppositions, portraying it as a factor in the competition between religious worlds or moral systems.

115 Wilson 1973, 410; A. Baumagrten 1997a, 188-195.

the Great Revolt of 66-70 CE) raises the intriguing question of why the sectarians persisted in their messianic beliefs and calculations of the End despite the failed fulfillment of these beliefs, generation after generation? The subsequent ideological disappointments could be expected to cause a crisis within the sect, and even lead to its disintegration.

However, the ongoing composition of the Pesharim, infused with various eschatological claims, attests to the prosperity of religious creativity of the Qumranites and their persistent millennial expectations, at least until 63 BCE (when Pompey, the Roman Imperator, captured Judaea, probably the last historical event echoed in the Pesharim).[116] The Qumran sects appear to have avoided such a crisis, possibly by intensifying their eschatological expectations in reaction to their messianic disappointment, and repeatedly recalculating a new date for the End. At some point between 50-31 BCE, the sectarians discontinued the practice of writing Pesharim (namely, interpretations of the Bible as a prophecies of their own history and future) and may also have stopped predicting the date of the End of Days.[117]

Studies of contemporary millennial calculations also show that such failures do not necessarily lead to the disintegration of the group. Groups and individuals who are strongly committed to millennial beliefs concerning a specific date of the End, frequently emerge unshaken when their expectations are unfulfilled and disproved and become even more convinced of the truth of their beliefs than ever. In such instances there is an increase of proselytizing following an unequivocal confirmation of their belief system. According to certain studies, millennial disappointment is overcome through the social support within the group at the time of crisis.[118] Thus, although movements based on such virtual and unrealistic grounds may seem fragile, they are quite common. As the persistence of the Qumran sects and Christianity indicates, millennialism can be successful even when expectations are not fulfilled.

A good example is the sect known as the Seventh Days Adventists (who believe that Christ's advent is at hand, and regard Saturday as their Sabbath). They were disappointed by the failed predictions of their founder, William Miller, who claimed that the Second Coming

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116 For the Romans in the Pesharim (1QpHab and 4QpNah), see Nitzan 1986, 123-132; Eshel 2004, 154-155.

117 Eshel 2004, 157-158. He seems to imply that the authors of the Pesharim failed to explain the success of the Romans.

118 See the often cited study of the failure of prophecy in the Lake City group in Festinger, Riecken and Schachter 1956, esp. 216, 227-233.

would occur in 1843 or 1844, and reacted by creating their own separate denomination committed to Adventism. After the secondary elaboration of the causes of that failure, they still respected the portent of prophecy, but adopted a belief that a crucial event had occurred on the original date of the prediction in another sphere. In a sense, they pleaded justification (something occurred on the specific date, albeit in heaven and not on earth). However, they also blamed themselves for their lack of preparedness for the event, a state which may have even undermined the occurrence in some manner. They regained a new sense of what was required in order to promote the occurrence of the past prediction: they should obey the hitherto unheeded injunctions of Scripture, namely, to honor the Sabbath on the seventh day, and abide by the dietetic prohibitions of the Old Testament.[119]

In a sense, a similar scenario may have occurred in Qumran, when the belief of MMT that "this is the End of Days" was unfulfilled, and the sectarian enclave of the *yaḥad* was created. Unfortunately, we have no information on the changes or developments that occurred within the *yaḥad* or the Damascus Covenant in response to the millennial disappointments caused by the various failed predictions. However, it is reasonable to assume that these responses included an intensification of their social separation and taboos, as well as a reinforced belief in the eventual coming of the End. I am even tempted to suggest that this led to the formation of the latter Essenes and the practice of celibacy, but this is merely a conjecture.

5   The Relationship between Introversion and Revolution

Both the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant were simultaneously introversionist and revolutionist sects, although the *yaḥad* bears stronger introversionist markers while the Covenant tended to be somewhat more revolutionist.[120] One suggestion is to distinguish the introversionist and the revolutionist traditions as two earlier currents that were

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119 Wilson 1990, 229. Cf. Schwartz 1970, 90-91. Updating messianic predictions after the
     previous ones were unfulfilled is attested to among the Jehova Witnesses in 1914
     and 1975. The witnesses simply modified their calculations (instead of counting the
     millennium from the creation of Adam, they decided to count from the creation of
     Eve). See Wilson 1990, 230.

120 An illustration of the combination of these two tendencies is found in the image of
     the sect as an impenetrable fortress for outsiders "when all the s[words]of the wicked
     battles will come to an end. Then the sword of God will pounce in the age of judg-
     ment, and all the sons of His t[ruth] will awaken, to destroy [the sons of] wicked-
     ness, and all the sons of guilt will no longer exist." 1QHᵃ 14[6]:29-30.

subsequently merged in Qumran. The introversionist response may be rooted in the wisdom heritage of sapiental literature which emphasized morality and the dualism between righteous and wicked (arguing that good and evil were predestinated by God in creation). The millennial response, in contrast, grew out of an apocalyptic tradition that was interested in the supernatural realm and portrayed a cosmological dualism between just and wicked heavenly beings, that naturally ends through God's intervention and the triumph over evil.[121] Such a distinction, however, seems forced, since texts which maintain cosmic dualism probably derived from sapiental teachings and sought deeper explanations for the injustices already noticed and discussed in wisdom traditions.[122]

As I show in what follows, the combination of social separation and millennial beliefs is quite common and many later introversionist sects contain revolutionist tendencies. While these are usually viewed as two separate phenomena, I attempt to demonstrate that introversion was the predominant one, from which the aspiration to super-natural revolution later evolved.

The early Anabaptists combined introversion and revolution. Thomas Müntzer predicted the coming Day of Judgment, when the Elect was expected to drive out Christ's enemies.[123] Hans Hut, a disciple of Müntzer, announced that Christ would return to place the two-edged sword of justice in the hands of the re-baptized Saints. In 1533, Melchior Hoffman jointed the Anabaptists and preached the imminence of the Second Coming and the millennium. He anticipated the battle of the Last Days and the New Jerusalem in Strasbourg and Münster. The Anabaptists in the city of Münster followed him as he believed that the city would become the New Jerusalem while the rest of the world would be destroyed. His followers expelled Protestants and

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121 Such a distinction is made by Frey 1997 regarding the Instruction of the Two Spirits in the Community Rule, already discussed above. Frey discusses Sirach 33, 4QSapiental Work A (4Q417), 1Q27Book of Mysteries (wisdom texts) and 1 Enoch's Book of Watchers, 4QAmram[b,f] (4Q544, 4Q547), 11QApPs[a] and the War Rule (apocalyptic texts).

122 For these two responses to the problem of evil, see Collins 1997, 30-38. For wisdom as the origin of dualistic worldview, see Otzen 1974. For apocalypticism as an outgrowth of wisdom tradition, see more generally Smith 1978, 67-87; Stone 1991. Note that wisdom and apocalypticism are interconnected in Daniel, who draws on cosmic dualism (7:13-14; 10:13, 20-21; 12:1) but also emphasizes the distinctions between the wicked Jews and the "wise ones" (11:29-35 12:3).

123 Cohn 1957, 251-271. Admittedly, Müntzer did not consider himself an Anabaptist, but was regarded as such by later followers.

Catholics, who left behind all their belongings when fleeing the city.[124] In the seventeenth century, Puritans and Quakers similarly believed that the Day of the Lord was at hand.[125]

The Shakers self-designation, "the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing," attests to their millennial beliefs. They believed that the End is close and expected it to occur in 1792. They also held that the advent had already commenced in the appearance of Ann Lee, the Second Christ. Most relevant to the present concern of the relationship between millennialism and introversionism is the Shaker view that they should maintain perfection in order to bring about the End.[126]

Several models explain the relationship between introversionism and revolutionsim. Wilson takes for granted that revolutionism precedes introversionism, since a revolutionist movement acts as a catalytic phenomenon that voices urgent demands and more vivid dreams. Revolutionism consolidates more acute discontents which more swiftly give birth to a movement that demands immediate action (or, in our case, expects supernatural action) without protracted preparations. The introversionist response has no such urgency or immediacy.[127]

For Wilson, millennialism triggers a meticulous observance of rules which, under certain circumstances, may be seen as a type of introversion. As already noted, Seventh Days Adventists suffered messianic disappointment, and subsequently decided to obey hitherto unheeded prohibitions of Scripture.[128] Baumgarten also maintains that in millen-

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124 Cohn 1957, 272-295. Cf. Ruether 1970, 24-25, 28-29, 33. For Hoffmann, see also Goertz 1996, 29, 42-43, 105-106, 181. Menno Simons pronounced that "the promised time of grace is drawing near... the time of salvation" (*ibid.*, 142-143). The Hutterite Scharnschlager Order (1540, Moravia) held the eschatological belief in which "we see the day of the Lord drawing near" (Packull 1995, 305). Jacob Hutter awaited "the great day of the Lord's revelation through Jesus Christ" (Hutterian Brethern 1987, 125).

125 The American Puritans believed that the end of the world was imminent, and believed in the fulfillment of the Christological expectations in the Book of Revelation. It was their mission to establish Christ's Kingdom on earth. See Middlekauff 1971, 179-184; Zakai 1992. For the English Puritans, see the studies cited in A. Baumgarten 1997a, 161-164, 182-183. For the Quakers, see the visions of George Fox in Fox 1997, 104-105; Braithwaite 1923, 79, 106.

126 Desroche 1971, 72-84; Brown 1812, 17, 114-125. In 1782, one of the Elders, being under great impression of the power of God, declared that "the judgment of God will follow [the wicked] that reject this gospel... and some of this generation will yet live to see it" (Shakers 1888, 180; cf. *ibid.*, 297-302). For the influence of millennial beliefs, notably the French Prophets, on the earliest English Shakers, see Evans 1858, 18-19; Garret 1987.

127 Wilson 1973, 387.

128 Wilson 1990, 229.

nial sects that have a rigorous approach to the law, the revolutionist characteristics predominates the introversionist ones. Commenting on the combination the two in MMT C 20-22, he writes: "Every opportunity to behave properly must be utilized in the final moment before salvation, because the books will soon be closed and we will no longer have an opportunity to rectify our standing before God." "A profound belief that redemption was at hand led directly to calls for scrupulous observance in order to enjoy fully the benefits of the future world soon to be upon mankind".[129]

At first glance, a similar sequence seems possible in Qumran, bearing in mind that the pursuit for the time of salvation flourished in Daniel, 1 Enoch and Jubilees, in the generation preceding the estimated date of MMT and the formation of the *yahad*. That is, millennialism flourished before the Qumran sectarians completely withdrew from contemporary Jewish society. However, fundamental strictness regarding the laws of the Torah (especially the Temple cult) in Jubilees, the Temple Scroll and MMT also preceded the emergence of the Qumran sects. Cosmic tension, which underlies Qumranic sectarianism, had already been established in 1 Enoch and Jubilees (see Chapters 3, 5-6). Furthermore, nowhere in the scrolls is the separation from the world explained by millennial disappointment nor is it explicitly related to messianic expectations.

I therefore suggest viewing the introversionist response in Qumran as the primary response, subsequently supplemented by millennialism.[130] Withdrawal is no less a natural reaction to the evilness of the world than millennialism. Compared to revolutionism, withdrawal does not depend on immediate events and experiences, and therefore may have satisfied individuals' more immediate needs. Nonetheless, it is difficult to maintain an extensive separation from the surrounding society for the long term. Even when members are promised compensation and rewards such as atonement and afterlife, they would still seek to transform their lives into a more normal social experience. Furthermore, due to the introversionist aim for a purer and more moral existence, members naturally wished that the wickedness in the world be terminated, hence the emergence of revolutionist expectations.

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129 A. Baumgarten 1997a, 182, 184. CD 4:7-13 also claims that outsiders can repent and join the sect only until a certain deadline, when "each one standing up on his watchtower. The wall is built, the boundary far away",

130 This possibility was considered by Wilson 1973, 387. Wilson, however, did not advance this direction. Elsewhere (Wilson 1959, 10-11) he even maintained that "complete separation is premature for a sect that expects an early overturn of normal social relations." This statement is contradicted by the evidence provided above.

Millennialism therefore may be a natural outcome of an introversionist response. Both develop as a result of the perception that the world's evil is irreparable and the current civilization is doomed. Their combination provides a complex and complete response of withdrawal in the first phase, and heavenly intervention in the final phase. While it is possible to point to millennial movements that did not withdraw from the outer society, it is more difficult to identify interventionist movements who developed no expectations about the future.[131]

Although Qumranic millennialism stems from the biblical prophets and Daniel, I believe that it served to enforce social withdrawal by encouraging members to persist in paying a heavy price for their separation from the men of injustice.[132] The introversionist response is therefore *cognitively* predominant in relation to the revolutionist one, although the two may have emerged simultaneously.

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The remainder of this chapter discusses two phenomena, atonement and revelation, which social scientists do not generally attribute to sectarian ideology. Although these elements are also present in non-sectarian religious movements, atonement and revelation play a central role in the way of life of the Qumranites and other sects. As I try to demonstrate, atonement lies at the foundation of the sect's need to separate from the world, while revelation provides religious substance and social mechanisms that establish the sectarian or introversionist enclave.

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131 The view that the two are distinct phenomena is not unique to Wilson. Shils, for example, (1968, 67) maintained that ideologies seek completeness either through total conquest or total withdrawal, so that the purer and ideal form of value can be cultivated in isolation from the contaminating influence of the surrounding society.

132 A close reading of the eschatological passages of the Community Rule, and especially the Damascus Document, in their literary context may support this conclusion. See the millennial ideas mentioned as a reaction to desertions in CD 19-10; Murphy O'Connor 1974, 233-244. For a similar use of apocalyptic language to enforce group cohesion, see Meeks 1983, 174-176, following 1 Thess 4:13-5:11.

6   The Quest for Atonement

6.1 Atonement in Ancient Judaism

One of the major themes of Qumranic theology is atonement. The root kpr (to atone) appears very frequent in the Community Rule, the Hodayot, and the Damascus Document. Although atonement is a primary means for salvation in Judaism and Christianity, the attitude of Qumranites to atonement is neither self-evident nor conventional. In effect, the Qumranites challenged contemporary concepts of atonement and developed alternatives modes for its attainment. The following discussion of atonement in Qumranic texts implicates the sectarians' most fundamental religious ideas, and their self-conception as both just and guilty (additional aspects of atonement and confession are also discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 8).

Atonement is the main issue addressed in the sacrificial law of the so-called Priestly Code. The sacrifices of *hattat* (sin/purification offering) and *'asham* (guilt offerings), and, in a certain sense, *'olla* (whole-burnt offering), are means to attain atonement.[133] In specific cases, these sacrifices are required when the Israelites transgress God's commands, that is, when they violate their duty to observe the Torah. However, not all sins can be atoned by sacrifice,[134] and the question of God's response to the Israelites' repentance on the Day of Atonement remains open in Leviticus and is later discussed by the rabbis.[135]

The Priestly Code, Second Temple literature, and rabbinic law all view atoning sacrifices as a ritual in which man express his repentance and commitment to God's moral orders, but man must remedy the offence committed against God or other individuals before confessing his sins upon the slaughter of the sacrifice.[136] In the Priestly Code (probably followed by the Temple Scroll), the function of the sacrificial ritual is not to cleanse the sinner, but the metaphoric purification of the altar from the defiling power of sin. That is, we learn that the heavenly presence departs from holy places defiled by sin.[137] These laws of atonement introduce a moral system that gives ritual expression to the

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133 Milgrom 1991, 174-177, 254-264, 289-292, 339-378.
134 Cf. Lev 18:29.
135 B. *Yoma* 86a.
136 Lev 1:5; 4:27-31; 5:1-26; 16:21-22; Num 5:6-10; Ben Sira 5:4-8; 7:8-10; 34:18-20; Ps Sol 3:7-10; Matt. 5:23; m. *Yoma* 8:8; t. *Pesahim* 3:1; t. *Yoma* 5:9; 8:9; t. *Menahot* 10:12; Büchler 1928, 376-456; Milgrom 1976b.
137 Milgrom 1976a. Compare m. *Shevuot* 1:4-7.

relationship between God and Israel, but are nonetheless concerned with man's religious consciousness.

The traditional Jewish system of atonement is therefore not a technical operation of certain regulations. It is dependent on the sincerity of the transgressor's repentance.[138] It bears a certain subjectivity regarding moral and religious values. When the morality of individuals who bring sacrifices or who hold positions in the priestly institutions in the Temple is questioned, the actions of these individuals also appear hypocritical and even sacrilegious. Nonetheless, the sacrifices of atonement appear to constitute the sole system of remission of sins in the Hebrew Bible. This backdrop makes all the more revolutionary the Qumran sectarians' claim to a system of atonement that is independent of the Temple cult, atonement that is achieved through life in the *yahad* or the Damascus Covenant.

6.2 Self-Guilt and Confession

Quite surprisingly, although the sectarians regarded themselves as a remnant elect, they also felt a deep sense of guilt and sin and frequently confessed their misdeeds before God. The Damascus Document opens with the prehistory of the sect, arguing that the sect's forerunners "realized their iniquity and knew that they were guilty {men}; they were like blind persons and like those who grope the path for twenty years" (CD 1:8-9). It also concludes with the call to members to "confess before God: 'Assuredly, we have sinned, both we and our fathers, walking contrary to the ordinances of the covenant; just[ice] and truth are your judgments against us'" (CD 20:28-30). Moreover, those who joined the Damascus Covenant were supposed to confess their sins against the Torah before joining the sect and believed that all transgressing Jews would be punished by God (CD 20:27-32).

This notion of self-blame is explicit in the Community Rule's annual rituals of entry into the covenant: "[and al]l those who enter the covenant shall confess...We have committed evil, and our [fa]thers before us, inasmuch as we walk [...] truth and just [...] His judgment upon us and upon o[ur] fathers" (1QS 1:24-26). In another *yahad* prayer, the member recites "I belong to evil humankind, to the assembly of unfaithful flesh; my failings, my iniquities, my sins [...] with the de-

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138 Compare the prophetic criticism of practical worship without actual commitment to
      God will in Hos 6:6-10; Isa 1:10-20; Jer 7:3-15.

prives of my heart, belong to the assembly of worms and those who walk in darkness" (1QS 11:9-10).

The same sense of self-guilt is repeatedly stressed in the Hodayot: "the [pardon]ing of my former offences, to [bow] low and beg your favor for [my sins and the evilness] of my deeds and the depravity of my heart. Because I defiled myself with impurity, and I was crea[ted] from the foundation [of lewdness]."[139] Finally, the notion of repentance is also attested in the Damascus Document, the Community Rule and the Hodayot by the self designation *shavei pesha* "those repent form sin/convert from iniquity."[140]

The Qumranites thus presupposed that the world was a place where even just individuals fail to walk in the way righteousness. Like so many later sects, they viewed the world as full of wickedness, and this was already demonstrated by their introversionist and revolutionist worldviews.[141] Such a way of thinking portrays the world as associated with defilement, sin, guilt and chaos, and only increases the aspiration for purgation, expiation and ransom, that is, to remove the external effects of sin and reconcile with God.[142] The context of these whole-hearted expressions indicates that these confessions relate not to the past life of members, before they joined the sect, but involved the current membership.

6.3 Atonement as the Sect's Main Aim

Atonement, a major aim and the raison d'être for these Qumran sects, is frequently mentioned in the scrolls. The mission of the *yahad* was to "to lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the community of the eternal covenant. They should make atonement for all who freely volunteer for the holiness of Aaron and for the house of truth in Israel" (1QS 5:5-6). The term "to atone for the land" is mentioned twice in the Community Rule (1QS 8:6, 10). Atonement could not be attained by the one who declines to enter the covenant, who is cursed (1QS 3:4).

The author of the Hodayot also emphasizes this idea repeatedly. In one hymn he praises God: "And all the sons of your truth you bring to

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139 1QH^a 4[17]:18-20 (following the restorations of Licht 1957, 210). See also 1QH^a 9[1]:21-23; 12[4]:34-35.

140 1QS 10:20; CD 2:5; 1QH^a 10[2]:9; 6[14]:24. Cf. Isa 59:20. For this concept in CD, see Knibb 1983, 105-107.

141 See Wilson 1973, 539, 541, s.v. evil, sin. Yinger (1957, 151-152) even concluded that established sects develop because they emphasize the evil nature of society.

142 Cf. Ricoeur 1967. For the relationship between impurity and sin, see Chapter 2.

forgiveness of your presence, *you pu[ri]fy them from their offences* by the greatness of your goodness, and by the abundance of your com[pas]sion to make them stand in your presence, for ever and ever."[143]

In the Damascus Document, the forefathers of the present Covenanters are described as those regarding whom "God, in his wonderful mysteries, atoned for their iniquity and pardoned their sin. And he built for them a safe home in Israel (CD 3:18-19). The passage concluding the Damascus Document announces that "those who remain steadfast in these rules [co]ming and going in accordance with the law... and led their ears to the voice of the Teacher of righteousness... they shall prevail over all the sons of the world. *And God will atone for them,* and they shall see his salvation, for they have taken refuge in his holy name" (CD 20:27-34).

Why were the Qumranites so obsessed with the quest for atonement? The sinful self-image of the sectarians is rooted in their most fundamental anthropological perception regarding the nothingness of all humans: "What is someone born of woman... a structure of dust fashioned with water, his counsel is the [iniquity] of sin shame of dishonor and so[urce of] impurity, and depraved spirits rule over him."[144] It is most likely that the same idea lay at the base of all the above passages which portray the sectarians themselves as unworthy and sinful.

6.4 Divine Justification and Election

But how can the authors of these very sources also consider themselves as elected by God, as the only righteous followers of his true commands and sufficiently holy to stand along with God's angels (see Chapter 11)? Did not they believe that God had predestinated the division of humanity into righteous and wicked at Creation?[145] How did they resolve this contradiction with the sources that regard all humans as sinful and unworthy?

The Qumranites reconcile the ostensible contradiction of terms by their belief that "Only on Your Goodness is man acquitted (*yiṣdak*, will

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143 1QHᵃ 15[7]:29-31; see also, *inter alia*, 1QHᵃ 4[17]:14-19; 14[6]:5-6.
144 1QHᵃ 5:20-22 [13:14-16]. See also 1QHᵃ 18[10]:3-4; 20[12]:24-26; Licht 1957, 34-35; Holm-Nielsen 1960, 274-282; Lichtenberger 1980a, 75-92. These passages correspond to the characterization of evil as physical incompleteness, imperfection, deficiency, and surfeit of human desires, whose harmful effects are denounced by a system of moral rules and prohibitions (Parkin 1985, 13).
145 See the Instruction of the Two Spirits, as well as 1QHᵃ 7[15]:13-22; 5:7-16[13:1-10].

be righteous)."[146] God elected specific individuals and redeemed them from afflictions with His grace. Moreover, God's justification of the sect members confers purification from sins: "And You, in your compassion, and in the greatest of your kindness, have purified from the abundance of iniquity so that he can recount your wonders before all your creatures".[147]

Nonetheless, although this idea solves the paradox between the members' spiritual merits and their senseless flesh, it does not explain why those who attain God's grace still experience self-reproach and are driven to seek forgiveness. The solution, I believe, lies in the Qumranites' attentiveness to the psychological dualism of good and evil that infuses every individual, as reflected in the Instruction of the Two Spirits: "(T)he spirits of truth and injustice feud in the heart of man: they walk in wisdom or in folly..."[148] The Israelites who were elected by God and designated the chosen holy people, were exiled when they disobeyed Him repeatedly. Similarly, the sectarians are elect but are not immune to sin and punishment.

Although they regarded themselves as chosen, they did not see themselves as self-righteous. Their belief in their own election was only the basis for the actual modes of atonement and strict laws they had been given by God. They were compelled to atone through just deeds and complete observant of God's true commands (see Chapters 2-3). Indeed, the election of Israel from all nations and the grace they were granted in the form of the opportunity to return to God by obeying His laws even when they sinned,[149] serves as the model of the Qumranic

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146 1QH^a 5:22-23 [13:16-17]. The flaws of all men and the election of the holy people are also discussed in 1QS 11:1-15, esp. lines 2-3, 14-15. In the Damascus Document, the theme of election is applied to sect forefathers in CD 1:7; 2:11; 6:2-3. Here, as elsewhere, Wilson's (1973, 21-22) comment that "men look for relief from evil in different forms of supernatural action" is appropriate.

147 1QH^a 9[1]: 31:33. For discussion and parallels, see Licht 1957, 35-37; Lichtenberger 1980a, 219-231.

148 1QS 4:23-25. Although this is the only explicit occurrence of psychological dualism in the scrolls, it is clearly presupposed in other documents that discuss physical and astrological methods of examination for determining the relative distribution of spirits of light and darkness within a given individual. See 4Q186 *Cryptic* (Alegro 1968, 88-91); Licht 1965b; Schmidt 1998; von Stuckrad 2000, 194-204. This concept is essential for the spiritual hierarchy within the *yahad* in which members were evaluated according to their "spirit, insight and works in the Torah," or, in short "their perfection of ways" (see Chapters 4 and 8). This concept provides a mechanism of "karma police": a man becomes the actions he commits (note the resemblance to the Calvinist doctrine of predestination and election, discussed in Weber 1930).

149 Ex 19:5-6; Deut 7:6-11.

idea of justification by God, although in the latter case the election is
not collective but personal.

6.5   Human Degradation, Sin, Confession and Atonement among
the Hutterites, Puritans, Quakers and Shakers

Relating these ideas to earlier definitions of sectarianism, the quest for
atonement is a marker of difference since it is possible only within the
sect. It is also related to Wilson's introversionist response, since it
serves as the main motive for social separation. The view of all humans
as sinful and impure, "a structure of dust fashioned with water," corre-
sponds to the cosmic tension between man and God. In order to dem-
onstrate the significance of self-guilt, confession and the quest for
atonement within introversionist sectarianism, I attempt to show that
these ideas are characteristic of other introversionist sects, including the
Hutterites, Puritans, Quakers and Shakers. While none of these sects
addressed the entire Qumranic chain of ideas of human nothingness-
sin-confession-election-justification-atonement, numerous points of
resemblance support their identification as sectarian ideas.

     Similar to the Qumranites, the Puritans hold the view that human na-
ture is corrupt, and individuals must confess their sins on a regular basis;
they also believe in a saving grace. The Puritans struggled to retain their
separation "from the common corruptions of this evil world."[150] They
also believed that no human deserved salvation, as John Winthrop is
cited as admitting, "What am I but dust! A worme, a rebel, and thine
enemie."[151] Puritan meditation in 17th century New England included
meditation on one's sinfulness and confessions in order to attain atone-
ment.[152] Moreover, God in his mercy chose to save a few, and granted
them saving faith. This faith cannot be attained by human effort alone.[153]

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150 Winthrop 1996, 8. Cf. Morgan 1999, 5-11. The devil and sin are extremely prevalent
      in Winthrop's *Journal* (Winthrop 1996).
151 Hambrick-Stowe 1982, 36, citing *Winthrop Papers*, I, 204. On the Puritan concept of
      prevalence of evil and sin in the world, see Hill 1964, 28, 33; Miller and Johnson 1963,
      202, 218-219, 272, 297, 291-314, 329-331, 336-340, 348-350; Middlekauff, 1971, 4-8, 63-
      69. Thus for example, according to the New England Puritan Increase Mather, "the
      nature of man is woefully corrupted and depraved" (*ibid.*, 348). Curiously, young
      Oliver Cromwell alluded to himself, before his conversion to Puritanism, as "the
      chief of sinners" (Walzer 1965, 141-142).
152 Hambrick-Stowe 1982, 26-27, 32 (the Puritans followed the meditative and mystical
      tradition of Augustine's *Confessions*). Manuals for converts included prayers and
      spiritual guidance for meditation on sin, reconciliation with God, etc. (*ibid.*, 29-31).
      For personal daily redemption in devotional manuals, see *ibid.*, 150, 165-166. For re-

Peter Rideman, the early Hutterite leader who published a systematic religious doctrine in his *Confession of Faith*, believed that the world is inherently evil and men's nature is inherently sinful. "All men save Christ only have a sinful nature." Moreover, "Evil hath now taken the upper hand in the world and still increases daily, so that men proceed from iniquity to iniquity, because they have yielded and committed their members to serve sin."[154] Hence, "all of us have by nature a tendency towards sin."[155] Rideman therefore called for remorse and repentance, and the Hutterites prayed for protection from all sin and evil.[156]

The Quakers were especially sensitive to issues of sin, and strived for atonement. They regarded evil as ruling the world,[157] and referred to human nothingness and Adam's fall on his posterity.[158] They therefore were vigilant "to watch even the smallest appearance of sin, to live in a continual watchfulness over every inward thought and outward word and action, to do everything as in the presence of God, and purely from a sense of piety and duty to Him..."[159] Indeed, the young George Fox resisted grave temptations to sin.[160] The ultimate aim of Quaker "deep baptism" in "Holy Ghost and with fire" was to be completely purified, sanctified, and to attain a state of sinlessness.[161]

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pentance as a requirement for joining the Puritans (in Boston, 1679), see Morgan 1963, 147.

153 Morgan 1963, 34. For the idea of divine grace, see Hambrick-Stowe 44-45, 79-81. Cf. Peter Bulkeley, *The Gospel-Covenant* (London 1651, pp. 219-220, cited in Miller and Johnson 1963): "When the Lord sets himselfe over a people, he frames them onto a willing and voluntary subjection unto him, that very desire nothing more then to be under his government...When the Lord is in a covenant with a people, they follow him not forcefully, but as fare as they are sanctified by grace, they submit willingly to his regiment."

154 Rideman 1970, 56 (referring to Rom 3:23; 5:16-19; II Tim 3:1-7; John 8:39-44). Cf. also Hutterian Brethern 1987, 110-126. For the Hutterite belief that all men are sinful, see Hostetler 1974, 143, 145.

155 *Ibid.*, 57.

156 *Ibid.*, 59-61, 149; Hutterian Brethren 1987, 192, 339, 410. Quite similarly, Menno Simons viewed his movement as a "spotless community in the wilderness of evil" (Williams 1962, 396).

157 Braithwaite 1923, 63-65, 120-121, 206, 466. Cf. Penn's assertion that "sin is of one nature all the world over" (Penn 1999, 5).

158 Hamm 1992, 4, 123.

159 Hobhouse 1972, 63. See also Penn 1999, 33.

160 "I was afraid of all carnal talk and talkers, for I could see nothing but corruptions... I could not believe that I should ever overcome; my troubles, my sorrow, and my temptations were so great, that I thought many times I should have despaired, I was so tempted." (Fox 1997, 12; cf. *ibid.*, 2, 9, 19).

161 Hamm 1992, 5; Cf. *ibid.*, 6-7.

Self-guilt and confession played an important role in Shaker thought. Shaker sources describe Ann Lee, their leader, as a pathologic repentant: "In watchings, fastings, tears and incessant cries to God, she labored day and night, for deliverance from the very nature of sin."[162] The young Ann Lee "desired to be kept and preserved from sin." On the day she first received the Gospel, she warned herself against sin and prayed to God for deliverance from the *very nature of sin.*" For Ann Lee, confession emerged as an immediate and emotional response to her feelings of self-guilt, as she testified: "I felt such a sense of my sins that I was willing to confess them before the whole world. I confessed my sins to my elders, one by one... When my elders reproved me, I felt determined not to be reproved twice for the same thing, but to labor to overcome the evil for myself."[163]

The Shakers followed a scrupulous remission of sin and confessions. Ann Lee taught that confession is "the first act of a repentant soul, and as being absolutely essential to the reception of the power to forsake sin."[164] The importance of confession is emphasized by Ann since confession of sins was restored in the second appearing of Christ, and established in perfect order. Ann Lee confessed and taught it "as the first act of a repentant soul, and as being absolutely essential to the reception of the *power to forsake sin.*"[165] Members of both the Shakers and the Amish maintained public confessions on a regular basis (see Chapter 8).

These comparisons show that many introversionist sects conduct an intense quest for atonement, and support related theological ideas including the conception of the reign of evilness and sinfulness in the world, and the depravity of man and the divine election of sect members. For the Qumranites, although election and atonement paved the way for the long Qumranic journey to salvation, there was an additional condition for this journey: revelation.

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162 Shakers 1888, 4.
163 Evans 1858, 122. "As these people [James and Jane Wardley, the first founders of the Shakers] had been favored with a greater degree of divine light, and a more clear and pointed testimony against sin than held hitherto been made manifest, Ann readily embraced their testimony. And, as their light had lead them to open confession of every known sin, and to the taking up of a full and final cross against all evil in their knowledge, they were thereby endowed with great power of God over sin, by which Ann found a good degree of that protection which she had so long desired, and so earnestly sought after" (Shakers 1888, 3).
164 Evans 1858, 116. Cf. Brown 1812, 16.
165 Evans 1858, 116-117.

7   Revelation Makes Difference

7.1   The Uniqueness of Revelation in Qumran

The Qumranites shared with many other contemporary Jews the belief that one was elected by God to be righteous, and an appreciation of the importance of following God's commandments and atoning for one's sins. It is the intensity of these ideas and the manner in which they were executed that are unique to the Qumran sects. What makes the Damascus Covenant and the *yaḥad* exceptional in relation to other contemporary Jewish movements is their claim that God revealed his future plans to them and instructed them in the required manner of worship. That is, God revealed to these groups the exact meaning of the Torah given to Moses on Mt. Sinai.[166]

The concept of heavenly revelation is the ultimate weapon in any contest between religious ideologies: revelation leads to complete confidence and faith, and since it is a divine process, it can neither be refuted nor falsified. From a comparative perspective, the concept of revelation reflected in the scrolls raises three interesting points that are worthy of elaboration. First, the *yaḥad* and Damascus Covenant held two distinct concepts of revelation. Second, modern anthropological studies have shown that the concept of revelation functions as the essence and origin of many new religious movements, and therefore may be understood as a fundamental factor that influenced the very creation of the Qumran sects. Third, the application of anthropological studies may enrich our understanding of the Qumranic conception of revelation and its institutionalization. These points are illustrated by evidence about different types of revelations in other sects, which also demonstrate the sectarian tendency to base doctrine and leadership on revelations.

7.2   Past Revelation or Continuous Revelation?

The *yaḥad* was founded on a concept of revelation concerning the true interpretation of the Torah, and these revelations were shared by the leaders of the *yaḥad*, the Sons of Zadok the Priests, as well as the rest of the members (1QS 5:8-10). The actual doctrine of the *yaḥad* was thus based on supernatural messages that persisted as an ongoing process

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166 For a survey of sources and scholarship on the belief in revelation in ancient Judaism, see Bockmuehl 1990.

which was "revealed from time to time" (*nigleh 'et be-'et*).[167] According
to the Community Rule, when the sect turned to the desert to seek God,
its main purpose was to interpret the Torah according to these continu-
ous revelations as well as the revelations to former biblical prophets:
"This is the exegesis (*midrash*) of the law wh[i]ch He commanded
through the hand of Moses, in order to act in compliance with all that
has been reveled from age to age, and according to what the prophets
have revealed through His holy spirit" (1QS 8:15-16). Revelations typi-
cally occurred during the study of the scriptures.[168] For the *yahad*, reve-
lation was understood as the result of divine insight or a "divinely
guided exegesis."[169] Controlling this flow of divine insights required a
complex social mechanism, which is not entirely clear.[170]

The *yahad*'s revelations also encompassed more general or cosmo-
logical themes as well. The authors of the "Community Hymns" of the
Hodayot repeatedly mention revelations that concern the divine provi-
dence, including the secrets of the evil in the world and the secrets of
creation (such as to cosmic and ethical dualism), and possibly also the
accomplishment of atonement: "These Things I know through Your
knowledge, for you opened my ears to wondrous mysteries."[171]

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167 1QS 8:14-18; 9:13-14. Cf. *ibid.*, 1:9; Schiffman 1975, 25-27; 1993, 47-48; A. Baumgarten
     1997b.
168 Shemesh and Werman 1998, 418-423, referring to 1QS 8:11-16; CD 3:16; 6-2-11. See
     also Bockmuehl 1990, 44-46. That all members may share the experience of revela-
     tion is apparent from 1QS 8:1-2, 11-12.
169 Schiffman 1994a, 247-248. A. Baumgarten 1997b, 142-143. The study of Torah was
     constant, and continued through the night in shifts (1QS 6:6-8), probably to avoid
     missing any potential glimpse of heavenly insight. More general or cosmological
     revelations ("mysteries", "wisdom" and "glory") are attested to in 1QS 11:3-8, and
     are prevalent in the Hodayot (see below).
170 A. Baumgarten (1997b, 143) commented that a community which believes in ongo-
     ing revelations is founded on an element of continuous novelty and instability.
     Revelation must be controlled and a certain authority should decide when it is nor-
     mative and when should it be rejected or even considered heretical. Baumgarten
     (*ibid.* 144-147) also discussed such coping with multiple revelations in 1 Cor and
     among the Shakers. He also noted (*ibid.* 140-141, 148-153) that in what are deemed to
     be earlier versions of the Community Rule (4QS[b,d]), the authority to receive norma-
     tive revelations, binding on new members, was in the hands of the *rabbim* (the com-
     munity as a whole), whereas in 1QS it was the duty of the Sons of Zadok the Priests.
     For the chronological relationship between 1QS and 4QS[b,d,e] and the development of
     the authority of the Sons of Zadok, see Chapter 4. This takeover may have been de-
     signed to improve the control over revelations in response to friction and fractions
     within the *yahad*.
171 1QH[a] 9[1]:21. See also 5:7-10 [13:1-3]; 19[11]:4, 28; 20[12]:11-13, 20-22; 21:1-9 + 23:10-
     15 [18:10-27]. See also 1QS 11:3-5: "...and the light of my heart the mystery of exis-
     tence (*raz niheye*)...and from the wonderful mystery is the light in my heart." For the

While these revelations probably pertain to the *yaḥad*'s members, more specific revelations were also attributed to the founder of the sect, the Teacher of Righteousness "...to whom God has made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets" probably, referring to exegesis of laws and eschatology.[172] It is possible that a collection of hymns in the Hodayot scroll (1QHᵃ 10-17 [Sukenik 2-9]), designated by scholars as "the Teacher's Hymns," were authored by the Teacher of Righteousness. These hymns describe the persecutions he suffered and his self-identity as the spiritual leader and founder of the sect.[173]

In these Hodayot, the author acknowledges the mysteries which God revealed to him: "Through me You have enlightened the face of the many. You have increased them, so that they are uncountable, *for you have shown me your wondrous mysteries.* By your wondrous counsel you have strengthened my position and worked wonders in the pres-

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relationship of those hymns to the *yaḥad,* see Licht 1957, 45-52. For the criteria of the "Community Hymns," see Kuhn 1966, 21-26 and the discussion below of the "Teacher Hymns." For a classification of the types of mysteries in the Hodayot, see Bockmuehl 1990, 53-56.

172 1QpHab 7:4-5; Jeremias 1963, 141. Another passage probably refers to the Teacher's revelation concerning the time of the millennial age: "The Priest whom God has placed wi[thin the Commun]ity to foretell the fulfillment of all the words of his servants, the prophets [by] means of whom God has declared all that is going to happen to His people Is[rael]" (1QpHab 2:8-10. "The priest" probably refers to the Teacher since the latter is mentioned in line 2 of this passage and since the Teacher is identified with "the priest" in 4QpPsᵃ 3:15).

173 The attribution of certain Hodayot to the Teacher has already been suggested by Sukenik 1950, 32-33 and was developed by many, notably Jeremias 1963, 168-267, Schulz 1974, and Douglas 1999 (with bibliographical survey). Two thematic criteria distinguish these "Teacher's Hymns" from the remaining "Community Hymns" and make it possible to identify the Teacher as their author. First, the speaker's authority, teaching and the responsibility towards his disciples (which is inconsistent with the relatively egalitarian structure of the *yaḥad,* which was at some point headed by a priestly elite class) attest to his role as the major leader. According to one hymn (16[8]:4-39), the author is the sect's founder (Charlesworth 1992). Second, the confrontations, struggles and persecutions he suffered at the hands of his opponents point to high degree of social interaction with the outside society, probably at the sect's formation phase (which recalls the arrests or persecutions of Jacob Hutter, George Fox and Ann Lee). See Douglas 1999, 257-266. Holm-Nielsen 1960, 316-348, raised several arguments against this view, mainly because the scroll is a collection of different literary forms of hymns, although his reservations were challenged quite convincingly by Douglas 1999. There is, however a slight possibility that later authors composed these hymns in the light of the Teacher's biography and teachings (cf. Davies 1987, 87-105 for a similar view regarding the composition of the Pesharim in the light of the Hodayot). The "Teacher's Hymns" were used as liturgies by sect members, but this does not make them mere literary creations.

ence of many on account of Your glory and to show Your powerful acts
to all living things."[174]

Revelations concerning interpretations of the rules of the Torah also
appear in the Damascus Document, although there, the process of reve-
lation is an act of the past in which the sect's current members were not
personally involved. "But with those who remained steadfast in God's
precepts...God established His covenant with Israel for ever, revealing
to them hidden matters (*nistarot*) in which Israel had gone astray" (CD
3:12-14). These revelations concern the Sabbath, festivals, morality and
other "wishes of His will." Revelation is mentioned in relation to the
past Covenanters ("the first ones who entered the covenant"), follow-
ing a description of the sect's secession from the sinful Israelites, and
does not refer to the current members of the Damascus Covenant.[175]
Moreover, the concept of continuous revelation "from time to time" is
absent in the Damascus Document, and the entire phenomenon of reve-
lation is relatively rare in comparison to the Community Rule. Conse-
quently, for the Damascus Covenant, revelation refers to past revela-
tions that constitute the Covenant's legal heritage.[176]

Revelation is mentioned once again in the Damascus Document in
the rule concerning admission of news members into the Damascus
Covenant: "All that has been revealed (*niglah*) of the law for the multi-
tude of the camp, if he inadvertently fails, the overseer should tea[ch
h]im and give orders concerning him, and he should le[arn] for a full
year" (CD 15:13-15). One may interpret this passage as indicating reve-
lation *experienced* by any member of the Damascus Covenant. I suggest,
however, that this passage indicates that revelation is something which
is being taught rather than being directly experienced. New members
study an entire year to learn what the other members already know.

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174 1QH[a] 12[4]:27-30; See also 15[7]:26-27 ("You have made me known your wonderful
   mysteries").

175 God's atoning for iniquity and pardoning of sins also applies to these first ones, who
   established the Covenant (CD 3:18-19). In another instance it is argued that "the re-
   vealed" was hidden due to the idolatry of the Israelites until the days of Zadok (CD
   5:1-5). This passage is extremely obscure (cf. the interpretation of Schiffman 1975, 30-
   31; 1993, 52-53), but in any event the revelation is again a matter of history. Revela-
   tions and mysteries prevail in pre-Qumranic writings such as 1 Enoch and Jubilees
   (Nickelsburg 1999), as well as some (perhaps pre-Qumranic) wisdom texts (e.g., El-
   gevin 1995, 450-456).

176 Note that in 1QS 5:8:9, the new member takes an oath to the Torah "in compliance
   with all that has been revealed of it to the Sons of Zadok etc.," whereas in CD 15:9-
   10, his oaths pertain to the Torah without any mention of revelation (which is taught
   after his admission). This may attest to the greater importance of the revelation in
   the Community Rule.

Linguistically, the things/laws "revealed" to the entire group may seem similar to those revealed to the *yaḥad* in 1QS 5:9-10, but *niglah* can also simply means "known." In a sense, the new member's ignorance in the passage just cited is not very different from the intellectual position of the other lay members. The Damascus Covenant is based on the teachings and instructions of the overseer or the leading priest to the other members who do not take an active part in decisions and interpretations as in the *yaḥad* (see Chapter 4).

The fact that the same terms regarding revelation (*nigleh* and *nistar*) occur in both the Community Rule and the Damascus Document led previous scholars to assume a single concept of revelation in Qumran. In both cases, revelation was introduced as the authoritative foundation of the Qumranic religion, the source of its distinctive scriptural interpretations and communal rulings. However, the difference between the *yaḥad* (including the "Community hymns" in the Hodayot), on the one hand, and the Damascus Covenant, on the other hand, is extremely significant. For the *yaḥad*, revelation was a matter of lived experience. For the members of the Damascus Covenant, it was mostly a conceptualization of religious traditions since they did not personally experience such divine enlightenment or engage in its processing (interpretation, implication, etc.).

7.3   The *yaḥad's* Continuous Concept of Revelation and Qumran Origins

Why did the Damascus Covenant regard revelation as a past event, whereas for the *yaḥad* it was all-present? Why did the Damascus Covenant not operate on the more spiritual and creative option of on-going revelations? These distinctly different conceptions of revelation may result from a diachronic relationship between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. It is possible that one of the texts or groups represent a latter approach that built upon and modified the earlier traditions. Since the Damascus Document refers to the revelation of past generations as a founding experience that paved the way for the Covenant, it is possible that the Damascus Covenant is actually building on the concept of continuous divine revelation found in the *yaḥad*, viewing it as already sealed. That is, the *yaḥad* may be identified with "those who remained steadfast in God's precepts" mentioned in CD 3:12.

The revelations revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness, mentioned in 1QpHab and perhaps also the revelations of the "Teacher's Hymn" in the Hodayot, attest to the existence of revelations during the

early history of the Qumran movement, probably before both the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant were established. I suggest that during this formative period, only the Teacher has such revelations. Later, as the evidence of the Community Rule and the "Community hymns" of the Hodayot show, all members of the *yaḥad* aspired to receive such divine disclosures in an abundance of revelations. According to this scenario, the *yaḥad*'s members imitated the Teacher's capability of having revelations.[177]

7.4   Past and Continuous Revelations among Other Sects

Revelation is an extremely prevalent phenomenon among sect and cults.[178] Not all sects follow this route, but the evidence surveyed here illustrates that revelation plays a major role in the sectarian belief system and its structural hierarchy. Clearly, revelation is the ultimate means for creating a sectarian ideology of difference (to use Stark-Bainbridge's terms) set against its social environment. Revelation provides a sense of truth and legitimizes sectarian doctrine and leadership. The following survey illustrates different patterns of revelation among different sects.

Dependence on past revelations is typical of the Seventh Day Adventist sect. The Seventh Day Adventists regard Mrs. Ellen G. White, who codified their doctrine of predicting the return of Christ in the nearest future based on biblical interpretations, and established its religious organization, as one who "God spoke through her," although she refused to accept the designation "prophet." They do not believe that any other individual today has the powers attributed to Mrs. White.[179]

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177 Although 1 Enoch and Jubilees, both written as apocalypses revealed to Enoch and Moses, serve as the background from which the Qumran sects emerged (see Chapters 5-6) I do not think that the Qumranic concept of revelation originates from these texts. While they provide the ideological background for the revelation of laws and millennial messages in Qumran (Nickelsburg 1999), their authors disguise divine revelations behind the divine experiences of Enoch and Moses. These Second Temple authors are uncomfortable with the claim that they were blessed with direct heavenly revelation. From a socio-anthropological perspective, the authors of 1 Enoch and Jubilees do not claim to have contemporaneous revelations.

178 See Wilson 1973, 542, s.v. vision(s); Wilson 1990, 110-115. He even finds it necessary to point to the existence of sects whose leaders or founders made no claim to any supernatural inspiration or defused charisma.

179 Schwartz 1970, 92-93. On Mrs. White's career as a visionary and the history of the Seventh Day Adventists, see Butler and Numbers 1987. In 1980 there were nearly 3.5 million affiliated members of this sect, most of them outside North America.

It is interesting to note that revelation tends to flourish in the earliest phases of a sect's development, at the age of its spiritual awakening, and gradually fades in subsequent generations. Thus, for example, the Swiss Anabaptists regarded revelation as a means for revealing Scripture as "a living reality."[180] The Gabrielites (a pre-Hutterite group of Anabaptists situated near Moravia) seem to hold that members should aspire to spiritual gifts.[181] The Order of another such group, led by Leupold Scharnschlager (1540) commands to choose a leader within the group and "admonish him... to read or speak to them according to the gift which he has received from God." Each member is called to "exercise his gifts for the improvement of the members, so that our fellowship may not be the same as that of the falsely renowned, where only one and no one else can speak."[182]

George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, experienced revelations ("openings") and visions.[183] The first Quakers trembled with the awareness of God's nearness to them, and were thus called "Quakers."[184] In their ecstatic outbursts, they were "moved of the Lord" or were "in the power" (but at the same time, were "at the body") quite often.[185] The fact that the Damascus Document discusses revelation as a heritage of past generations, and my suggestion that the flourishing of revelation in the *yaḥad* prior to their declined within the Damascus Covenant, indicate that revelation flourished in the early phase of Qumran sectarians. This corresponds to the dissemination of revelations in the early history of these later Christian sects.

Diffusion of revelations among members is typical of the Pentecostals and the early Shakers. In Pentecostalism, all members can and should aspire to attain inner spiritual illumination. The Holy Spirit is received by intense prayer and introspection, since God chooses a person as a human vehicle through which His messages are transmitted to mankind and reveals the future. Such spiritual baptism provides the

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180 Goertz 1996, 51 (citing John H. Yoder).
181 Packull 1995, 125-127.
182 *Ibid.*, 305. Packull provides detailed exposition of the history of these movements. Both groups are regarded as Hutterites and described in *The Chronicle of Hutterian Brethren.*
183 "(T)he Lord showed me that, so that I did see clearly, that he did not dwell in these temples which men had commanded and set up, but in people's heart" (Fox 1997, 8). For other such openings, see, *ibid.*, 9, 11, 14, 19, 23, 28-33. When he felt temptation and depression, the revelation of Christ gave Fox belief and hope (*ibid.*, 12). For Fox's visions, see *ibid.*, 100, 312, 539, 578, 658.
184 Jones 1965, 42.
185 Mack 1992, 152-153. In a sense, each word spoken at a Quaker meeting is prophetic, since it is perceived as a direct communication with God's own voice (*ibid.*, 170).

believer with a valued personal identity because he knows and feels that his personal contact with the divine transcends the boundaries of ordinary human knowledge and understanding.[186]

The experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit was studied by Gerlach and Hine, based on interviews with Pentecostal believers. They report that it involves visions and physical phenomena such as sensations of luminescence or weightlessness: a sense of the eternal – a disorientation in time or space, sensations of complete freedom; a sense of identity with other human beings – a sense of cosmic wholeness; a sensation of surrender to and immersion in a larger reality, an experience of self-fulfillment and enhancement of individuality rather than a loss of it; and, most important for the present discussion, a total comprehension of that which has always been true but unperceived.[187]

The Shaker history of revelations is quite complex. Earliest Shakerism (under the leadership of Jane and James Wardley, whom the young Ann Lee joined) began with a spiritual revival of revelations and prophesizing about the second appearing of Christ.[188] Ann Lee became the new leader by virtue of the revelations she experienced around the year 1770, "by a special manifestation of Divine light, the present testimony of salvation and eternal life was fully revealed to Ann Lee, and by her to the Society." She was acknowledged as Mother in Christ and was called Mother Ann.[189] Ann's divine disclosures deeply inspired the sect's members and became the core of Shaker doctrine.[190]

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186 Schwartz 1970, 147, 155-156. The Pentecostals were founded in the United Sates in the early 20th century. Several groups throughout the world have more or less direct associations with the movement's ideas. In their early days, nearly every meeting was marked by 'speaking in tongues,' prophesying, etc. The early Pentecostals held separatist views in their relations with other churches. The movement was revived in the 1960's in both Protestant and Roman Catholic circles. See Anderson 1987.

187 Gerlach and Hine 1970, esp. 124.

188 Evans 1858, 21-22. "Sometimes, after sitting awhile in silent meditation, they were seized with a mighty trembling, under which they would often express the indignation of God against all sin. They were often exercised with great agitation of body and limbs, shaking, running and walking the floor…These Exercises, so strange to the eyes of the beholders, brought upon them the appellation of Shakers." (*ibid.*).

189 Evans 1858, 22-23. Ann was walking and singing the songs of the New Jerusalem, then turned to the people and said: "I feel a special gift of God; I feel the power of God running all over me". Stretching forth her hands towards the south-west, she said: "the next opening of the gospel will be in the south-west.… You may live to see it, but I shall not" (Shakers 1888, 174).

190 "The light and power of God revealed in Ann, and through her revealed to those who received her testimony, had such sensible effect in giving them power over all sin, and filling them with visions, revelations, and gifts of God, that she was received and acknowledged as the first spiritual Mother in Christ and the second heir of the Covenant of Life in the New Creation" (Shakers 1888, 5).

Interestingly, revelations became increasingly diffused during a crucial transitional period in Shaker history. The inner core of nine members who traveled with Ann to America "received spiritual manifestations, and the Spirits directed them to repair to America."[191] Fifty years latter, (in 1837) a temporary spiritual revival occurred, when revelations abounded among the Shakers, including a flourishing of artistic inspiration.[192] Shaker history therefore also confirms the central role of revelations in the early stages of a sect's development as well as the recurrence of outbursts of revelations and the diffusion of revelations from leader or founder to believers. This latter process recalls my reconstruction of the imitation of the Teacher's revelations by the *yaḥad*.

7.5   The Emergence of Revelations and Social Theory

Social theories contribute to our understanding of how the Teacher's revelations first emerged, why his follower's required such a charismatic leader, the nature of ongoing revelations as an essential feature of the *yaḥad*, and the routinization of charisma in the Damascus Covenant. The need to apply such models arises from the fact that the background of the Teacher and the manner in which he became the founder or leader of the Qumran movement is obscure and mentioned only rarely in the scrolls.

Several models may shed light on the socio-religious developments leading to the Teacher of Righteousness' first experience of his formative revelations, an issue which is not mentioned in the scrolls. Wilson and other social theorists regard revelation (or, to use Weber's term – "charisma" – the social recognition in supernatural power which leads to a certain authority, especially among prophets) as the trigger that stimulates the emergence of sects and cults.[193] According to Stark and Bainbridge, the founder of the new religious tradition experiences mental

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191 Evans 1858, 138. Garrett 1998, 152-153, 158, 183 refers to J. Whittaker, J. Hocknell and others. Andrews 1963, 154 refers to the subsequent leadership of Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright.

192 Andrews 1963, 152-176; Stein 1992, 165-200. Joseph Meacham, the supreme Shaker leader at the time, reacted by calling for a complete separation from worldliness, including a stricter segregation of the sexes (Andrews 1963, 156).

193 Wilson 1975, esp. 4-6. See also below. Charisma is a belief in the mysterious gift of one man who shares it with those who follow him, and demands absolute faith. It is a relation of supreme trust in the total competence of the individual whose qualities are supernatural. The charismatic leader must be a plausible vessel for divine grace, but the very meaning of "plausibility" is itself culturally determined (Wilson 1975, 25, 29, 46).

stress as a response to some crisis, and achieves visions that lead to the invention of new compensators (a belief that a reward will be obtained in the distant future or in some other context which cannot be immediately verified). While his own religious distress is resolved, the cult is successfully formed when the founders' solution resolves similar problems suffered by many others, in response to the same social crisis.[194]

According to Silverman's model of the evolution of shamanism, the emergence of new revelations is a result of withdrawal from active social life and experiencing "self-initiated sensory deprivation." The revelation itself is described by shamans as "the eruption into the field of attention of a flood of archaic imagery and attendant lower-order referential processes such as occur in dreams or reverie... Ideas surge through with peculiar vividness as though from an outside source." Revelation leads to "cognitive reorganization," when the founder attempts to share this vision with other people. Failure drives the individual into mental illness, while success transforms him into a mentally stable and charismatic cult leader.[195]

The socio-religious circumstances that lead to the emergence and acceptance of revelations were discussed by Stark and Wilson. Novel and heretical revelations will most likely come to persons of deep religious convictions who discern shortcomings in the conventional faith. This phenomenon increases during periods of social crisis.[196] A sense of a failing religious system, anticipations for a leader, a conscious construction of a herd without a shepherd, recalls the description in CD 1:8-13:[197] The sect's forerunners "realized their iniquity and knew that

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194 Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 173-174. They term this "the psychological model" of cult formation. This model is based on deprivation theory (which I have tried to tone down) as well as on the view that religion is a mere projection of neurotic or psychotic delusions. Highly neurotic or psychotic persons reject the conventional religious tradition, concoct arbitrary substitutes, and place their trust in novel formulations. This model also accords with Ann Lee's own description of her distress and experience of the "spiritual kingdom" (Evans 1858, 125-126).

195 Silverman 1967 (citation from p. 27).

196 Stark 1992, 26-27.

197 Such a demand for charisma occurs when possibility for differentiation between individuals is relatively slight and where wide disparities between the indigenous material culture and the material culture of outside intruders are recognized (Wilson 1975, 84). These social circumstances correspond to the socio-political situation in Judea during the Maccabean revolt and the dominance of the Jewish Hellenizers which caused disfranchised pious Jews and elite groups deprived of their status to desert their homes and occupations (see next note). For doubts regarding CD's description of the circumstances under which the Teacher appeared, see Hempel 1999b, 321. See also the view of Davies (1983, 63-65, 233; rightly rejected by Boyce

they were guilty {men}; they were like blind persons and like those who grope the path for twenty years; And God appraised their deeds, because they sought him with undivided heart, and raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness, in order to direct them in the path of his heart."

The period which scholars usually perceive as described in CD 1, around 175-150 BCE, was indeed a time of a tremendous political and religious turmoil. This period of Hellenistic reform, Seleucid decrees against Jewish religion and the beginning of Hasmonean independence[198] was an appropriate background for interest in such charismatic propensity, due to the need for order, and the desire for prophets to rearrange the world and promise a new or even faultless world, through change or transformation. Such changes, however, must involve disruption, at least in the short term, since they challenge the existing order.[199]

Wilson's proposed model of charismatic demand underlines why revelations become prevalent and play a central role in the emergence of new religious movements. When a prophet becomes active and his potential is acknowledged, the need for a prophet is then awakened. A solution to all problems is now canvassed and the idea of a prophet becomes a significant social and cultural item. It is not, of course, inconceivable that charismatic demand may occur without a direct experience of a prophet. Under certain circumstances, charismatic demand might crystallize into some form of collective action that is appropriately called a "movement." Its originators are not "leaders" themselves and they may initiate social action without being able to supervise its subsequent course. They may, for example, canvass the idea of a coming messiah, and so stimulate the emergence of a movement which in many ways comes into being in anticipation of a leader. The remedy for existing discontents is conceptualized as located not in the activity of the movement so much as in the ordinance that the leader will establish on his arrival.[200] This model may explain why the blind and groping seekers in CD 1 sought a leader to guide them, and followed the Teacher of Righteousness. Due to its sociological reason-

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1990) that this is a later redaction of the original text. Cf. also Grossman 2002, 146-149.

198 According to the chronology of CD 1, the Teacher arrived during this period, ca. 175-155 BCE. Cf. Steudel 1993, 236-238 and bibliography. For the historical background, see, e.g., Tcherikover 1959, 175-234.

199 Wilson 1975, 10, 26, following Shils 1965, 203.

200 Wilson 1975, 82-84.

ing, the demand for charisma model also increases the plausibility of the description in CD 1.

Other sociological studies illuminate the nature of revelations among the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. Recently, Stark introduced "a rational theory of revelation," viewing it not as associated with frauds or psychopaths, but as an intellectual certainty due to an intellectual search conducted "through entirely normal means." According to Stark, the talent of experiencing revelations is grasped as unusual creativity.[201] This recognition is insightful in understanding the material difference between the subsequent continuous revelations of the *yaḥad* and the charismatic revelations of the Teacher. The frequent revelations of the *yaḥad* seem to have an intellectual character, associated with the study of the Torah.

Following Max Weber, Stark also recalls the concept of the "routinization of charisma." Successful religious movements founded on revelations will attempt to curtail revelations, or at least prevent novel (heretical) ones in order to preserve their doctrine and social order. Thus, charismatic authority, which may be uniquely suited for the process of originating religious movements, is too unstable to sustain an organized social enterprise. At a certain stage, the movement adopts the position that the age of revelations has ended, for all the necessary truths have already been told.[202] If so, the dependence of the Damascus Covenant on past revelations may reflect such a routinization and indicate a relatively later stage of development of the religious tradition, which supports my suggestion that the *yaḥad*'s continuous revelations preceded the past revelations of the Damascus Covenant.

To conclude, social theorists view revelation as an activity that creates new movements and new ideas, usually due to the rise of a distinguished leader who experiences divine knowledge and consequently forms a new religious system. Such religious innovation occurs in times of threat or tension that stimulate social action and rethinking regarding the relationship between the human and the divine.[203] Using these insights in evaluating the evidence concerning revelations in Qumran, I conclude that the Teacher's revelations played a crucial role in the emergence of his leadership and establishing the Earliest Qumran sect.

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201 Stark 1992. For the gradual radicalization and increased innovativeness of the contents of revelations as they become accepted by the surrounding society, see *ibid.* 28-29.
202 Stark 1992, 30, following Weber 1947; 1963.
203 In Wilson's view (1975, 27), charisma is a cause of social change and also a response to social disruption. For a more deterministic presentation of this idea, see Wallace 1956.

The *yahad* apparently inherited the quest for revelations from its leader, but this tendency was diminished in the Damascus Covenant, which merely built on past revelations.

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In this opening chapter I have reviewed the sectarian ideologies of the *yahad*, the Damascus Covenant and associated texts in light of sociological and anthropological theories, such as models of sectarianism, introversionism, millennialism, and revelation, as well as some comparisons with other (mainly introversionist) sects. The *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant are described as two related but distinct introversionist (separatist) sects with revolutionist (messianic) tendencies that have much in common with several later Christian sects. This chapter serves as an introduction to a more elaborated analysis of Qumran beliefs and practices.

Chapter 2
Abominated Temple and Moral Community: Purity, Morality and Sectarian Boundaries

1 Introduction: The Discourse of Purity as Sectarian Ideology

Morality and purity are two themes that take prominence in the writings of the Qumran sects, and serve as their major structures of signification. This chapter addresses these notions, showing how they were weaved into a sectarian ideology in Qumran. The Qumranic ideology of moral impurity and social separation, and its attitude towards the Temple are first demonstrated in 4QMMT, which reflects the dawning of the sect. The Pesharim, the Community Rule and the Damascus Document represent the formative period of the Qumran sects. In this chapter, moral codes and sectarian rituals are analyzed in order to understand the sectarian alternative to the corrupted world and Temple cult. Throughout the chapter, socio-anthropological theories and cross-cultural analogies are used in order to gain a better understanding of sectarian attitudes.

In discussing the associations of immorality with impurity (and morality with purification) in Qumranic sources, my main argument is that although ritual (bodily) purity receives a great deal of attention in Qumran, moral impurity has much more far-reaching social implications. It is the latter characterization of sin as a contaminant which defines the sectarian social boundaries separating the Qumran sects from their contemporary Jews. This characterization, I suggest, evolved gradually, and led to the formation of new concepts of atonement, attitudes towards the Temple and many communal regulations.

My presentation is structured along the historical development of the Qumran sects and their increasing separation from the outside world. This diachronic structure, however, should not be viewed as the main argument (the methodological difficulties in setting a concrete date for each document and establishing their exact historical order will be noted throughout the chapter), but rather as a conventional device

for presenting socio-religious ideologies without blurring their context
or relationships.

Before turning to the actual evidence of the scrolls, a definition of
ritual impurity and moral impurity may be useful. According to the
Hebrew Bible, the sources of ritual impurity are either natural phe-
nomena, such as childbirth, skin disease ("leprosy"), and menstrual
and seminal emissions.[1] In contrast, moral impurity results from hei-
nous acts, particularly offenses that pertain to social life such as sexual
sins, bloodshed, idolatry, and deceit. While ritual impurity may be
unintentional, moral pollution is the result of a deliberate act, and thus
testifies to the transgressor's own character.[2] As a result of moral de-
filement, the sinner experiences a decline in status, but usually is not
deemed to defile those with whom he comes into contact. The Priestly
traditions in the Pentateuch prescribe a complicated process involving
repentance, restitution, and an atoning sacrifice, through which repen-
tance is publicly performed to remove impurity resulting from sin.
Neglecting this process leads to the metaphorical pollution of the sacri-
ficial altar and punishment for the transgressor.[3]

According to the so-called Priestly laws of sacrifices in Leviticus
and Numbers, desecration of the cult may be caused not only by con-
tact with or penetration of the sources of impurity into the sacred space
of the Temple.[4] Sacred rituals can also be defiled by improper practices.
If one slaughters the sacrificed animal not according to the rule, or of-
fers meat, cereals, wine, oil, or incense inappropriately, the rite leads to
sin and guilt, which may lead to death (*karet*) penalty.[5] In the same
manner, consumption of priestly dues, *viz.* heave offerings by the laity
causes its sinful profanation.[6] As attested in the case of Nadab and
Abihu (Lev 10:1–7) and other catastrophic incidents, the Temple service
demands scrupulous attention to details, and any failure to do so leads
to desecration rather than consecration.[7]

Second Temple sources (and particularly, rabbinic literature and
the New Testament) extensively address the issue of ritual purity. It is

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1   E.g., Lev 16:28; Num 19:8; Milgrom 1991, 766-768.
2   Klawans 2001, 21–42. See, e.g., Lev 18:27–30.
3   Milgrom 1976a; 1976b.
4   Lev. 5:2-14; 22:1–9.
5   Lev 7:18; 10:17; 19:6–8. Cf. m. *zevaḥim*, Chapters 1-4 (esp. 2:3).
6   Num. 18:11, 13; Milgrom 1976b, 16–19, 34–40; 1991, 43-51, 307–18, 598-604, 976–1009.
7   Admittedly, both Scripture and rabbinic texts distinguish between impurity and
    desecration. I refer here to both as a single uniform concept only because of their
    common implication from a religious point of view, namely, the desolation of the
    sacrificial cult in the Temple, as demonstrated from several Qumranic texts below.

sometimes seems that during the Hasmonean and Herodian periods, elements within Judean society competed over who was the most scrupulous observer of purity. Basically, all Jews were careful to avoid introducing ritual impurity into the Temple cult, and priests seemed to remain in a state of ritual purity when eating their portions of sacrifices and heave offerings (*terumah*). The most fundamental aspect of this phenomenon, however, was the attribution of total impurity to those who were less scrupulous in their observance of purity laws.[8] Moral impurity, in contrast, is relatively neglected in rabbinic sources, yet it is far more central, for example, in Jubilees, Philo and the New Testament.[9]

2   Partial Boundaries in MMT: Ritual and Moral Impurity

2.1   MMT as a Program for Ritual and Moral Reform

MMT (4Q *Miqṣat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*, 4Q394-399) is sometimes called the "halakhic letter" since it is written as a letter in which the authors attempt to persuade the addressee to accept several laws that are presented in detail. The scroll, reconstructed by Qimron and Strugnell, comprises a total of approximately 120 lines in three sections:[10]

Section A presents a calendar which includes the dates of the festivals. This is a 364-day "solar" calendar in which festivals occur on the same day every year, in contrast to the contemporary Jewish luni-solar calendar which was also followed by the rabbis, where there was no such consistency regarding the weekdays on which the festivals occur (see chapter 3). Since this calendar survived in only one copy of MMT, it is possible that it was a later insertion and not an original part of the scroll.[11]

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8   For basic presentation of the evidence, see Neusner 1973a; Sanders 1992, 214-230, 431-444. For the purity associated with eating of ordinary food, prayer and reading Scripture, and the dynamics of separation from less scrupulous Jews (notably, the *Am-ha'aretz*), see Regev 2000a.

9   See Klawans 2001 for a comprehensive discussion. For the early Christian concept of moral impurity and its social implications, see Regev 2004c.

10   Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 3-63 introduce the fragments and reconstruct a composite text. All translations of MMT follow their edition and are based on their reconstructions (which are largely accepted by other scholars).

11   This is Strugenll's view in Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 203. See also Schiffman 1996, 82–86, 97–98. Schiffman believes that MMT was composed before the solar calendar

Section B is a halakhic section containing of a list of about seventeen laws concerning Temple rites and other related matters. The legal issues are presented juxtaposing the opposing arguments, "we say" as opposed to "they do." In all cases, the authors represent views that are stricter than those of their opponents. The authors' arguments imply that the debate was not with the theoretical concepts underlying the cultic laws, but with actual contemporary Temple practices.[12] Surprisingly, almost all the more lenient positions of the "they group" find expression in early rabbinic literature, mostly in the Mishnah, and virtually all resemble the views of the rabbis. Consequently, the "they group," whose cultic laws the authors oppose, appear to be the forerunners of the rabbis, that is, the Pharisees.[13] In fact, three of the opponent's lenient legal views are explicitly attributed to the Pharisees in the Mishnah. The Pharisees are mentioned several times in the Damascus Documents and the Pesharim under the code names "Seekers of Smooth Things" and *Ephraim*, and their leader is called "The Man/Preacher of Lies." They were definitely the main religious adversaries of the Qumran sects in terms of religious and legal teachings.[14]

Section C presents a homiletic section in which the authors apply directly to an unnamed addressee to persuade him to adopt their views rather than their opponents' more lenient rules of conduct. This section contains a hortatory in which they show some appreciation towards the addressee, enumerate their own moral virtues and condemn the immoral vices of a group called "the Multitude of the People."

2.2   Ritual Impurity and Temple Desecration in MMT

All the laws of ritual impurity in MMT in section B share a common general theme. Not only do all concern cultic issues (the purity of the cult, sacrifices, and priestly dues), their opposition to the Pharisaic position consistently implies that the Temple cult is polluted or dese-

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was accepted by the sect (and before the appearance of the Teacher of Righteous). However, this is unlikely since MMT was probably influenced by the laws of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll, both considered by most scholars as earlier documents that follow the 364-day calendar. Note that the scroll's opening phrase appears only at the beginning of section 2. Kister 1999, 360 assumes that the calendar is original.

12   Schwartz 1996.

13   Sussman 1989/90 (English abbreviated version in Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 179-200); Schiffman 1990; Qimron and Strugnell, 1994, 113-21.

14   Flusser 1970; 1981; Stegemann 1971; VanderKam 2003. For the Man of Lies and his possible identification as Yose ben Yoezer, the first sage (who was also a priest) to whom the rabbis attribute legal positions, see Regev 2000b, 105-107.

crated. MMT therefore represents a specific thematic and religious framework, and probably is infused with a specific aim, which I address below.

In the nine MMT laws that address ritual purity, the authors argue that the cultic laws of the "they group" are incorrect, and the authors' own interpretations are obligatory. The authors stress that what "they" claim to be pure, "we" claim to be impure.[15] (Many of the following halakhic issues are discussed more fully in Chapter 3 and are therefore only mentioned here in passing). The authors argue:

1. B 3–5: The heave offering/tithe of the wheat and grain of gentiles or Levites is defiled and thus should not be brought into the Temple.
2. B 8–9: The sacrifices of gentiles should not be accepted.

These prohibitions probably derive from the Qumranic view that gentiles are ritually impure. The rabbis, however, acknowledged heave offerings and tithes offered by gentiles (m. *terumot* 3:9), and several rabbis did not regard the slaughtering of a sacrifice by a Jew for a gentile as a desecration (m. *ḥulin* 2:7). In fact, the rabbis did not regard gentiles as a defiling element, but only decreed that they should be *considered* to be such.[16]

3. B 72–74: A single bone defiles a corpse by impurity. For rabbis, a minimum amount of bones (about one half a liter) from several organs was required to be considered defiling (m. *'ohalot* 2:1).

4. B 13–16: Preparation of the ashes of the red heifer (designed to cleanse corpse impurity in Num 19) requires burning by a priest who not only immersed in water but also waited until sundown (*ha'arivut shemesh*) if he was formerly defiled. The Pharisees insisted that immersion was sufficient, and the priest was not required to wait until sundown, since he can burn the red heifer while in a state of *tebul yom*.

5. B 21–22: The bones, skin and products of unclean ("non-kosher") animals are impure and must not be brought into the Temple. The rabbis regarded such unclean animals (a donkey, for example) as pure.

6. B 39–49: Ammonites, Moabites, *mamzer* (bastard), and men who have defected genitals are forbidden to enter the Temple, and marriage with these individuals are also forbidden. According to the rabbis, only gentiles were prohibited from entering the Temple.

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15 Qimron discussed the laws of MMT in comparison to rabbinical laws in Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 123-177.

16 For the gentiles' impurity and their association with idolatry in Second Temple sources and rabbinic law, see Klawans 1995. A similar rejection of sacrifices by gentiles instigated the Great Revolt against the Romans in 66 CE (Josephus, *War* 2.409-410).

7. B 49–54: The blind and deaf are prohibited from entering the Temple, because they cannot avoid defilement. No such interdiction is found in rabbinic corpus.

8. B 55–58: Liquids (*muṣakot*) that are poured from an upper pure vessel into an impure vessel beneath it contaminate the pure vessel, implying that impurity "climbs" upward to the upper vessel. The Pharisees claimed that liquid streams are pure.

9. B 58–62: Dogs must not enter Jerusalem since they desecrate or defile sacrifices by eating from the leftovers. The rabbis did not follow such a prohibition.

Eight additional laws bear the same rhetoric, discussing the danger of desecration and impurity:

10. B 5–8: The sin/purification (*ḥattat*) offering must not be boiled in copper vessels. It seems that the authors object to the use of the same vessels for both purification offerings and other less sacred sacrifices, which the authors believed caused desecration of the purification offering. The rabbis accepted such a common use of vessels.[17]

11. B 36–38: Following the biblical prohibition against sacrificing an animal and its offspring on the same day (Lev 22:28), the authors maintain that although a fetus of the slaughtered animal should be slaughtered like every other sacrificial animal, sacrificing an animal and its fetus on the same day is prohibited, and obviously defiles the altar. Therefore, the authors also object to sacrificing pregnant animals on the altar (as well as the Temple Scroll 52:5–7). The rabbis, however, held that the fetus does not require separate slaughter and can be therefore offered on the altar with the mother (m. *ḥulin* 4:5).

12. B 64–72: People afflicted by skin-disease should avoid proximity to the "purity of the holiness" and must not defile the sacred (such as heave offerings), even outside the Temple. These individuals must wait until the sundown of the eighth day of their defilement before accessing the sacred. MMT apparently forbids purified skin-diseased persons to eat heave offerings before bringing their guilt-offerings (*'asham*) to the Temple, that is, before completing their atonement. The rabbis did permit such eating of heave offerings (m. *neg'aim* 14:3).

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17   Cf. Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 149. For boiling purification offering in copper vessels, see Lev 6:21. For the rabbis' view, see Sifra *zav* 7:5 (ed. Weiss 32d-33a). The passage is poorly preserved and its content is highly questionable. Other possibilities are that the authors demand that the remains of the offerings be rubbed (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 149) or that they argue that the priests' sacrifices should be separated from those of the laity, similar to the Temple Scroll 35:10–11; 37 (J. Baumgarten 1996b, 513).

13. B 75–82: Mixed marriage among the priests, which is declared as fornication, is prohibited. It is not clear whether the authors refer to marriage between priests and lay women or gentile women.[18] Either way, they emphasize that such marriage causes "the defilement of the holy seed," and these defiled priests might then desecrate the Temple cult.

14. B 9–13: The sacrifice and the thanksgiving cakes of the *shelamin* ("well-being") offering should be eaten by sundown. Thereafter, they are desecrated.

15. B 27–35: Animals that are slaughtered outside the Temple must not be brought into Jerusalem and certainly may not be brought to the altar because they are a source of defilement. The Temple Scroll (52:13-21) explains that since all animals should be offered on the altar, animals slaughtered outside the Temple are considered to be improperly slaughtered, hence having a defiling power.

16. B 62–63: Fruits of the fourth year that are brought to the Temple should be given to the priests, and not to the laity.

17. B 63–64: The tithe of the animals should be given to the priests, and not be eaten by the owners.

Thus, all MMT laws demand amendments to the prevailing cultic system. These laws all imply that the Pharisees defile and desecrate the altar by their neglect of the scrupulous cultic commands. Moreover, the authors repeatedly mention the dangers of impurity and caution against the danger that "the priests might bear sin upon the people."[19]

2.3   Moral Impurity in MMT

In Section C, the authors discuss the moral behavior of their own group and their opponents, in an attempt to persuade the addressee to adopt their legal views. The key phrase for our purpose is their declaration of public withdrawal: "[and you know that] we have separated ourselves from the multitude of the peop[le (*rov ha'am*) and from all their impurity and] and from being defiled (*mehita'rev*) in these matters and from

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18   Qimron and Strugnell 1994 171–175 (priests and laity); J. Baumgarten 1996b, 515–516; Kister 1999, 343-348 (Jews and gentiles).

19   For the bearing of sin, see B 12–13, 26–27; cf. Lev. 7:18; 22:16 in relation to desecrating sacrifices and offerings. For impurity, see B 3-4, 15-16, 23, 42, 48, 50, 52, 65-68, 80-81. Harrington 1997 introduced MMT's system of holiness in a manner which emphasized its stringency but did not discuss the implications of these views for attitudes towards the Temple and the Pharisees.

associating (*lavo*) w[ith them] in these things" (C 7–8).[20] Here, one finds acknowledgment of social separation, so characteristic of sects. Impurity serves as a boundary marker, since it is equated with social association with the "Multitude of the People." The exact identity of the mysterious "Multitude of the People" has not been determined although several suggestions have been forwarded, including the Sadducees, the Hellenized Jews who ruled the Temple in 175-152 BCE, or some Pharisees who are followers of the addressee.[21]

Another expression concerns for understanding the authors' self-image discusses their morality: "And you k[now that no] treachery (*ma'al*) or deceit (*sheker*) or evil (*ra'a*), can be found in our hand (i.e., in us), since for [these things] we give o[ur heart" (C 8-9). This self-justification, as well as the remainder of hortatory and homiletic tones in Section C, indicate that the authors do not consider the addressee as one of the defiled "Multitude of the People," and communications with the addressee are free of social tension.

Lines 1-5 of Section C are extremely corrupted and their interpretation is therefore based on a certain degree of conjecture. Interestingly, they contain moral accusations which are quite the opposite of the authors' self-proclaimed virtues: "and concerning the wom[en ...the malic]e and the treachery[...] for in these matters [...] and because of ... [the malice] (*ḥamas*) and the treachery ... and fornication (*zenut*) [some] places were destroyed." Thus, the authors condemn the immoral behavior of others that, apparently caused punishment.[22] This moral contrast led Daniel Schwartz to suggest that the immoral and evil characters should be attributed to "the Multitude of the People."[23] The

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20 I have slightly amended Qimron and Sturgnell's translation. For the root *'arav* (literally, to mix) as impure, see Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 139-140.

21 Schwartz 1996 (Sadducees); Eshel 1996 (Hellenized Jews); Deines 2001, 465–74 (Pharisees). Cf. Kister 1999, 320 n. 9. The question is whether or not "the Multitude" are related to the Pharisaic cultic laws in Section B. Giving that MMT was sent to Jonathan the Maccabee *ca.* 152 BCE (see below), the most probable suggestion may be that the "Multitude" are the Hellenized Jews. Therefore I suggest that the reference here is to all who accepted their authority (the Hasideans' readiness to acknowledge the high priesthood of Alkimus in 1 Mac 7:12-18 may be an example of such acceptance). Still, the relationship between the Hellenized Jews and the reign of the Pharisaic halakhah at the Temple remains awkward, unless the latter was a more recent development that occurred after the fall of the Hellenized Jews in 152 BCE.

22 C 4-6. Note that treachery and fornication are used in the scrolls as general immoral transgressions, thus as social sins. See CD 20:23; 1QHᵃ 19[11]:11, for treachery; 1QS 1:6; 4:10; CD 2:16; 19:17, for fornication. For the meaning of deceit, cf. Kister 1999, 321 n. 12.

23 Schwartz 1996, 74–80. Obviously, he argues, the immoral characteristics cannot be attributed to the addressee and his party. See also Eshel 1996.

consequence of this plausible interpretation is that the authors separated themselves from "the Multitude" whom they regarded as morally corrupt, that is, whose moral sins were considered to produce moral impurity.

It is interesting that the overall theme of MMT is impurity: whereas Section B discusses ritual impurity and the desecration of the Temple, in Section C the authors are preoccupied with moral impurity caused by the fornication, treachery, malice, deceit and evil committed by "the Multitude of the People." Nonetheless, it is important to note that the two distinct types of impurity are probably attributed to two different groups. Those who follow the cultic laws of the Pharisees in Section B are not portrayed as morally corrupted, and "the Multitude of the People" are not accused of improper sacrificial practices. This suggests that halakhic disputes do not necessarily lead to moral condemnation and social separation, whereas moral condemnations may certainly result in social separation. It is also possible that the moral impurity of "the Multitude" was considered to defile the Temple from afar,[24] and in any case, the authors argue that it was their immoral behavior which brought punishment on the entire nation.

The view that sin defiles is not exclusive to the Qumran sects. It is found in the Hebrew Bible, in Jubilees, Philo, Josephus and in the New Testament. What is unique in MMT is that the authors cite moral impurity as the cause for their social separation. Their view of "the others" as morally polluted (and perhaps also polluting) leads to their total withdrawal designed to prevent any contact with the "others."[25] This is a typical sectarian approach. As sociologist Lewis Coser noted, "the morality of the sect is a morality of extremes, it cannot tolerate reserva-

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24 In Jub 30:13-16 intermarriage with gentiles defiles the Temple. In the Temple Scroll 51:11–15, judges who take bribery defile the Temple (see below). Given the affinities of MMT with both these sources (see Chapters 3 and 6), and given its sensitivity to the defilement of the cult, it is plausible that MMT shares this concept.

25 A similar approach is found in Jubilees, where it applies not to other Jews, but to gentiles, and actually follows the commands of the Torah (see Chapter 6). Another partial resemblance to MMT's conception is attested to in Jub 30:13-16, where the one who marries a gentile or marries his daughter to a gentile is excluded from the Temple due to the impurity and abomination associated with such intermarriage. For general attestations of moral impurity, see Klawans 2001. See also the Testament of Levi (Geniza Bodleian b 14-18) "be[wa]re my son of all fornication and impurity and all of harlotry" (Greenfield, Stone and Eshel 2004, 74-75, 159). The notion that sin defiles the Temple is grounded in ancient Judaism. Psalms 15, 24, and 51 declare that only the honest and righteous who have not committed evil are welcome in the Temple (Otto 1986). The purpose of the purification offering (ḥaṭṭat) and guilt offering (ʾasham) was to cleanse the altar from the impurities, including moral ones. See, Milgom 1976a; 1976b; 1991, 254-269; cf. Lev 16:21; 20:3.

tions."[26] What is curious here is that the authors segregate themselves from the immoral and defiled "Multitude of the People," yet communicate with the addressee who (as will be shown below) was also an outsider. Hence, in contrast to the later Community Rule, the Damascus Document and the Hodayot, the authors do not regard all outsiders as sinners or wicked. They do not separate themselves completely from the outside world compared to the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant, as I show below.

2.4   The Wicked Priest and MMT's Historical Context

The authors' efforts to persuade the addressee to embrace their cultic laws attest to their relative intimacy with the addressee. They conclude the letter by praising and encouraging the addressee: "We have (indeed) written to you some of the precepts of the Torah which we have thought that are for your welfare and the welfare of *your people*. For we have s[ee]n (that) you have wisdom and acknowledge of the Torah. Consider all these things and ask Him that He strengthen your will and remove form you the plans of evil and the device of Belial, so that you may rejoice at the end of time, finding that some of our practices are correct. And this will be counted as a virtuous deed of yours, since you will be doing what is righteous and good in His eyes, for your own welfare and for *the welfare of Israel*" (C 26-32). This passage alludes to a favorable and even affectionate approach towards the addressee. In their recent discussions of Section C, Fradde and Gorssman concluded that the addressee could not have been an outsider but must have been a member of the group. Based on its encouraging tone, they believe that MMT may have been an "intra-communal treatise" rather than an epistle to a known authority.[27] Nonetheless, the cited passage clearly implies that the addressee belongs to a different people ("which we have thought that are for your welfare and the welfare of *your people*", *lekha wu-le-'amkha*) and further traces a close connection between the addressee's own fate and the fate of all Israel, which may imply that the addressee was a leader of a group, and possibly a Jewish ruler.

Other clues which reinforce this interpretation are references to Israelite kings: the blessing in the days of Solomon, the curses in the days of Jeroboam son of Nebat, the exile in the days of Zedkiah, and especially the use of David as a role model: "Think of David, who was a

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man of righteous deeds, [and] who [was] (therefore) delivered from many troubles and was forgiven" (C 25-26). These allusions to kings and the call to learn from their fate and the fate of Israel during their reign does not seen to be a conventional way to use biblical ethics to admonish peers or other members, but it is appropriate if the addressee was a ruler. In any event, the most important clue to his identity lies in the thematic content of MMT. The authors call the addressee to embrace their own, stricter, approach to sacrificial rites, and do not discuss private life or moral behavior. The authors' call to follow a stricter approach to rules of sacrifice has no practical significance for laymen who had no say in the actual implementation of such rules. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the authors' text, which focused exclusively on Temple issues, was directed to an individual in a position of control or authority, such as a high priest, who has the power to change sacrificial laws. I thus concur with the view that the addressee was a ruler or a high priest, who was inclined to adopt the laws of the Pharisees.[28]

Based on connections between MMT and other Qumran compositions, scholars identify the addressee of MMT as the "Wicked Priest" mentioned in the Pesharim. According to Qimron, since MMT is the only Qumranic composition that is written in a literary style of an epistle and addressed to an authoritative person outside the sect, it is reasonable to identify "*the precep]ts and the law*" mentioned in the *pesher* to Psalm 37 with MMT. Also based on this passage – "the Wicked Pr[iest] who sp[ied on the Teac]her of Righteousn[ess and tried] to put him to death [because of *the precep]ts and the law* which he had sent to him"[29] – Qimron identifies the addressee of MMT as the Wicked Priest mentioned in the Pesharim. As Qimron notes, the relationship between Teacher's movement and the Wicked Priest was not hostile from the outset. Initially, the Qumranites viewed the Wicked Priest positively, but his evil deeds led them to despise him.[30]

Every possible Hasmonean leader (the Hasmoneans were both high priests and rulers or kings), from Judas Maccabeus to Hyrcanus II has been proposed by scholars as the Wicked Priest. The most plausible candidate, however, is Jonathan the Hasmonen (Judas' brother, ruled in

28   Schiffman 1994a, 87; Qimorn and Strugnell 1994, 116-119 (emphasizing the expression "for you and your people"); Schwartz 1996; Eshel 1996; Kister 1999, 323.

29   4QpPs^a 1–10 iv 7–9 (I follow Qimron's reading); Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 119–21. Note that Strugnell 1994 had certain reservations against this interpretation.

30   1QpHab 8:8–13 (cited below). Davies (2005, 80-81) also acknowledges the early date of MMT and regards the separation of the sect (actually the Damascus Covenant) as resulting from the Hasmonean persecutions.

152-143 BCE).[31] The Wicked Priest was "delivered into the hands of his enemies to disgrace him... to destroy him with bitterness of soul." This is consistent with the account of Jonathan's captivity and murder by Tryphon the Seleucid.[32] Furthermore, at first "he was called on by the true name at the beginning of his public life, but when he ruled over Israel he became arrogant, abandoned God, and betrayed the laws." This shift in nature also corresponds to Jonathan's role as a rebel against the Seleucids and Hellenized Jews before being nominated to the high priesthood by the Seleucid king, Alexander Ballas.[33]

Other evidence also supports this identification. The Teacher of Righteousness was persecuted by the Wicked Priest, by "Ephraim" (the Pharisees) and "Manasseh" (the Sadducees), who all should be dated as contemporaries.[34] This outstanding collaboration between the two opposing parties would not have been feasible in the period from the final days of John Hyrcanus' reign to the war between the two sons of Salome Alexandra, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II (*ca.* 110-63 BCE), when the Pharisees and the Sadduccees became bitter enemies. Therefore, the

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31   For the identification with Jonathan (also reviewing other possobilities), see: Milik 1959, 84–87; Jeremias 1963, 75–79; Stegemann 1998, 104-106, 128; Vermes 1994, 135; Eshel 1996; 2004, 27-55. Van der Woude 1996 (with bibliography) even proposed that there are six different Wicked Priests in 1QpHab, from Judas Maccabeus to Alexander Jannaus. In light of the fact that the Teacher is not mentioned in MMT, Qimron's suggestion may seem untenable (see Schiffman 1996). This lack of reference to the Teacher, however, may be derived from the authors' aim to prevent any political tension between them and the addressee (which may also be reflected in 1QpHab 8:8–13, discussed below).

32   1QpHab 9:9-12 (this is portrayed as punishment for persecuting the Teacher). Cf. 1 Mac 12:48-13:23. Indeed, this description also fits the fall of Hyrcanus II at the hands of Mattatias Antigonus, his nephew, and the Parthians (*Ant.* 14:365-366; Dupont Sommer 1962, 351-357; Wise 2003, 80-81). However, if the Teacher was a contemporary of Hyrcanus II, the description of Alexander Jannaus' war with the Pharisees in 4QpNah frags. 3-4 I (probably written shortly after 63 BCE) refers to the period prior to the emergence of the Teacher, which is inconsistent with the attribution of the *pesher* concept to the Teacher (1QpHab 2:8-10; 7:4-5) or its development after his death. Moreover, in 4QpPs[a] iv 9-10, the Wicked Priest was "delivered into the hands of ruthless gentiles so that they can carry out [vengeance] upon him." The Parthians merely captured Hyrcanus, but Antigonus cut his ears to disqualify him from serving as a high priest.

33   1QpHab 8:8–13; 1 Mac 9:23-12:35. See Eshel 1996. Eshel dated MMT to *ca.* 158-152 BCE, before Jonathan was nominated a high priest.

34   According to 1QpHab 11:4–8, the Wicked Priest tried to capture the Teacher at his place of exile on the Day of Atonement (that is, the date of this festival according to sectarian 364-day calendar). For oppression of the Teacher and his followers at the hands of the Pharisees and Sadducees, see 4QpPs[a] ii 15–18. See the discussion of Eshel, 1996, 55–58 and bibliography.

early Hasmonean period appears to be a more plausible period for this collaboration.[35]

Therefore, it seems plausible to date MMT to the days of Jonathan the Hasmonean, the first non-Helenized high priest since 175 BCE, and the founder of Jewish political independence. Seeking a political and religious change by dispatching the appeal contained in MMT is more plausible under these special religious and political circumstances than during a period of stability. Jonathan's nomination may have been seen as initiating a period of change and an opportunity for the new ruler to satisfy the needs of minority groups. Moreover, the historical transformation from religious and political chaos governed by Seleucids and the Hellenized Jews, to total independence that had been lacking since the fall of Jerusalem at the hands of the Babylonians in 586 BCE, may have been regarded as the End of Days, the time between the fulfillment of the curses and blessings, as the authors stated.[36]

As much as these historical reconstructions are attractive, they hinge upon a historical link between the Pesharim and MMT, viewing the former as an accurate historical record. MMT simply contains no historical data. Nonetheless, given its halakhic dependence on the Temple Scroll and its resemblance to the concepts of moral impurity and the forthcoming End of Days in Jubilees (see Chapters 3 and 6), it is hard to deny its connection to the pre-Qumranic corpus.

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35 For the Pharisees, Sadducees and Hasmoneans see *Ant.* 13:288-14:79 interpreted in light of 4QpNah in Regev 2005a, 251-289. Wise 2003 dates the Teacher to the early or middle of the first century BCE. He is able to show that most of the direct historical allusions in the scrolls are related to the first century BCE, while only a minority are related to the second century BCE. However, this does not provide the sect's foundation date, only confirms its existence in the later period. Also, even if all the Pesharim were composed in the first century, some of the events they describe may allude to past generations. Wise (86-87) concludes that the time of Salome Alexandra (76-67 BCE) is the only historical period consistent with the Pharisaic control of the Temple. Wise, however, failed to notice that the Pharisaic dominance is also recorded until the end of Hyrcanus' reign (Ant. 13.288), in the late second century BCE, and may have prevailed for several decades prior to that period (cf. Regev 2005a, 248-261).

36 Knohl 1996 dated MMT to the time of Herod (37-4 BCE) following the paleographic dating of the manuscripts to the Herodian period (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 3, 14, 18, 21, 34, 39). He interpreted the opposition to gentile sacrifices as criticism for offerings donated by Augustus to ensure his own well being. Knohl suggested that the authors tried to persuade the new high priest nominated by Herod to accept their views. However, opposition to gentile sacrifices may also have emerged much earlier (compare, for example, the donation of animals for the Temple by Antiochus III, Ant. 12:140). Callaway 1996 also dated MMT to the time of Herod following the paleographical evidence. He denied any connection between Sections B and C, and understated the tension with the "Multitude."

2.5 MMT – An Appeal to End Segregation

Assuming the MMT is a genuine epistle and not a literary construction, what was the authors' aim in persuading this ruler or high priest to accept their stricter sacrificial laws? I do not think that MMT's authors were merely concerned for the addressee's welfare. I suggest that they wished to remove the ritual impurity from the Temple by changing the cultic laws in the Temple, and then return to Jerusalem and renew their participation in the cult.[37] This interpretation is related to the political situation reflected in MMT. The fact that the authors denounced "the Multitude" to their ruler or high priest indicates that "the Multitude" were not directly associated with the addressee, and probably no longer controlled Judaea. I also tend to think that the priests in Section B who follow Pharisaic laws are not to be identified with the morally corrupted "Multitude" since they are not condemned as morally corrupt.

Thus, I suggest that at the time MMT was written, the authors became less preoccupied with their separation from the "Multitude of the People" and began to view the governing group at the Temple which followed the sacrificial laws of the Pharisees as the critical issue of their time. They would, however, welcome a return to the Temple. I therefore suggest that the MMT is an effort not only to amend the sacrificial system, but to terminate the authors' period of withdrawal, which commenced when they separated themselves from the "Multitude of the People."

One wonders why the authors believed that the addressee would be willing to grant their request. The authors discuss the blessing and curses in the period of Israel monarchy and then confessed: "And we know that some of the blessings and curses have (already) been fulfilled as it is written in the bo[ok of Mos]es. And this is the End of Days, when they will return in Isra[el forever...] and not turn back, but the wicked will act wickedly" (C 20-22). These lines express the authors' messianic belief that they live in the End of Days, a time when most Jews will return to the Torah as the authors understand it. The logic of expecting a ruler or high priest to modify sacrificial laws in the Temple

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37   "The purpose of this document [MMT] was to call on their erstwhile colleagues in Jerusalem and the Hasmonean leader to effect a reconciliation that would allow them to return to their role in the Temple" (Schiffman 1994a, 84). The aspiration to return to the Temple at the End of Days is indicated in 1QM 2:1-6 and is implicit in the messianic Rule of the Congregation (1QSa).

in response to a solemn application by a radical minority group is grounded in this belief.[38]

<div align="center">***</div>

MMT has weak ideological connections with the Damascus Document and the Community Rule, limited to the notion of moral impurity and the references to the End of Days, and more importantly, the sectarian marker of a boundary separating the authors from "the Multitude of the People." MMT additionally bears features that are absent in the Damascus Document and the Community Rule: religious and political interaction and negotiation with outside authorities, and a strong concern for the current state of the laws in the Temple. Clearly, MMT was written by a group that was in the process of developing its sectarian doctrine of separation, although it had not abandoned hope that its social segregation could be soon reversed. That its separation from the outside world had not yet solidified as an impenetrable boundary, attests to its early period of formation. These markers suffice to conclude that MMT's authors preceded the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. I now turn to a later phase, in which the social separation of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant was fully formed as the basis for the strict sectarian ideology in Qumran.

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38   In view of their own lack of political or social power, MMT authors may have felt that the only way to influence the ruler and the cult was through a written application. This act may even testify to their strong belief in their own cultic interpretations, or their trust in the addressee as a man of truth. Furthermore, based on the name of the document, it is possible that they kept their requests to a minimum to avoid overwhelming the addressee, and included only some (*miqṣat*) of the precepts of the Torah, that is, only a certain selection of their cultic laws that they found to be crucial for Temple practice. The author's naïveté and their means of persuasion are not without parallel. It is interesting to note that the early Hutterites acted similarly and used a similar rhetoric of separation, evil, sin, piety and coming judgment. In 1535, Jacob Hutter sent a letter to the Moravian ruler, trying to convince him to accept the Hutterites' beliefs: "We have left the world and all its wrong and ungodly ways.. leave behind all sin and evil... we wish you would turn away from evil and turn to the living God so that you may escape this judgment" (Hutterian Brethern 1987, 137, 141). This attempt led to the group's persecution, as a result of which Hutter was forced to flee to Tirol. Similarly, George Fox, the founder of Quakers, demanded Oliver Cromwell to disavow violence and follow Christ's law of love (the Sermon on the Mount) instead of governmental laws (Fox 1997, 193-200, 220-222; Baltzell 1979, 89).

3 The Abominated Temple and the Retreat from the World: Setting Rigid Boundaries

3.1 The Moral Pollution of the Wicked Priest and the Temple

Moral impurity defined the most significant boundary between the Qumran groups and the outside world, and shaped their self-identity and attitude towards the Hasmoneans (represented by the Wicked Priest). Moral impurity is most frequently mentioned in the Community Rule although it also appears in other texts.[39] According to *pesher* Habakkuk, the sectarians' hostility towards the Wicked Priest is due to more than his persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers: "...its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest, who was called on by the true name at the beginning of his public life, but when he ruled over Israel he became arrogant, abandoned God, and betrayed the laws for the sake of wealth. He stole and amassed the wealth of men of violence who had rebelled against God, and he took the wealth of people to add to himself guilt (and) sin. And *abominated ways he practiced with every sort of unclean impurity.*"[40]

In the authors' construction of reality, the Hasmonean high priest was both a wicked ruler and an immoral priest. He sinned by stealing and collaborating with evil people and he also defiled the Temple through the impurity of his sins and abominable deeds. These sins recall the description of "the Multitude of the People" in MMT (who committed malice, treachery, deceit, and evil deeds). Although there is no indication that the impurity of the Wicked Priest stems from cultic or ritual unscrupulousness, his defilement has potentially grave consequences for the Temple cult for which he was responsible. This is emphasized in a second passage in *pesher* Habakkuk: "...its interpretation: the "town" is Jerusalem, where *the Wicked Priest committed abominable deeds and defiled God's Sanctuary.* And "violence (*ḥamas*) (done to) the Land" (refers to) the cities of Judah, where he stole the wealth of the poor ones."[41] Here, the abominable acts of the Wicked Priest – violence against the towns of Judaea and stealing the property of the poor – caused the pollution of the Temple. The pollution of the Temple was

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39 See the survey of Klawans 2001, 69-92 and the discussion below.
40 1QpHab 8:8–13.
41 1QpHab 12:7–10. For the moral dimension of impurity in this passage, see Klawans 2001, 69–72. Compare Thomas Müntzer's accusations concerning the theft and robbery by German lords and princes who "take all creatures as their property" (Kohn 1957, 262).

caused by the corrupt behavior of a cruel ruler who had no mercy for his subjects, rather than by ritual or bodily impurity.

A peculiar passage in the Damascus Document also associates moral impurity with defilement of the Temple and its donations to finance the cult:

> And all who were brought into the covenant (are) not to enter the sanctuary to light his altar in vain, (but rather are) to be 'closers of the door' of whom God said, 'Who of you will close my door and not light my altar in vain' (Mal 1:10)—unless they take care to perform according to the exact (requirements of) Torah during the time of evil and to separate (themselves) from the Sons of the Pit (anshey ha-shaḥat) and to refrain from the wicked wealth (which is) impure due to oath(s) and dedication(s) and to (being) the wealth of the sanctuary, (for) they (the sons of the pit) steal from the poor of his people, preying upon wid[ow]s and murdering orphans.[42]

Although this passage mentions only the pollution of the Temples' wealth, it is reasonable to infer that, in the authors' eyes, the Temple and the sacrificial cult were transformed into an abominated institution by the wickedness of "the Sons of the Pit" who steal, prey, and murder, and donated the money they obtained through their sins to the Temple. Their sins are quite similar to those of the Wicked Priest in *pesher* Habakkuk. In all these passages, the Temple has been polluted by the immorality of the high priest and some worshippers. Another passage in the Damascus Document also mentions the defilement of the sanctuary in association with fornication (*zenut*) and arrogance(?) (*hin*), which are of course immoral characteristics, which are together termed "the three nets of Belial."[43]

What is interesting in all these condemnations is that they focus on the immorality of the authors' opponents yet fail to mention any legal foundation for this dispute, such as the contested issues that appeared in Section B of MMT. While it is clear from the Damascus Document, and implicit in the Community Rule, that these sects followed a different interpretation of the Torah and more stringent laws than their op-

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42 CD 6:11–17; 4QDᵃ 3 ii (J. Baumgarten 1996a, 41–43). The defiling force of wealth is well attested in Qumran. See 1QpHab 8:11–12 and 12:19 (both quoted above); 1QS 6:19–20, 22; Cf. 1QS 9:22//4QSᵈ 2 iii 6 (also in relation to "the Men of Pit"); 1QHᵃ 19:25–26 [10:22–23] and see also Chapter 10. On the suspected sacrilegious treatment of the Temple's wealth, cf. m. *shek* 3:2. For money of widows and orphans in the Temple, see 2 Mac 3:10.

43 CD 4:15–19. The defilement of the Temple is also mentioned in an obscure context in CD 20:23. However, CD 11:18–21 instructs that offerings be sent to the Temple only by a pure man, thus does not ban the cult altogether (see Chapter 1). Davies (1996, 45-60) overemphasized CD's tolerance towards the Temple.

ponents, they do not use such legal claims to denounce the Wicked
Priest or the Sons of the Pit. They do not mention unscrupulous obser-
vance of ritual purity and sacrificial laws in the Temple as the cause of
the altar's desecration. Here, the Temple cult is defiled through sacri-
fices and donations made by men of immoral behavior. Such accusa-
tions of immorality are more severe and far-reaching than halakhic
controversies concerning the Temple cult, since in contrast to bodily
impurity, moral impurity cannot be removed by immersion or any
other ritualistic act. Only repentance can lead to its removal. Thus, the
desecration of the Temple that resulted from moral pollution was more
acute and difficult to eliminate than the ritual impurity that was dis-
cussed in relation to the legal debates in MMT.

3.2   The Moral Impurity of the Men of Belial and the Elimination of Converts' Moral Impurity

Moral impurity not only characterized the Qumranites' approach to-
wards the Temple, but also defined their relationships with Jews out-
side the sect. The *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant regarded all out-
siders as sinful and morally defiling. In the Community Rule, members
are called to separate themselves from the congregation of the Men of
Injustice (*'avel*),[44] namely all non-members. Unless they repented their
wickedness, non-members were impure and therefore not permitted to
come into contact with "the water (probably the water of ritual ablu-
tions) to touch the purity of the men of holiness." Members were for-
bidden to maintain any contact with non-members concerning work or
possessions "in order not encumber him with blameworthy iniquity; he
should remain at all distance from him in every task" (1QS 5:13-15).

   Non-members' moral impurity is also implicit in admission of new
members into the *yahad*. The Community Rule orders a scrupulous and
extensive procedure of admission, lasting at least two years, during
which the new member was considered a novice. Novices who pass a
preliminary stage of acceptance were nonetheless forbidden from
touching the "purity" (probably, solid food) of the group during their
first year of probationary membership. In the next admission stage,
novices were forbidden from touching "liquids" (literally "drinks",
meaning either beverages or and the pure waters of ritual baths). Only
when the novice was fully accepted as a member, his property was

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44   1QS 5:2-3. Another opponent of the Teacher, the Man of Lies, is also condemned as
     an immoral leader and liar, and (perhaps metaphorically) was even accused of caus-
     ing bloodshed. See 1QpHab 10:9-10; CD 1:14-16.

merged with the property of the *yahad,* and "they shall enter him in the order of his rank among his brothers for the law, for the judgment, *for purity* and for placing of his possessions." [45]

The admission process was comprised of three features: the exclusion of the novice from the sect's boundaries of purification, the separation of his wealth from the group's common property, and the acknowledgment of his purity when the novice was finally accepted for full membership. Although the prohibition on the novice's contact with the *yahad's* purities and liquids recalls a state of ritual or bodily impurity that contaminates through contact, this passage does not mention ritual or bodily impurity. On the other hand, the passage does note the convert's potential for misdeeds in relation to the Torah, insights, and discipline (*musar),* "revert to the truth and shun all injustice," pointing to the convert's moral rather than ritual impurity and his potential to defile the sect's members. He was not immediately accepted as a fullfledged member, because the *yahad* feared their community's pollution by insincere novices or novices incapable of complying with their disciplinary rules.

In comparison, the rabbis did not hold a similar conception of moral impurity as a source of defilement of others.[46] Social exclusion of novices based on moral impurity also stands in stark contract to the fellowships (*havurot*) of the Pharisees or the early rabbis. The main concern of the members of these fellowships was eating ordinary food (*hulin,* non-sacred) in a state of ritual cleanness, and they expressed no concern for a potentially polluting affect of moral purity.[47]

A sinful mind and a wicked spirit cannot be easily cleansed by immersion. Only a process of repentance and mental training can prepare the novice for the intensive experience of atonement and holiness

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45 1QS 6:13-23 (citation from 1QS 6:22). See Licht 1965a, 147-148, 294-303; Shiffman 1983, 161-165; 1993, 248-252; 1994, 99–100. Licht and Schiffman also discuss the meaning of the "purities" and "drinks" of the *rabbim* to which I refer below. Flusser (1979, 85–87) and Schiffman (1993, 252, 267) already noted the significance of morality in this passage. Note that 1QS 6:16–18 was probably not included in the earlier version of 4QS[e] (Metso 1997, 143–44). For the separation from the moral corruption of the outside world, see CD 7:3-5. The moral impurity of the outsiders is also implicit in CD 3:17; 5:11. Coser 1956, 100-101, noted the general phenomenon of selecting those who were "worthy" of joining the sect, or the "self-purification" of the sect's members. For the manner in which food is imprinted with social order (as a marker of social identity) in sectarian groups and in general, see A. Baumgarten 1998b.

46 Klawans 2001 concluded that while in Qumran sin was associated with impurity, the rabbis "compartmentalize" impurity and sin.

47 For rabbinic fellowship and its notion of ritual purity, see Regev 2000a. Parallels between the *yahad* and the Rabbinic fellowship were noted by Lieberman 1951.

within the community. Thus, the demanding admission process illus-
trates the *yaḥad*'s scrupulous separation from moral impurity by estab-
lishing clear moral boundaries that effectively segregate the Sons of
Righteousness from the Sons of Belial. *Pesher* Habakkuk, the Damascus
Document, and the Community Rule describe a vicious cycle of im-
morality and pollution: the Wicked Priest behaves sinfully and pollutes
the Temple. Others follow him and defile the cult through their impure
wealth. All others become infected with this moral impurity when they
either participate in the cult or follow their leader's model of wicked
behavior. Had the sectarians participated in the Temple cult, they too
would have been at risk of such contamination.

Under these circumstances, purification and atonement are almost
impossible.[48] Any sacrificial ritual of atonement is doomed to fail be-
cause the sins and moral impurity remain in the Temple. Only a radi-
cal, collective process of repentance can restore the Temple's purity and
holiness. This cycle of defilement also facilitates our understanding of
the withdrawal of the *yaḥad* (and to certain degree also the Damascus
Covenant) from the Temple (see below). The Temple is doomed to
desecration and spiritual desolation until the people and their leaders
amend their evil behavior. Until then, the Qumranites believed, there
could be no theological merit in the sacrificial cult in Jerusalem. Rather,
its performance would only cause additional guilt.[49] It seems that the
sectarians believed that holiness dwelled among them (see Chapter 11)
precisely because they did not take part in the unrighteousness of the
outside world and in the traditional sacrificial cult governed by the
immoral outsiders.

Moral pollution of the Temple is discussed in a non-polemical con-
text in the Temple Scroll, indicating that this was a basic perception in
Qumranic heritage and not merely a reaction to the Wicked Priest's
assaults on the Teacher of Righteousness. According to Temple Scroll
(51:11–15), judges must render judgments righteously and cannot take
bribes since the bribe "causes great guilt and defiles the house (namely,
the Temple) because of the sin of iniquity." It therefore seems that

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48   In order to demonstrate this attitude, it is appropriate to quote Milgrom's descrip-
      tion of the priestly theology of the destructive force of impurity: "The God of Israel
      will not abide in a polluted sanctuary. The merciful God will tolerate a modicum of
      pollution. But there is a point of no return. If the pollution continues to accumulate
      the end is inexorable: 'The cherubim lifted their wings' (Ezek. 10:19). The divine
      chariot flies heavenward and the sanctuary is left to its doom" (Milgrom 1976a, 396–
      397).

49   Previous scholars have already discussed the Qumranites' withdrawal from the
      Temple cult because of its impurity (especially J. Baumgarten 1953; Klinzing 1971,
      11-20) but did not address the moral aspect of its defilement.

pesher Habakkuk, the Damascus Covenant and the Community Rule continued a strong, traditional belief that immoral behavior, such as taking bribes, pollutes the Temple. In the Temple Scroll, sins pollute the Temple even from afar and in absence of any physical contact with the sacred.[50]

3.3 Sectarian Distinctiveness: Moral Impurity and Ancient Greek Miasma

Moral impurity is a common concern of other religions and cultures. A comparison with parallels from ancient Greek religion may shed light on the unique sectarian features of the Qumranic formulation of this concept. In ancient Greek religion, corpses, sexual intercourse, and women after childbirth (in some cases, also pregnant women) defile people and sacred rites, but disgraceful acts such as murder, male prostitution, and female adultery also had a defiling force, and were the object of society's condemnation. The non-physical aspect of pollution is extremely significant in early Greek culture, where sins and guilt may even require the collective purification of an entire city. According to Robert Parker, the impurity of incest is disgraceful, that is, lies outside the limits of basic Greek values of social behavior, but is neither dangerous nor contagious. Such impious acts were termed "metaphorical moral pollutions" and their perpetrators were deprived of "honor" or rights of full citizenship, and were not permitted to partake in prayers on the city's behalf.[51]

Parker has shown, however, that moral defilement is sometimes more than a mere social marker of the perpetrator's demeaned social status. The pollution of homicide, for example had a compelling dynamic force whose effects threatened the killer, his family, and even the entire community. Hence, unless the blood of the victim was cleansed from the hands of the murderer, his seclusion from society was required. However, it is possible that pollution may have reflected legal matters, even in the case of murder, and may have been used to illus-

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50 See Klawans 2001, 59-61. For the pollution of the sanctuary from afar, see Lev 20:3; Num 19:13. In a quite similar manner, CD 5:6–7 accused the outsiders (probably Pharisees) in defiling the Temple due to intercourse with a menstruating woman, which is both ritual and "spiritual" defilement (Lev 15:17-24; 18:19). It is possible that this passage also implies defilement from afar. See Klawnas 2001, 53-54 (for the halakhic background, see Regev 2005a, 181-190).

51 Parker 1983, 94–100. For attestations of moral impurity, see *ibid.*, 3, 96–97, 106-130, 263, 289, 294, 311–313.

trate or justify the legal (punishable) weight of the transgression, without an actual fear of pollution or its consequences.[52]

Moral transgressions polluted the sinner and marked his intolerable behavior in both ancient Greek religion and Qumran, but the consequences of moral pollution are much more far reaching in the scrolls. The values and behavior of the morally corrupted leaders and people of the outside world were much more threatening for the sectarians than the transgressions of deviant individuals of the Greek public sphere for other Greek citizens. In Qumran, the effects of moral corruption were not limited to the individual or, in some cases, his community. The Qumranites believed that their morally corrupt adversaries and all their accomplices had a destructive influence on the entire universe, and especially on the Temple. According to *pesher* Habakkuk and the Damascus Document, moral sins destructively violate the sacredness of the Temple and apparently banish holiness from all religious acts. Moral impurity was not merely "a kind of institution or metaphysical justification for a set of conventional responses to the disruption of normal life,"[53] but an independent and dynamic entity or force that was associated with evil.[54] The active and dangerous character of the Qumranic notion of moral impurity, I suggest, is related to its sectarian setting and, specifically, the distinctive moral ethos of the Qumran sects, in which moral impurity is reflected in the boundary between the sect and the outside world.

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52   Parker, 1983, 104–143. Even in the case of a murderer, impurity may merely illustrate his ritual status or violation of the social order without expressing a belief in any supernatural threat. For example, although Plato sees pollution as a genuine force and not as legalized fiction, he does not ascribe horror to it (*ibid.*, 112–113).

53   Parker 1983, 120. A similar statement was made by Dumont in relation to the notion of purity outside the Indian caste system (1980, 48): "...among the Hindus the notion of impurity is distinct, different from the notion of danger which corresponds elsewhere to the sacred in general and not only to the impure." According to Dumont (*ibid.*, 49), defilement in this case is a matter of social status. Parker (1983, 56–57, 61–63, 124) adopts Mary Douglas's theory (1966) of purity as a symbol of social order. I find, however, that this approach only partially applies to the concept of moral impurity in the scrolls. For the work of Douglas as applied to Qumran, see Conway 2000.

54   Similar parallels can be also drawn between the belief that immoral acts defile the Temple, and the Greek and Hellenistic view that moral *miasma* endangers the sacred. Murderers were excluded from sacred places and from public life (Parker 1983, 111, 114, 153, 322–323). An inscription that prohibited those who stole, murdered, or committed adultery from entering was found in a private temples in Philadelphia in Asia Minor (Weinfeld, 1990 34–38). Temples in Hellenistic Egypt also prohibited entrance to sinners and evil people (Weinfeld 1992). In Qumran, however, moral impurity of the priests and worshipers caused the sectarians' self-exclusion from the cult.

3.4 Moral Impurity and Dualistic Worldview

One way to explain the profound effects of the Qumranic notion of moral impurity is to view it as a result of the dualistic worldview in Qumran. The *yaḥad* and Damascus Covenant subscribed to a dichotomous view of those who follow the way of truth and the way of evil based on the high degree of cosmic tension between God and humans.[55] Apparently this worldview also influenced their association of the Wicked Priest, the Sons of the Pit, the Men of Injustice and the Temple with moral pollution. For the Qumran sects the sins mentioned in the passages mentioned above were signs or proof that these people were possessed by "the spirit of Belial."

At the same time, these dualistic beliefs were probably reinforced and cultivated by viewing the wicked as the source of the moral impurity which eventually polluted the Temple. The *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant invoked the figure of Satan or Belial to characterize what they saw as an irreconcilable metaphysical contraposition between themselves and their opponents.[56] Stories about the angel Mastema and Belial were used to characterize social and moral conflicts in terms of a great cosmic war, as attested to by the close relationship between cosmic and ethical dualism of the Instruction of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26, discussed in Chapter 1).

3.5 Social Functions of Moral Impurity

A close connection between issues of moral and ritual purity is also confirmed by sociologists and anthropologists who claim that ritual and cult cannot be separated from a society's morals or social order,

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55 See, in addition to the discussion of cosmic tension in Chapter 1, the distinction between God and Belial in 1QM 13:2–5. In his discussion of dualism in Qumran, Collins (1997, 41–43) maintained that this dualistic worldview derives from the dualism in Zoroastrianism. In addition to my general reluctance to regard cultural phenomena as resulting from external influences rather than internal social dynamics (in the present case, the emergence of sectarianism), I point out one significant difference in the relationship between impurity and evilness in Qumran and Zoroastrianism. While in Qumran human sins produce impurity, the ancient Persians believed that the implications of impurity are cosmic since they are associated with the evil God Ahiram (Boyce 1977, 94).

56 For the application of dualist thinking to the sphere of social conflict, see Pagels 1991.

since rituals reinforce collective values and reaffirm moral order.[57]
From a socio-cultural perspective, moral pollution represents the dis-
ruption of the perfect social or cosmic order. Sociological theory may
also suggest why sects engaged in such harsh denunciations of their
adversaries. According to Conflict Theory, preoccupation with values
and status is a means to maintain and repeatedly redefine group
boundaries. Accordingly, the Qumran sectarians emphasized the im-
morality of their adversaries in order to emphasize their separation
from their adversaries, and enhance members' cohesion and commit-
ment.[58] In this way, they could also answer a question that must have
troubled them: why are you so few when you are so right?

Such an interpretation is especially illuminating if one follows the
assumption that MMT was addressed to the Wicked Priest whose
change in attitude (documented in *pesher* Habakkuk) came as a surprise
to the sectarians. A tentative reconstruction of the sectarians' socio-
psychological experience may be offered: (1) The sectarians address
opposing views and competing groups in order to convince the others,
and engage in acts such as writing MMT to the Wicked Priest when he
was still "called on by the true name." (2) Rather than responding fa-
vorably, the Wicked Priest persecutes the Teacher of Righteousness and
his followers. (3) Finally, in order to cope with the effects of their fail-
ure, the sectarians develop a new perception, in which the adversary is
no longer considered legitimate, but evil and corrupt; in Qumran,
moral impurity was thus attributed to the Wicked Priest and his fol-
lowers as a consequence of their sins.[59]

Another way to explain how Qumranic accusations of moral impu-
rity promoted sectarian self-identity is to apply Robert Wuthnow's
cognitive distinction between the intentional and the inevitable.[60] Fol-
lowing this model, it is possible that the sectarians attributed this fail-
ure to factors over which they had no control, specifically factors that
were related to the evil character and the misdeeds of the Hasmonean
leadership in Jerusalem. Such a construction of reality prevented a cri-

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57   For the socio-cultural explanation, compare: Douglas 1975, 48–50; Wuthnow 1987,
     97–144. For the phenomenon of moral pollution, see also Zuesse 1979, with bibliog-
     raphy.
58   Couser 1956 (following G. Simmel).
59   For the social interaction described here, compare Festinger 1951; Schachter 1951. A
     somewhat similar development can be traced in Martin Luther's attitude towards
     the Jews. At first, he tried to convince them to join his movement, but when he was
     rejected, he raised severe accusations against Judaism. See Oberman 1984, 45–50, 71–
     74, 94-100.
60   Wuthnow, 1987, 73-96.

sis of faith and allowed them to retain their own religious ideas and the cohesion of the community, despite the adverse change in their social and religious status.[61]

Wuthnow also provides the theoretical background for understanding the cultural relationship between morals and impurity, which is extremely relevant to the following discussion on the distinctive moral codes of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. In the case of Qumran, moral impurity is one of "a set of cultural elements that defines the nature of commitment to a particular course of behavior,"[62] and a symbol of its moral code that helps define the sect's boundaries with the outside world.[63] The significance of this boundary is apparent in light of the centrality of separation in sectarian ideology, and especially for introversionist sects. Since ideology creates models of moral order, any disturbance of moral order – such as that which results from uncertainties about the nature of moral obligations – leads to a certain reenactment and modification of ideology.[64] This explains why a group that holds certain values is compelled to react to the disruption of these values caused by others: in the present case, the group responds by claiming that the others' transgressions are polluting and contaminating.

4   Morality Makes Difference: The Enclave of Righteousness

4.1   Sins and Punishments: The Penal Code of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant

The *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant repeatedly proclaimed their own moral righteousness.[65] By condemning the injustice and immoral behavior of the Jews outside their communities, the Qumran sects emphasized their own morality. This was not merely a declaration or self-claim, but was backed by the penal codes contained in the Community

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61   As Wuthnow (*ibid.*, 162) notes: "Some ideological forms may be...capable of adapting to a changing environment. In this sense the ideology 'innovates' in order to survive." Cf. also functionalist theory of social perception of Douglas 1986. For fractions within the Damascus Covenant, see CD 19:33-20:27 and compare the discussion below.

62   Wuthnow, 1987, 66.

63   *Ibid.*, 69–70.

64   *Ibid.*, 154–156.

65   1QS 1:5; 5:3-4; CD 1:1; 6:20-21; 1QHª 9[10]:35-37.

Rule and the Damascus Document, proscribing scrupulous moral be-
havior and discipline.[66] In comparison to regulations of other sects,
especially those of the Shakers, the Qumranic penal code was ex-
tremely elaborated, and deeply concerned with strictly moral conduct
(see Chapter 8).

The list of punishable moral transgressions was long: lying about
financial issues, answering one's fellow with stubbornness or address-
ing him impatiently, enunciating "the Name (which is) honored by all"
(that is, the name of God, which is not mentioned in the scrolls written
by the Qumranites themselves) which is regarded blasphemous, speak-
ing angrily (even unintentionally) against "one of the priests enrolled in
the book" or against any other member, or insulting him for no reason,
speaking with deception, deceiving other members or being careless
with the community's possessions, bearing a grudge, being revengeful,
speaking futile words, undressing in public or even placing one's own
hand under his clothes, giggling inanely, and gossiping about other
members.

These penal codes also include laws of communal discipline that
are not strictly moral in modern eyes, but nonetheless were probably
regarded as such by the sectarians themselves. Such prohibitions in-
clude improper behavior during community council meetings, defying
the authority of a relatively senior member ("enrolled ahead of him"),
interrupting another member who is speaking, sleeping or "leaving"
(seating improperly?) during the communal assembly, spitting during
the assembly, gesticulating with the left hand, complaining against
other members (in the Damascus Document, against the "fathers" and
"mothers"), and when one's "spirit turns aside from the *yaḥad*'s foun-
dation to betray the truth and walk in the stubbornness of his heart" (if
he later returns).

Three types of punishments were applied to transgressors. The first
was exclusion or separation from full membership, preventing the
member from participating in meetings or communal sect meals. The
second was a rationing of the member's food supply, by one fourth or
even one half, for a period of several days, months or even a year or

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66   For the penal codes and their interpretation, see 1QS 6:24-7:25 (see also 8:20-9:2, and
     the 4Q parallels in Metso 1997, 124-128); CD 14:18-22; 4QDª 10 i-iii; 4QDᵇ 9 vi; 4QDᵈ
     11 i-iii; 4QDᵉ 7 i (see the composite text in Hempel 1998, 141-142, following J.
     Baumgarten 1996a); Licht 1965a, 153-166; Schiffman 1983, 155-190; 1993, 240-267;
     Hempel 1998, 140-48. Further study is necessary to understand the textual and social
     developments following the different versions and the scribal corrections and inser-
     tions (compare the table in Metso 2004, 335). The actual enforcement of these pun-
     ishments is documented in 4Q477 (Eshel 1994).

two. In many cases, the penalty was a combination of both types. The third was expulsion from the sect, which was reserved for members who committed the most severe transgressions that deviated from the group's basic ethos: those who gossiped about the community (telling its secrets to outsiders?), those "whose spirit revert to betray the *yaḥad*" and left the sect could not return, including those who "fraternize with him with regard to his purity and wealth," those who break the word of the Torah of Moses impertinently or through carelessness".[67] In the Damascus Document, members who despised the judgment of the sect, committed illicit sexual intercourse with one's own wife, and complained against "the fathers," were banished.[68]

These punishments not only discouraged deviance, but also maintained the group's morality without using violence (compare the penalty of whipping in Deut 25:1-3). Reduction of food, odd as it seems, probably served as a substitute for fines which were impractical in a community of shared property, and also clearly marked limited membership status. Since food was related to common meals ("purity"), which were a ceremonial occasion,[69] exclusion from the sect's "purity" (communal meals) was symbolic of the transgressor's diminished rank to the status of a candidate in the admission procedure.

Indeed, the rationale for this punishment is traced in 1QS 8:16–19 to themes of purity and moral behavior: "And anyone of the men of the *yaḥad*...who insolently shuns anything at all commanded, cannot approach the purity of the men of holiness, and cannot know anything of their counsels until his deeds have been cleansed (*yizaku*) from every depravity, walking in perfect behavior. Then they can include him in the counsel (namely, by decision) under the authority of the *rabbim* (literally, many)." Partial suspension of membership status or total excommunication derived from the idea of the group's collective guilt. Continued intimacy with the transgressor would blemish the group's moral stance and result in collective divine punishment.[70]

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67 1QS 7:16-17, 22-25; 8:22-23. Note that the latter case demands expulsion only when the act is intentional. Unintentional transgression of the Torah required separation from the purity for two years (1QS 8:24-9:20).

68 4QD^b 9 vi; 4QD^e 7 i 11-14.

69 Compare the regulation concerning priest's priority in the blessing over the bread and wine (1QS 6:4-6).

70 Cf. 1QS 5:14-15. This attitude has parallels in many other introversionist sects. According to the Shakers' rationale for excommunication, relations with a transgressing member result in the loss of union with the spirit of Ann Lee: "We cannot alter the gift of God... If you go from this place without being obedient to the gift, and we own you and have union with you, Mother won't own nor have union with us" (Shakers 1888, 266). The English Puritans believed in their collective responsibility

4.2   Like a Sacrifice: Morality Atones

The laws of communal discipline may seem as a means of coercive control to maintain group cohesion and solidarity, yet three outstanding passages indicate that the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant believed that the rules of the penal code had a unique religious significance, in addition to their concern with group discipline. In the passages discussed below, the authors proclaim that moral behavior or the punishment of a transgressing member carry the power of atonement, similar to the atonement achieved through sacrifices.

A poetical passage in the Community Rule mentions righteous behavior as a substitute for sacrificial offerings: "…these (men) become in Israel a foundation of the Holy spirit in eternal truth, they shall atone for iniquitous guilt and sinful unfaithfulness, so that (God's) favor for the land (is obtained) without flesh of burnt offerings and without the fat of sacrifices. The proper offerings the lips for *judgement* (is as) a *righteous sweetness*, and *the perfect of the Way* (are as) a pleasing freewill offering."[71] Here, "the perfect of the way" (*temim derekh*) performed by the *yaḥad* serves as an offering which pleases God (*nidbat minḥat raṣon*), hence justice and righteous behavior (combined with prayer) are substitutes for the corrupt sacrifices in the Temple and atone for sin and treachery.[72]

The manner in which judgment atones is more clearly discussed in the penal code of the Damascus Document that was discovered in Cave 4. This text links communal punishment and the sacrifices of atonement and purgation of sin at the altar (*ḥattat* and *'asham*): "Any man who [is

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concerning sin and punishment: "for if the magistrate did not act, hence God would bring his judgments to bear, both upon the adulterers who had broken his holy ordinance and upon the community which condoned their perjury" (Thomas 1978, 263). According to the Mennonite Dordrecht Confession of Faith (1632), still followed by the Amish, social interactions with an expelled member are prohibited "so that we may not become defiled by intercourse with him and partakes of his sins" (cited in Kraybill 2001, 138). For a similar approach among the early Anabaptists, see Williams and Mergal 1957, 246.

71   1QS 9:3–5. Translation follows Charlesworth 1995. See also the parallel 4QS^d 2 ii 5–6. For a more subtle parallel, see 1QS 8:2–10//4QS^e II 8-15. ("to pay for iniquity by works of judgment"). For the 4Q material see Metso, 1997, 44, 52, and passim. Cf. also the biblical metaphor of "sacrifices of justice" in Deut 33:19; Ps 4:6; 51:21.

72   The phrase *"judgement (le-mishpat)* (is as) a *righteous sweetness"* seems to refer to moral conduct, since *le-mishpat* serves here as a noun, and bears similar meaning in CD 12:21; 1QS 5:3, 12; 9:25; 1QSa 1:25; 4Q259 2:15; 4Q418 69 ii7; *Temple Scroll* 57:13. See also the discussion in Sanders 1977, 229, 302. Another expression in which morality atones is "to atone for sins by doing justice" (*'osey mishpat)*, which is the purpose of the *yaḥad*'s Council in 1QS 8:4.

disciplined...] shall come and make it known to the priest appoin[ted over the Many and acc]ept his judgment [wil]lingly, in accordance with what [He sa]id through Moses concerning the soul that sin[s unwittingly, that he shall bring] his sin-offering and [his guilt-offering]."[73] Thus, one should accept one's punishment willfully and feel remorse, similar to one who brings an atoning sacrifice to the altar.

Although the implication of this analogy is not entirely clear, a fragmentary passage from the Geniza manuscript of the Damascus Document also draws a close association between sectarian penalties and atoning sacrifices: "And this is the exact interpretation of the regulations (*mishpatim*) by which [they shall be ruled until their arises the messia]h of Aaron and Israel. And their iniquity will be atoned [through meal and sin offerings] (*minḥah ve ḥattat*)."[74] This passage implies that, until the coming of the Messiahs, the sect's regulations atone as substitutes for sacrifices.[75]

This idea that moral behavior or acceptance of one's own penalty replaces sacrifices as a means of atonement is a revolutionary concept. Although many scholars have discussed the Qumranic opposition to the Temple cult and the spiritual alternatives to sacrifice that it offered, this substitution has been discussed very rarely. Previous discussions have focused on prayer as a substitute for sacrifices (CD 11:20–21), and the concept of the sectarian community as a "Human temple." The meaning and significance of moral behavior as a cultic aim of worship and atonement, however, also deserves attention.[76]

The belief of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant that their moral ways and restrictions have atoning power equal to sacrifices should be read in the light of the sectarian attitude towards the Wicked Priest, the Sons of the Pit, the Men of Belial and the moral impurity in the Temple. The righteousness of the Qumran community stands in strict contraposition to the immorality of the sect's opponents, and the Qumranic moral code is presented as an alternative to the contaminated traditional cultic system.

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73 4QD[e] 7 I 15-17 and the parallel in 4QD[a] 11 1-3 .See J. Baumgarten 1996a, 76, 163. Translation follows Baumgarten's.

74 CD 14:18-19; 4QD[a]10 i.

75 J. Baumgarten 1999b interpreted CD 14:18-19 as messianic atonement which is superior to sacrifices, but disregarded the 4QD passage in which punishments have the power of atonement.

76 For prayer and its role as a substitute for sacrifices, see Licht 1965a, 173-174; Lichtenberger 1980b; Nitzan 1994, esp. 47-48. For the "Human Temple theory" see Klinzing 1971, 50-106 and the discussion below. The Temple of *adam* in 4Q174 *Florilegium* is discussed in Chapter 11. For the historical and theological relationship between prayer and sacrifices, see Regev 2005c.

I suggest that the Qumranic recognition of the Temple's state of moral pollution generated the development of its own substitutes for Temple functions, including the traditional sacrifices.[77] Until the non-sectarian people collectively repented, the Temple's contamination precluded its use as a means to atone for sins, because, as the sectarians believed, the sins and guilt of those outsiders had defiled it and expelled the divine presence from the sanctuary. The only alternative means of atonement open to the sectarians was to adhere to a strict code of moral behavior that was independent of the Temple.

4.3   Away from the Temple?

How could this group, so devoted to the priestly heritage (as reflected in MMT), create such a radical reform of atonement, substituting communal moral practices and prayers for sacrifices, despite the fact that the Temple retained its status as a vital national center of religion under the Hasmoneans?[78] A reconstruction of the Qumanites' practical attitude towards the Temple may shed light on what appears to be a paradox.

Clearly, even though their redemptive theology was highly developed, the Qumran sects were still committed to the idea of sacrificial cult at the Temple. The War Rule envisions that after the first phase of the eschatological war with the *kittyim* (Seleucids or Romans) and other neighboring enemies, the priests and the elders of Israel would return to the Temple and offer sacrifices "in order to prepare the pleasant incense for God's approval, to atone for all His congregation and to satisfy themselves (*ulehidashen*) in perpetuity before Him at the table of

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77   If the chronological development of these two perceptions had been reversed, the moral atonement theology would be a solution seeking a problem. Therefore, it is more reasonable to reconstruct the concept of moral atonement as the result of the polemic against the Wicked Priest and other adversaries, as well as a response to social pressure. The problem with this sequence is that 1QpHab was composed when the Roman army was already familiar to the authors, *ca.* 84-63 BCE (Nitzan 1986, 123-132), while the copy of 1QS is dated by paleography to 100 BCE. Some of the material in 1QpHab may nonetheless reflect an earlier period (for the use of old material in later composition in CD and 1QpHab, see Stegemann 1998, 117–118, 131–133). Note also that 1QS 9:3–5 was considered by Murphy O'Connor (1969) as the earliest passage in the document, while Metso (1997, 71–72, 143) indicated its absence in the 4QS^e which represents an earlier version.

78   Schwartz 1992a, 19–24, points to this paradox, underscoring two opposite Qumranic notions of (priestly) descent. According to his view, although the sectarians did not reject the concept of the Temple, the persistence of its substitutes for more than a century probably led to their adjustment to life without a Temple.

glory."[79] The expectation of a priestly messiah and the high status of priests in both the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant (see Chapters 1 and 4) could hardly have developed under a lack of interest in the Temple cult, since the sacrificial system is the foundation for the priests' social role. Other texts, especially the Temple Scroll and MMT, also confirm that the sectarians held a highest degree of concern for the purity and sacredness of the Temple cult (see Chapter 3).

The self-perception of the Qumranites as living in exile (proposed by Francis Schmidt) in an enclave of justice and righteousness after rejecting the moral corruption of Jerusalem, explains why they felt the need to develop new rituals of atonement, holiness, and religious experience. Schmidt suggested that the sectarians saw themselves as a community in exile, like the People of Israel wandering in the wilderness.[80] In their view, the Temple lost is ability to atone since the heavenly glory no longer dwelled there due to the moral impurity of the Wicked Priest and his followers.

As J.Z. Smith has pointed out, the exile from what he termed "the holy center," from the place of closeness to God, was a chaotic situation and a religious catastrophe, which was partly overcome by rituals that created sacred moments and experiences, introduced holiness into exile, and established a new and temporary holy center.[81] The Qumranic tendencies towards spiritualizing the cult were intended to be merely

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79   1QM 2:1-6 (citation from lines 5-6); Yadin 1962, 263-266. Schwartz 1979; 1981 showed that in CD and 4Q174 *Florilegium* there was no rejection of the Temple cult. Note that in 4Q471, which is a shorter and perhaps earlier version of the War Rule, this theme is much less developed (Eshel & Eshel 2000). It is therefore possible that the engagement with the eschatological and perfect sacrificial cult developed in a relatively later period of sectarian development.

80   Schmidt 1994, 134–41. For the Qumranic self-image of an exiled community, see: 1QM 1:3 ("when the exiles, the Sons of Light, return from the wilderness of the peoples"); CD 1:4–8; 7:14–16; 1QHa 12:8–10 [4:8–9]. For the "house of exile" of the Teacher of Righteous and his followers, see 1QpHab 11:4–9. Schmidt mentions that both Ezekiel and Josephus claimed that God deserted the Temple before the destruction of the First and Second Temples (Ezek 10; 11:22–23; Josephus, *War* 5:367, 412). Ezek 11:16 also described a replacement for the Temple (*miqdash me'at*) during the exilic period, and it is possible that the Qumranic concept was influenced by these prophecies.

81   Smith 1978, 119–28. For the holy center's essential role in maintaining cosmic order, especially through Temple rituals, see *ibid.*, 112–19. Cf. also Gorman 1990. It should be mentioned that Smith was inspired by the rituals of Lurianic Kabbalah. Smith's theory shows that the theory of the *yaḥad* as a "Human temple" is unnecessary. The *yaḥad*'s self-image as "a dwelling place for the holy of holies" (1QS 8:8), or "a house of holies for Israel and of the holy of holies in Israel for Aharon" (1QS 8:5–6) can be explained as a new sacred center, although not as a complete, permanent substitute for the sacrificial system.

temporary, and therefore did not imply that the Temple or the sacrificial system was deemed unnecessary.[82] Smith's observation should be applied to Qumran, where rituals effectively formed the basis for communal life,[83] especially in the realms of moral purity and ritual purity.

4.4 Rituals of Moral Purity: Immersing in the Holy Spirit

A significant portion of the rules and regulations of the Qumran sects, and especially the Community Rule, contain many ritual instructions, which is not surprising in light of the significance of ritual in cultural systems. Here I focus on ritual as part of the Qumranic worldview, and specifically discuss how ritual functioned as a means of internalizing the Qumranite worldview, through the performance of moral deeds and the accompanying moral purity, which played a central part in the life of the *yaḥad*.

Ablution in "the holy spirit" is one of the most fundamental manifestations of rituals of moral purity, and involves bodily purification, as the following passage from the Community Rule shows:

> For it is by the spirit of the true counsel of God that he (the member) can be cleansed from all his iniquities.... It is by an upright and humble spirit that his sins can be atoned. It is by humbling his soul to all God's statutes, that his flesh can be cleansed, by sprinkling with waters of purification (*mei nidda*), and by sanctifying himself with waters of purity (*mey docho*). May he establish his steps for walking perfectly in all God's ways, as He commanded at the appointed times of His fixed times, and not turn aside, to the right or to the left, and not transgress a single one of all His commands. Then he will be accepted by an agreeable atonement before God, and it shall be unto him a covenant of the everlasting Community (*berit yaḥad 'olamim*).[84]

According to this remarkable passage, purification from iniquities and the attainment of holiness is a complex process involving (1) divine

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82   Schmidt 1994, 134–41. Cf. Schwartz 1992a, 37–38.

83   Another substitute for the Temple cult, in addition to moral behavior and prayer, was the angelic liturgy of the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifices (see Chapter 11). "The distinctive interest of the community in the angelic liturgy, and the belief in present fellowship with the angels, can be understood in large part as compensation for the loss of participation in the temple cult" (Collins 1997, 155).

84   1QS 3:6–12 (translation follows Charlesworth 1994 with some modifications). Cf. also the parallels in 4QS^a II; 4QS^c III. For the interpretation of this passage and its parallels within and outside Qumran, see Flusser 1988, 54–60. Since the context of this passage concerns the annual "entry into the covenant" ceremony, it is possible that the ritual described here was practiced during this ceremony.

intervention of God's spirit (2) moral purification in the holy spirit (3) atonement for one's sins (4) adherence to God's rules (5) bodily ablution in water accompanied by (6) a commitment to pursue God's ways. Expiation and redemption within the "everlasting covenant" was therefore attained through moral repentance and religious commitment to the heavenly precepts, and was ritualized through bodily immersion in "the waters of purification." This internal, spiritual, and personal religious act of purification was publicly observed by other members during bodily immersion in a fresh water spring as a performed ritual.

Two distinctive features should be noted: first, the actual requirement to attain morality and righteousness ("atonement") through ritual (that is, merely repenting or acting righteously was insufficient, second, sin or immorality was viewed as a physical defilement whose removal required immersion in pure water. Both points are related to the ritualization of morality and commitment to the *yahad*'s doctrine. The Community Rule emphasizes that those who deserted the *yahad* could not participate in this ritual and hence could not achieve atonement.

The anthropological theory of the social function of ritual may be useful in understanding the full significance of the *yahad*'s conception of purification embodied in this passage. Ritual is a public act which separates the individual from everyday reality by defining a sacred realm which is sharply delineated from the defiling elements of the profane.[85] It is an act of differentiation which objectifies beliefs, dramatizes symbols through action, and creates social order and hierarchy.[86] The social efficacy of ritual derives from the fact that people who mutually observe each other's actions and performances, absorb the symbolic values that are dramatized in these rituals. Ritual is a public means of communication to convey ideas and values, and through which authority becomes formalized.[87]

Quite frequently, ritual relates to the body, where the body mediates between the individual and his society, or between the society and the cosmos. Through ritual, "one sort of man becomes a new sort of man."[88] Thus, the ritualization of moral purity by immersion in the holy spirit (whether performed daily or on specific occasions, see below),

85   Durkheim 1915.
86   Bell 1992, 30-37, 101-104.
87   Tambiah 1979; Rappaport 1979, 174-178 (on communication); Bloch 1974 (on authority).
88   Bell 1992, 94-117, following Douglas and others (Bell cites Burridge 1969, 166).

leads to the assimilation of the *yaḥad*'s distinctive moral character and communal self-identity.[89]

There are other, more casual performances of morality in the *yaḥad*'s communal institutions and daily life. The community's assembly conducted many judicial scenes and ceremonies including inspection of a novice's character and various legal procedures against transgressing members, discussed above. In these rituals, the assembly meticulously examined the moral purity of novices and members, and excluded members from the sect's purity or punished (by a reduction of their food supply) those who proved to be unjust or incapable of behaving in a truthful manner. Another important ceremony was the annual admission into the covenant, which included blessings of the priests and the curses of the Levites, and a ceremonial declaration of members' righteousness. [90]

The assemblies, the admission into the covenant, and especially the immersion in "the holy spirit," offered a public display of its members' moral behavior ("the perfect of the Way [are as] a pleasing freewill offering"),[91] and were designed to atone for the sectarians' sins and create sanctity among them. To some extent, these moral ceremonies reproduced a new holy center or, at least, a sacred realm. Such moral rituals also had a significant social function. They reinforced the communal moral order and the community's moral character, they symbolically illustrated the value of moral purity and implemented it as a means of reconstructing social relations.[92] Furthermore, in face of external social pressures, the special distinction of members' morality contributed to sectarian cohesion and self-identity, as opposed to the men of Belial. The penal measures taken against transgressors and the rigorous examination of novices were also needed in order to detect potential deserters or members who were not sufficiently loyal to the community's ideology.[93] Rituals, ceremonies and the other public mani-

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89   Sociologists regard constant reinforcement of daily rituals ("costly rituals") as a means to enhance commitment and promote intra-group cooperation and communal success. See Sosis 2000, 81-82; Sosis and Bressler 2003.

90   For the entry into the covenant, see 1QS 1:16-2:25//4QS^c II. For the assemblies, see Chapter 4.

91   Note that the entry into the covenant and purification through the "holy spirit" were not attested to in the early versions of the Community Rule, 4QS^d and 4QS^e (Metso 1997, 145). Consequently, it is possible that these moral liturgies developed in a later period.

92   For this understanding of ritual as reinforcing moral order, see Wuthnow 1987, 156.

93   The 17th century Salem witch trials in Massachusetts are an example of a radical sectarian reaction to deviance and the use of punishment to recover the moral boundary of the sect. These collective rituals emerged in response to a "boundary

festations of moral purity therefore strengthened the collectivity of the *yahad*.

Finally, I believe that the *yahad*'s extensive preoccupation with the morality of its members was a reflection of its opposition to the outside world. The higher the tension and separation from society, the stronger the emphasis on the sect's difference and its conceptualization as a superior alternative to the opposing cultural system.[94]

4.5   From Temple to Sect: The Performance of Ritual Purity

Returning now to the theme of ritual or bodily purity, it is interesting to note several Qumranic texts that deal with the laws of ritual impurity in the context of daily life without direct reference to the Temple. These rituals highlight that the Qumran sects reproduced a sacred center that incorporated both moral and ritual purity. These documents discuss skin disease, seminal discharge, menstruation and menstrual discharge, purification from corpse impurity by the ashes of the red heifer, liquids' susceptibility to defilement, segregation of the impure persons

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crisis" in the moral order of the Massachusetts colony. Erikson (1966) maintained that collectivity develops collective identity that, in turn, defines boundaries of membership (namely, a variety of collective values, definitions, and relations) and distinguishes the collectivity from outsiders. When these boundaries change or become blurred, the resolution of membership issues, authority, and shared values becomes uncertain. By representing lifestyles that violate or transgress shared values, heretics and witches merely symbolize the fragility of these boundaries. The rituals used to discover heretics thus clarify the community's collective boundaries and provide an objective lesson to those who might be inclined to violate these boundaries. The social function of punishment was defined by Foucault (1977) as "penal liturgy."

94   See Hempel 2003 for the very frequent references to the *yahad*'s adversaries in the Community Rule. Dissention of members, including "traitors" who may even have joined competing groups or sects, is attested in other texts. See: CD 8:20, 13:20; 1QpHab 2:1–10; 5:9–12; Murphy O'Connor 1974, 233–38; Jeremias, 1963, 79-126. Compare Coser 1956, 100-104. Similar fractions are attested to among the Shakers (Stein 1992, index, s.v. apostates), Mennonites (Redekop 1989, 261-275) and Hutterites (Hostetler 1974, 255-283). The connection between tension/separation and strict adherence to blameless conduct is also noticed among the Shakers who enforced many restrictions and distinguished themselves by their blamelessness (see Chapters 8 and 9). Compare also Winthrop's polemics on faith and social boundaries as sectarian characteristics in 17th century Massachusetts with R. Willimas, who was extremist in his punishments for religious transgressions, and especially with Anne Hutchinson, who denied the gift of grace and the relationship between justification and sanctification as challenging Puritan creeds, known as the Antinomians controversy (Winthrop 1996; Morgan 1999, 102-137).

from the pure ones, and separation between different types of impure persons.[95] Additional rules in the Damascus Document deal with the purity of food (honey and locusts), laws of immersion in water, impurity of gentiles and corpse impurity.[96] Ritual purity was also maintained in communal meals through the exclusion of novices and certain offenders.[97]

Such observance of bodily purity in eating ordinary food (in contrast to maintaining purity when visiting the Temple and eating sacrifices or priestly dues) was conventional among many Jews (Judith, Philo etc.) in the late Second Temple period, and especially among the fellowships of the Pharisees or early rabbis.[98] However, this scrupulous adherence to ritual purity is noteworthy in light of the Qumranic substitution of the sacrificial system with moral conduct, punishments and prayer. In spite of the separation from the Temple and the emphasis on morality (or "spiritualization" of the Temple cult), the Qumran sects remained highly committed to the biblical "levitical system" of bodily defilements and purifications which was originally related to the sacrificial cult. This may serve as a further support of their strong ideological commitment to the priestly cult and the temporary nature of their retirement from the Temple.

The Qumranic rituals of bodily purity were infused with a peculiar ceremonial and devotional aspect. Purification (on a regular, perhaps even daily basis) was followed by a special blessing or prayer, while the cleansed person was still standing in the water.[99] The aim of these

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95   4QDᵃ 6 I; 4QDᵈ 7; 4QDᵍ 1 I-II; 4QpapDʰ 4 II; 4Q274–278 4QToharot A–C, in Baumgarten et al., 1999, 79–122; J. Baumgarten 1994a; 1994b. See also the practice of gradual purification (impure people practice ablution and thus obtain partial purification in order to eat non-sacred food, pray and study, since these activities demand a certain degree of sacredness) in Regev 2000a, 177–80, 185, 188–89. The archaeological findings in kh. Qumran also attest to strict observance of bodily purity. Ten ritual baths and more than two hundred fragments of stone vessels (that are not susceptible to impurity) were excavated at the site (Magness 2002, 95-97, 147-150; Regev 2000a, 184).

96   CD 10:12-13; 12:11-17; See Hempel 1998, 59-61, 160-162 (for the 4Q fragments). CD 10:1-2 orders "No-one should lie with a woman in the city of the Temple, defiling the city of the Temple with their impurity" (thus following the Temple Scroll, see Chapter 3).

97   For immersion before meals, see 1QS 5:13//4QSᵈ I 7-8 (cf. Josephus' description of the Essenes in War 2.129). Schmidt, 1994, 142–88 surveyed the evidence with further bibliography, discerning different stages of purity/sacredness, but did not distinguish between bodily and moral impurity.

98   See Regev 2000a for a survey and analysis of this phenomenon.

99   J. Baumgarten, 1999a surveyed the evidence of 4Q284, 4Q414, and 4Q512. See also Baillet 1982, 262-286; J. Baumgarten et al. 1999, 123-130, 135-154.

purification rituals was to attain "purity of truth/righteousness"[100]
granted by God ("Your purification in Your glory"), namely, divine
atonement.[101] Such an immersion resulted in the purification of the
person's soul from guilt and a promised atonement.[102] Furthermore
ritual purity (along with moral behavior) was essential to achieve the
degree of individual sanctity called "the holy spirit," as discussed
above in the context of the Community Rule. One fragmented passage
even seems to regard ablution as analogous to sacrifice.[103]

Bodily purification therefore had a distinctive spiritual feature of
consecration and atonement which was lacking in other similar rituals
such as those practices by the Pharisees or early rabbis. At least one
blessing or prayer explicitly linked bodily and moral purity. The Qum-
ran sects dramatized their roles and obligations in these rituals in a
manner that created a distinctive concept of ritual purity that empha-
sized their superior purity and morality.[104]

5 Conclusions

MMT reflects the Qumranites' concern with the impurity and desecra-
tion of the Temple. While Section B of MMT discusses the halakhic
issues of ritual impurity, Section C deals with moral impurity and
stresses the boundaries between the authors and part of the outside
society, and offers a new understanding of the development of the
Qumranic ideology of purity. Initially, the Qumran sectarians did not
see the *ritual* impurity in the Temple as a *casus belli* or justification to
withdraw from Temple institutions or from the outside society in gen-
eral. At that point in the sects' development, their withdrawal from
Jewish society was incomplete, as can be seen from their attempt to
persuade the addressee of MMT to reform the cultic system. Their ul-
timate aim, according to my understanding, was to return to Jerusalem

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100 4Q414 12, 4; J. Baumgarten 1999a, 202.
101 4Q414 12, 9 (the "regulation of atonement" is mentioned in line 3, and atonement is
     referred to several times in 4Q512). Note that 4Q414 10, 7 mentions the *yaḥad*.
102 J. Baumgarten 1999a, 207-211.
103 "[in] water... and there he will bless... You have...me for the purity... and his burnt
     offering. And he will bless... May You be blessed, [God of Israel, who forgave me
     al]l my sins and purified me from impure immodesty and atoned so that (I) can en-
     ter... purification. And the blood of the burnt offering agreeable to [pl]ea[san]nt
     (aroma) agreeable to you... for the atonement [of". See 4Q512 frags. 29-32 in Baillet
     1982, 265-266.
104 For such a dramatization, see Wuthnow 1987, 97–144, esp. 101, 123, 129-132.

and resume their participation in the Temple cult. According to *pesher* Habakkuk, the final rupture may have occurred soon after, as a result of the Qumranites' belief that the Temple authorities, especially the Wicked Priest, were corrupt and sinful, and their *moral* impurity defiled the Temple itself beyond purification. With this recognition, the Temple cult became (temporarily) irrelevant for the sectarians.

It seems that the concept of moral impurity shaped the social life of the sectarians from the very beginning. Section C of MMT illustrates that moral sins and moral impurity sufficed for the authors to remove themselves from any contact with "the Multitude of the People," even before this complete separation. The comparison between MMT and later compositions illustrates how the Qumran sect gradually transformed from a reformative sect (if it was an established sect), trying to influence broader society from within, to an introversionist sect that completely rejected the outside world.[105] Moral impurity was not an excuse or a reflexive explanation for their withdrawal from Jewish society, but was an essential dimension in their worldview, that led the sectarians to hold extreme social positions. Just as "taboos structure a cosmos out of the raw material of experience,"[106] the Qumran sects created an enclave by rejecting and excluding central features of the outside world.

But this is only half of the story. The *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant did not merely condemn and reject other Jews. They also created an alternative way of life, constructing a system of holiness and social life based on their own moral standards and social needs. Based on insights from comparative religion, sociology and anthropology, I have concluded that these rituals and regulations of both moral and ritual purity were the key to everything that the sectarians ever desired – atonement and sanctity – and therefore formed the foundation for a new sacred center. Moreover, these practices filled significant social functions by maintaining group cohesion, enhancing self-identity and reinforcing commitment.

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105 For these categories, see Wilson 1973, 18-30; A. Baumgarten, 1997a, 13–15.
106 Zuesse 1979, 487.

Chapter 3
Dynamic Holiness and Pre-Sectarianism
in the Temple Scroll and MMT

1 Introduction

This chapter traces the religious and cosmological worldview underlying the laws of the Temple Scroll and MMT concerning sacrifices, priests, Temple measurements (which attests to ritual boundaries) and Temple festivals (including the calendar), and compares this ideological worldview with the sectarian characteristics defined in Chapter 1, particularly cosmic tension and atonement. This analysis illuminates the relationship between law, cosmology (or the conceptualization of holiness), and sectarianism in general. The chapter also traces the ideological connections between the Temple Scroll and MMT, on one hand, and the later Community Rule and the Damascus Document, on the other hand. Since the Temple Scroll and MMT are usually considered to predate the Community Rule and the Damascus Document, the present analysis may contribute to the reconstruction of the ideological origins of sectarianism in Qumran.

The Temple Scroll and MMT, with their focus on ancient Jewish law (halakhah) and interpretations of the scriptural commands, are usually considered to be among the earliest documents in the Qumranic corpus and were probably considered authoritative by later Qumranic scribes.[1] Together with Jubilees, the Temple Scroll is also considered one of the pre-Qumranic sources that inspired the Qumranites.

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1   Dating of the Temple Scroll is extremely difficult, since it is based on reduction criticism (discerning different literary layers) or implicit (and questionable) reactions to the Hasmoneans, but these later historical clues relate exclusively to the "law of the king" (cols. 57-59) which may have been composed later than other parts of the scroll. See Wise 1990, 26-31, for a survey of previous scholarship. Wise, *ibid.*, 98-99, 132-133, 153-154, 189-194, 198-200 dates the "Temple source" to *ca.* 190 BCE, and the general reduction to 152 BCE, and also attributes this reduction to the Teacher of Righteousness. Many of the scholars date the final composition of the entire scroll to 150-100 BCE, although they acknowledge that it is based on earlier sources. For its relationship with Jubilees and MMT, see Chapter 6. For the presumed date of MMT and its historical context, see Chapter 2.

In their content and tone, the Temple Scroll and MMT contain many laws and orders which call for a higher degree of scrupulousness in the practice of Temple rituals than was conventionally believed or practiced by other contemporary Jews. In all cases, the Temple Scroll and MMT call for a stricter interpretation of the laws of the Torah than the instructions of rabbinic halakhah. Although the early rabbinic sources of these scrolls, the Mishnah, Tosefta and the collections of halakhic exegesis of the Torah, were edited in the early third century CE, the direct or implicit polemics with the rabbinic laws indicates that these relatively lenient laws had already flourished almost four hundred years earlier, in the early Hasmonean period, and had been practiced by the Pharisees, the spiritual forerunners of the early rabbis. Indeed, the Damascus Covenant and the Pesharim confirm that the Pharisees, called in these texts "seekers of smooth things" or "Ephariam," were the most serious religious adversaries of the Qumranites.[2]

The method I use for reducing laws into worldview is comparative. In order to gain perspective on the religious or cultural values behind the cultic laws I compare each of the rules in the Temple Scroll and MMT to its rabbinic parallel. Halakhah, or law, is a means of actuating human behavior consistent with certain values or ideas.[3] Halakhic controversies may be therefore the product of conflicting values, ideas or theoretical conceptions. The present controversies between the Temple Scroll or MMT and the Pharisees or rabbis pertain to legal cultic details that are not explicitly stated in Scripture, but represent opposing interpretations of or supplements to the laws of the Pentateuch. The two sides present consistent opposing approaches to boundaries of ritual and sanctity that can be hardly dismissed as coincidental, and therefore attest to two conflicting worldviews which lie at the foundation of these sets of interpretations. The result of this analysis is a reconstruction of two legal schemes representing two different religious, cultural or even cosmological systems, which diverge in their conceptualization of holiness or the divine presence.

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2   For the Temple Scroll and MMT as a stricter interpretation of the law than the
     Pharisees or rabbis, see: Yadin 1977; J. Baumgarten 1980; Sussmann 1989/90;
     Schiffmann 1989a; 1990a; 1994b; Qimorn and Strugnell 1994. As for the relationship
     between the Pharisees and Rabbis, Pharisaic figures in Josephus are portrayed in
     rabbinic sources as early rabbinic ones. See Sanders 1992, 380-412. Cf. Neusner
     1973b. For the rabbinic use of Pharisees as synonymous to rabbis, see Rivkin 1969-70.
     For the Qumranic polemic with the Pharisees, see Flusser 1970; 1981; Stegemann
     1971; Schwartz 1996; VanderKam 2003.
3   See, e,g., Halbertal 1999.

In tracing the basic cultural traits of laws and rituals I draw on cultural anthropology and particularly the work of Clifford Geertz on the role of beliefs and practices as symbols that (unconsciously) create systems that we generally call "religion."[4] For Geertz, "(t)he anthropological study of religion is therefore a two-stage operation: first, an analysis of the system of meanings embodied in the symbols which make up the religion proper, and, second, the relating of these systems to social-structural and psychological processes."[5]

In this chapter I focus on the first stage of analysis, and explore the meanings underlying the religious symbols (Chapters 1 and 2 addressed the social processes of sectarianism, related to Geertz's second stage). In doing so, however, I have tried to avoid the major flaw of Geertz's methodology, which is a disregard of religious and social context.[6] Qumranic religious ideology is analyzed in light of the symbolic context of the biblical Priestly Code, as well as in comparison to the rabbinic approaches. Other non-halakhic writings from Qumran also provide a certain context that reinforces my interpretation.

In recent years, several interesting attempts have been made to characterize the differences between the Temple Scroll and MMT, on one hand, and rabbinic halakhah, on the other. Israel Knohl argued that the Pharisees encouraged the participation of the laity in the Temple cult whereas the Temple Scroll and MMT removed them from the sacred realm; Daniel Schwartz pointed out certain cases in which the Temple Scroll and MMT held a "realistic" approach as opposed to the rabbinic "nominalistic" approach. David Henshke has shown that the Temple Scroll and MMT rigorously emphasized the sanctity of the Temple, whereas the rabbis expanded the sanctity to the whole city of Jerusalem; and Hannah Harrington suggested that MMT adhered to

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4   Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System" in Geertz 1973, 87-125. He defines religion as "a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods... by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality...". For the significance and reception of Geertz's theory of religion, see Comstock 1981; Frankenberry and Penner 1999.

5   Geertz 1973, 125.

6   Recently, Talal Asad (1993a) criticized Geertz, arguing that his symbolic interpretation of culture applies only to religions which express orders through rites and doctrines, and is therefore too abstract and ignores the social context of the given religious symbols. Asad believes that symbols can be merely communicative and not representational, and denies that religion is necessarily a cognitive construction of reality. Bloch 1975 also criticized reading ritual symbolism detached from its context. For criticism on Geertz's lack of concern for social and historical context, see Biersack 1989.

stricter categories of holiness.[7] These studies are indeed illuminating, but none offers a comprehensive analysis of the conceptual difference between Qumranic and rabbinic laws. Below I propose a general thesis of holiness for this purpose.

1.1   The Priestly Model of Ritual Sanctity and Desecration

I propose that the Temple Scroll and MMT reflect a view of holiness as a dynamic, sensitive and dangerous force which calls for restriction of access to the sacred. In contrast, in Pharisaic and rabbinic halakhah, holiness is static, and access to the sacred is far less restricted, since it is neither dangerous nor threatening. In fact, for the rabbis, holiness was a *status* rather than an *active force*. To explain this identification of holiness as a dynamic force with a more strict approach to laws of the sacred, and static holiness with the more lenient halakhic approach, it is necessary to introduce the conceptualization of holiness in the so-called Priestly Code (or the broader Priestly Schools) in the Pentateuch. The Priestly Code offers an important model for classifying desecration of the sancta and sins against God.

According to the Priestly Code, the Tabernacle, the altar, and Aaron the high priest and his sons, were sanctified by God (Ex 29:44), and God or his glory dwelled in the sanctuary (Ex 29:43; 40:34-35). Hierarchies of holiness apply to the sacred objects in the Tabernacle, the sacrifices, as well as to cultic positions and ritual ceremonies.[8] The sacredness of the Tabernacle, its objects and sacrifices, is coercive and contagious (Lev 6:11, 20). Inappropriate observation of or contact with holiness may evoke a fatal divine response.[9]

Impurity is a virtual entity that threatens to desecrate the sacred or holy and cause the departure of the Divine Presence from the Temple.[10] Thus the laws of the Priestly Code establish several rules to reduce the risk of impurity and remove it from the cultic realm.[11] Numerous instructions and warnings emphasize that the sacred character of the Tabernacle vessels and offerings requires extreme caution when handled. Failure to observe these orders leads to sancta trespass and results in grave sin and punishment. Other instructions emphasize that the

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7   Knohl 1992; Schwartz 1992b; Henshke 1997; Harrington 1997.
8   Haran 1961; Milgrom 1976b, 35-37; Jenson 1992.
9   Ex 28:35, 43; Lev 10:1-3; Num 4:15, 19-20.
10   Milgrom 1991, 615-617.
11   Gorman 1990; Jenson 1992. For the binary opposition of clean/unclean, see Olyan 2000, 38-62. Here I refer to the Priestly Code as also containing the Holiness Code.

danger is not limited to ritual or bodily defilement of the sacred, or the sacrilege of mixing sanctity and impurity. Violation of a prohibitive commandment also generates "moral" impurity and tarnishes the altar from afar. In such a cultic system misdemeanors are inevitable, and the Priestly Code therefore defines several means of atonement and re-demption.[12] The continuous need to repent and atone for trespassing God's sancta becomes the main feature of this cultic system.

The demand for rigorous maintenance of taboos and ritual restric-tions as well as to rituals of expiation that aim to eliminate pollution and desecration, is grounded in a dynamic concept of holiness that lies at the basis of the Priestly Code: Holiness (that is, what God has distinc-tively chosen as his own) is sensitive to sacrilege and transgression, and may be restored through expiation.[13] Such a concept of holiness em-phasizes the connection between God and the people, and the mutual dependence between God's holiness on earth, and the people's actions.

The Qumranic system of laws, and those of the Pharisees and the rabbis, reflect a different concepts of holiness: as evidence shows, the Temple Scroll and MMT were even stricter than the Priestly Code, while the Pharisees and rabbis rejected some of its major pre-suppositions.

2   Purity and Impurity

The following instances illustrate that the Temple Scroll and MMT de-clare as impure elements or actions that the rabbis accept as non-polluting.

1. According to the Temple Scroll and MMT, bones and skin of un-clean ("non-kosher") animals are defiling. The rabbis declare them as clean.[14]

2. According to MMT B 55-58 the *niṣok* or *muṣakot* are defiled. These are liquids, poured from a pure vessel into an impure vessel below it, contaminate the pure vessel, namely, impurity "climbs" upward to the

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12   Milgrom 1991, 42-51, 253-292, 339-378, 443-456. I characterize this impurity as moral following Chapter 2.

13   Regev 2001; 2004d. Note that Milgrom (1991, 48) states that "P's doctrine of holiness is static; H's [that is, the so-called Holiness Code, basically Lev 17-26] is dynamic," without elaborating the exact meaning of these terms. At any rate, one should bear in mind that these are only relative characterizations. P's concept of holiness may seem static in comparison to H's, but still dynamic in comparison to D's.

14   Temple Scroll 51:1-4; MMT B 21-23; m. *ḥulin* 9:1.

upper vessel. The rabbis, however, believed that the *niṣok* is pure, except for cases in which thick liquids are involved, *viz.* honey.[15]

3. Num 19 defines the procedure required to purify persons or objects from corpse impurity: a red heifer is slaughtered and burnt, and its ashes are mixed with water and sprinkled on the defiled person or object. While Scripture does not limit the performance of this ritual to individuals of a specific degree of purity, MMT orders that the entire procedure, and particularly the burning of the red heifer, should be performed by a person (probably a high priest) who is in a state of *ha'arivut shemesh* (the parallel rabbinic term is *me'orav shemesh*, literally, sundown), namely, not only one who has immersed in water but an individual who has also waited until sundown and avoided any contact with the sacred until evening or the following day. The rabbis insisted that the high priest can nevertheless be in a in a lower status of impurity of *tebul yom* (literally, one who immersed during the day), namely, having immersed himself and is considered pure without waiting for sundown.[16]

4. MMT prohibits the entrance of Ammonites, Moabites, the *mamzer*, and men who have defective genitals into the Temple, whereas rabbinic laws make no mention of similar restrictions. The basis for MMT's exclusion drives from the biblical prohibitions that these people "shall not enter into the congregation (*qahal*) of the Lord" (Deut 23:2-7). The rabbis interpreted these verses as referring to marriage taboos,[17] while MMT regarded them as pertaining to assemblies in the Temple. Thus, the explicit motivation for this Qumranic rigorousness is the fear that impurity would desecrate the cult's sanctity.[18]

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15   MMT B 55-58; m. *makhshirin* 5:9; m. *yadyim* 4:7.

16   MMT B 13-17; m. *parah* 3:7; t. *parah* 3:9 (ed. Zuckermandel, 632). Note that waiting for sundown is mandatory for purification (Lev 11:39, 40; Num 19:8, 10, 19, 21-22, etc.), hence the rabbinic concept is a lenient innovation of the Pharisees (cf. Schiffman 1994b). Another difference in their understanding of the red heifer ritual relates to the date of sprinkling the ashes of the red heifer. According to the rabbis, the ashes are sprinkled on the seventh day of impurity and followed by immersion. The Temple Scroll and other Qumranic writings order immersion on the first day of impurity, and sprinkling the red heifer's ashes on the third day, in addition to the sprinkling of ashes and final immersion on the seventh day. The Qumranic ritual, sometimes termed as 'gradual purification' is aimed to reduce uncleanness during the seven days of impurity. The rabbis did not acknowledge this gradual purification. See Temple Scroll 49:17-20; 50:14-15; Regev 2000a, 178-180.

17   M. *yebamot* 8:1-3; Sifrei Deuteronomy *ki-teṣeh* 247-248 (ed. Finkelstein, 276-277).

18   MMT B 39-49. See also 4Q174 *Florilegium* I, 3-4 (Allegro 1968, 53).

5. MMT prohibits the entrance of blind and deaf individuals into the Temple because of their inability to avoid defilement and uncleanness. No similar suspected impurity is indicated in rabbinic literature.[19]

6. MMT commands that dogs must not enter Jerusalem since they may desecrate or defile the sacrifice leftovers by eating them. Although the rabbis did not order this prohibition, they agreed with the Temple Scroll that one should not raise cocks in Jerusalem since they peck the leftover sacrifices and priestly dues, and therefore defile them.[20]

3 Consuming Sacred Food: People, Place, Time

The Temple Scroll and MMT also differed from rabbinic halakhah in their approach to the use or consumption of sacred food or offerings. Sacred food included portions of sacrifices that are eaten by the priests (sin/purification and guilt offerings) as well as tithes and first fruits which must be eaten either by sacred individuals (priests) or in a sacred space (the Temple or Jerusalem), within a limited time span. Although these restrictions are grounded in Scripture,[21] many details are absent. Differences between the Qumran scrolls and the rabbinic laws are evident in three areas: the individuals permitted to eat the sacred food, the site where eating was permitted, and a specific time limit on consumption.

1. Scripture commands that the animal tithe and the fruits of the fourth year (both brought to the Temple by their owners), should be eaten as "sacred to the Lord." The Temple Scroll and MMT maintain that they should be given to the priests for their consumption, while the rabbis insist that the tithes should be eaten by the lay owners.[22]

2. The Temple Scroll orders that the arm, cheek and stomach of the *shelamim* sacrifice (thanks offering or well-being sacrifice) should be

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19   MMT B 49-54. For the blind, see also Temple Scroll 45:12-14.

20   MMT B 58–62; Temple Scroll 48 (11QT^c in Qimron 1996, 69); m. *baba qama* 7:7. Note that according m. *me'ila* 2:3, desecration of sacrifices is possible only until the leftover meat is burned outside the Temple.

21   Cf. Lev 7:18; 10:17; 19:6–8; Num 18: 11-13. Note the emphasis on the sacredness of the priests in these passages.

22   Animal tithe: Lev 27:32; MMT B 63-64; m. *zebaḥim* 5:8. Fruits of the fourth year: Lev 19:24; MMT B 62-63; Temple Scroll 60:3-4; 4QD^a 2 ii 6; m. *ma'aser sheni* 5:1-5; Sifrei Numbers, *bamidabar* 6 (ed. Horovits 6); j. *peah* 7:6 (20b-20c).

given to the priests. The rabbis held that these should be eaten by the lay people who bring these sacrifices.[23]

3. The Temple Scroll calls for a separation between the sacrifices of the priests (especially the *hattat* and *'asham*) and those of the laity, due to their different degrees of sanctity.[24] The higher cultic status or sanctity of priests in relation to lay Israelites is obvious in the Priestly Code, but it is further stressed in the Temple Scroll and MMT where such emphasis is absent from the Scripture. The rabbis, on the other hand, interpret the indistinct reference to the priest's holiness in the Scripture as diminishing the imprint of priestly hierarchy on rituals of sacred food.

4. The Temple Scroll and MMT command that all animals should be slaughtered in the Temple as *shelamim*, and no non-sacral slaughter is permitted in Jerusalem or in Judaea. Both the Temple Scroll and MMT demand that the meat and skins of animal slaughtered outside the Temple should be considered improperly slaughtered and defiling, and therefore should not be brought into Jerusalem. Non-sacral consumption of food is limited to "the cities" outside Jerusalem, and one passage in the Temple Scroll defines these as cities within "three days" walk from the Temple. The rabbis, on the other hand, placed no limitations on non-sacral slaughtering in Jerusalem.[25]

5. The Temple Scroll holds that eating of the fruits of the fourth year and the Paschal lamb should be restricted to the Temple's courts. The rabbis permit eating them outside the Temple, in the entire city of Jerusalem.[26]

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23   Temple Scroll 20:14-16, 22:8-11; 11QT^b 8 I (Qimron 1996, 32); m. *hulin* 10:11; Sifrei Deuteronomy *shoftim* 165 (ed. Finkelstein, 214). See also Yadin 1977, 1.120-121. The roots of this controversy lie in the interpretation of Deut 18:3, which prescribes that the arm, cheek and stomach of the slaughtered meat (*zebah*) should be given to the priests. This term is obscure and may relate to either *shelamim* sacrifice (thanks offering or well-being sacrifice), supporting the Temple Scroll's view, or to non-sacral slaughtering outside the Temple, supporting the rabbis' approach.

24   Temple Scroll 35:10-15; 37:8-12.

25   Temple Scroll 47:7–18; 52:14–21; MMT B 27–35; Sifrei Deuteronomy, *re'e* 75 (ed. Finkelstein 139-140); Schiffman 1990b; 1995b. The root of this debate lies in the fact that Lev 17:39 commands that every animal must be offered on the Tabernacle's altar, whereas Deut 12:20-21 permits the consumption of meat away from "the chosen place."

26   Fruits of the fourth year: Temple Scroll 60:3-4; m. *ma'aser sheni* 5:2-4; t. *ma'aser sheni* 5:14-15 (ed. Lieberman, 271). Paschal lamb: Temple Scroll 17:8-9 (Qimron 1996, 27); m. *zebahim* 5:8. See Yadin, 1977, 1.80-81; Heneshke 1997, 21. For views similar to the Temple Scroll, see Jubilees 7: 36 (fruits of the forth year) and 49:16-20 (paschal lamb).

6. As for sacred time limits, both the Temple Scroll and MMT specify that the breads of the thanksgiving *shelamim* must be eaten by sunset, while the rabbis permit them to be eaten until midnight.[27]

4   Boundaries of Sacred Space at the Temple and Jerusalem

The Temple Scroll and MMT also differed from the Pharisees or early rabbis on a more general issue relating to sacred space, that is, the spatial distribution of holiness in the Temple, and the required boundaries and restrictions separating priestly and lay activities in the Temple. The rabbis restricted most of the taboos of impurity to the Temple courts and, in certain cases, to the entire Temple Mount. In no case was any taboo of impurity applied to the entire city of Jerusalem. Menstruating women, women after childbirth and women having menstrual discharge were not allowed to enter the Temple Mount; men having seminal discharge were restricted from the Temple courts.[28]

MMT, however, equates the entire city of Jerusalem with the highest degree of holiness, "For Jerusalem is the camp of holiness... For Jerusalem is capital of the camps of Israel."[29] The degree of the camp of divine dwellings (*shekhina*) was the highest degree of holiness, which the rabbis applied only to the Temple courts.[30] MMT's prohibitions of non-sacral slaughtering in Jerusalem and raising dogs in the city are consistent with the city's classification of holiness, discussed above.

A similar classification of holiness is introduced in the Temple Scroll, albeit in a different manner and with many additional restrictions and prohibitions. The Temple Scroll describes a very detailed plan of the Temple courts that was influenced by the division of camps dur-

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27 Temple Scroll 20:12-13; MMT B 9–13; m. *zebahim* 5:6, 6:1; Regev 1998; Birenboym 1998.

28 M. *kelim* 1:8. Similar practices are described by Josephus, *Against Apion* 2:103-104 and seem to reflect the reality of the late Second Temple period. The rabbis distinguished between three theoretical spheres of holiness: the Temple courts (corresponding to the biblical camp of the Divine Presence in the desert), the rest of the Temple Mount (corresponding to the Levites' camp), and the entire city of Jerusalem (corresponding to the camp of Israel). See: t. *kelim baba qama* 1:12 (ed. Zuckermandel, 570); Sifrei Numbers, *naso* 1 (ed. Horovitz, 4); b. *zebahim* 116b; Numbers Raba 7:9 (Vilna Press, 20d). Indeed, MMT and the Temple Scroll held a quite similar tri-partite conception of spheres, but their division has far-reaching halakhic consequences whereas the rabbinic division is merely exegetical and did not actually shape their rules of conduct or ritual.

29 MMT B 59-61. Cf. B 29-31. Translations of MMT follow Qimron and Strugnell 1994.

30 T. *kelim baba qama* 1:12 (ed. Zuckermandel, 570).

ing Israel's wandering in the desert as well as Ezekiel's vision of the Temple.[31] The ideal Temple Mount was divided into three courts.

The inner courtyard included the Temple building and the altar on which the animal sacrifices were offered. This area corresponds to the priestly court in rabbinic terminology, or the fourth court in Josephus' terminology.[32] Holy vessels that were not permitted to be removed from this inner court were housed here.[33] This courtyard was also the site of the priestly cult and priestly meals of sacrifices and cereal-offerings. The Temple Scroll ordered a spatial separation between these sacrifices and the sacrifices of the laity that were eaten in the middle court (Temple Scroll 37:4-12).

The middle court was designated for eating sacrificial food by lay males. Spatially, the middle court corresponded to the entire Temple Mount in Josephus and tractate Middot, and functionally it corresponded to the court of Israel in the rabbinic plan of the Temple Mount in tractate *middot*. This area was forbidden to women, children and proselytes until the fourth generation after conversion (Temple Scroll 39:4-9). It was also forbidden to wear priestly garments in the middle court (40:1-4), which was considered less holy than the inner court.

The outer court was 1600 square cubits (`amot), much larger than the area of the entire city of Jerusalem in the Hasmonean period (when the scroll was written). This was the court of the laity (similar in function to the court of women in tractate *middot*), although forbidden to proselytes until the third generation (40:6-7). The outer court contained many porticos (*parvarim*) as well as dozens of rooms and chambers for the chiefs of the tribes, priests and Levites. This space was devoted to the religious activities of the laity, including the construction of tabernacles (on the chambers' roofs) (42:7-17) and consumption of *shelamim* sacrifices during the feast of Sukkot (21:2-4; 22:11-13). The twelve gates leading to and from the outer courts symbolized the participation of all

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31   Yadin 1977, 1.146-148. The fact that the authors also looked forward to a different eschatological Temple that God would bring down from the sky (*ibid.*, 141-144) indicates that the detailed plan of the Temple was considered realistic and obligatory. The following description of the courts and their functions, as well as "the city of the Temple," is based on Yadin 1977,154-247; Schiffman 1985b.

32   For the division of the Temple courts, see: m. *middot* 2:1-6; 5:1; Against Apion 2.103-104. Cf. War 5.190-206; *Ant.* 15.416-419.

33   Interestingly, the Temple Scroll 3:10-12 orders that the incense altar and the table of unleavened bread must not be moved from the sanctuary. The Pharisees removed the Menorah and the table in order to exhibit them to the crowds, and the Sadducees complained that this caused them to be defiled (m. ḥagiga 3:8; t. ḥagiga 3:35 (ed. Leiberman 394). See also Knohl, 1992, 143-144.

the people of Israel in the Temple ritual. Each gate was named after one of Jacob's twelve sons.

The main purpose of this spatial organization of "graded holiness" was to separate between the priestly and lay realms. Lay people were relegated to areas that were removed from the altar, the holy vessels, and the atoning rituals, and their activities were restricted to the outer court, at a distance from the sanctuary and the altar.[34]

Another spatial area that is discussed in the Temple Scroll is "the City of the Temple" ('ir ha-miqdash), which apparently overlaps with the total area of all the three courts, and roughly encompasses the entire city of Jerusalem in the Hasmonean period (termed in MMT as "the camp of holiness").[35] In the City of the Temple, entrance is forbidden to males afflicted with skin-disease, seminal discharge and seminal defilements, including men who have yet to perform a three-day long purification process after intercourse with a women (Temple Scroll 45:7-15). All these defiled persons are restricted to three special areas located three thousand cubits from the "City of the Temple" (45:15-46:2). Yadin believed that the absence of restrictions pertaining to women in the City is indicative that their presence was forbidden in entirety.[36] Strict rules also restrict excretions to a special site at a distance of three thousand cubits from the city (46:13-16). Impure food and drink and the hides and bones of non-sacral slaughtering were forbidden in these areas, as was the act of non-sacral slaughtering.[37]

In contrast, rabbinic literature does not prescribe a similarly rigorous division of the Temple area between priests and non-priests. For example, the Pharisees did not prevent lay people from approaching the altar or the holy vessels. They also did not require these purity restrictions or rigorous orders of separation between the priests and the laity. The core of all the differences between the Temple Scroll and MMT, on one hand, and rabbinic literature on the other, concerns the extent of the separation that should be maintained between the various areas of the Temple, and the restriction of lay access to, and potential contamination of, the areas designated as holy.

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34   See also Schiffman 1989b, 280-284. Knohl 1992, 140-141 viewed the building of the tabernacles in the outer court as indicating the laity's separation from the cult.
35   I follow Schiffman's view (1998) that 'ir ha-miqdash refers to the entire sacred temenos, as opposed to Yadin 1977, 1.222-223 who interpreted it as the city surrounding the outer court. Although the conceptual schemes of MMT's camps system and the Temple Scroll's court system have much in common, there are some differences in specific details. See Henshke 1997, 17-27.
36   Yadin 1977, 1.224, 237.
37   Temple Scroll 47:3-18; 52:14-53:4.

5 Sacred Time: Calendar, Festivals and Atoning Rituals

The Temple Scroll, MMT and the Qumran sects followed a so-called solar calendar of 364 day. In contrast to the luni-solar calendar practiced at the Jerusalem Temple and followed by the Pharisees and rabbis, the solar calendar did not require declarations of the beginning of the new month, and the dates of the festivals were fixed for eternity.

One of the qualities of the solar 364-day calendar was the differentiation between the Sabbath and the festivals. Accordingly, *musaf* sacrifices (that is, communal sacrifices other than the daily ones) were offered on festival days but not on the Sabbath, to prevent any possible violation of the Sabbath rest in the Temple.[38] In contrast, the rabbis who used a lunar-solar calendar of 354 days which gave them no control over the relationship between Sabbaths and festivals, viewed *musaf* offerings on the Sabbath as totally legitimate.[39] Thus, the calendar controversy actually reflects, among other things, different approaches to Sabbath labor interdictions.

The Qumranic calendar contained several festivals that were not followed by the rabbis. The annual days of *Milluim* (inauguration) on which the priests were sanctified were inspired by the biblical *milluim* ceremony (Tabernacle inauguration) that was celebrated during the first seven or eight days of the month of Nisan (Ex 29; Lev 8-9). This was a lengthy, complex ritual, in which the priests were consecrated and reappointed in a rite of passage which transformed them from a state of profanity to a state of holiness. Among other things, two bulls were sacrificed as *hattat*, one atoning for the priests, and the other ("the bull of the public") as atonement for the remaining people of Israel. At the conclusion of this ritual "[the] priests...shall place cro[wns]...they shall rejoice because atonement has been made for them."[40] The rabbis,

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38 See Yadin, 1977, 1.78, 105 who also infers that the Temple Scroll does not count the Sabbath among the days of seven-day festivals. For the calendar of MMT (section A), see Chapter 2. On the 364-day calendar in Qumran, see Talmon 1965; Glessmer 1999. For its roots in 1 Enoch, see Albani 1994, esp. 273-335. The separation between Sabbath and festivals also explains the Temple Scroll's view of placing the harvesting of the *'omer* on "the morrow of the Sabbath," that is, on Sunday, following the conclusion of the entire festival of unleavened bread; in this case the *'omer* would never be reaped on the Sabbath. See Yadin 1977, 1.95-96. Strict restrictions regarding Sabbath labor interdictions characterize the Qumranic halakhah elsewhere, especially in CD 10:14-11:18.

39 See, e.g., Mishnah, tractate *rosh ha-shana*.

40 Temple Scroll 15:3-17:5 (citation from 17:1-2, note that there is no biblical parallel to this phrase). For the biblical ritual and its anthropological aspects, see: Jenson 1992, 65-55, 119-121; Gorman 1990, 103-139. Such a ritual may protect the holiness and the

however, held that the sole purpose of this ritual was to establish the Tabernacle in the wilderness, and therefore should not be practiced after the people's wandering in the wilderness ended.[41]

Two additional festivals, the feasts of the first fruits of wine and oil, were commanded in the Temple Scroll, although they are not mentioned at all in the Hebrew Bible. The festivals of the first fruits of wine and oil were sacrificial rituals of atonement.[42] The Temple Scroll (21:8; 22:14-16) explicitly mentions the root *kipper* (to atone) in relation to them. Apparently these rituals were performed in addition to the practice of bringing of first fruits, *bikkurim*, to the Temple, in order to release the new crop of grapes and olives from the taboo of sanctity, as God's own crops, and permit their consumption (apparently the conventional bringing of first fruits, *bikkurim* to the Temple did not satisfy the authors). The rabbis found no need for additional atoning rituals, and were apparently less concerned with the elimination of pollution or guilt and the constitution of sanctity effected through such rituals of atonement.

The Temple Scroll also defines an ordering of the sacrifices. It commands that the he-goat (s'*eir*) for atonement should be sacrified first, although this command is unattested in the sacrificial laws of Num 28-29 or rabbinic law. The he-goat sacrifice was apparently intended to purify the altar in anticipation of the major sacrifices.[43]

6 Dynamic Holiness in the Temple Scroll and MMT

The strictness of the Temple Scroll and MMT, and the leniency of the Pharisees or early rabbis are very consistent, and may have been intentional.[44] The authors of the Temple Scroll and MMT apparently follow

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Divine presence in the sanctuary (*ibid.*, 26, 39-60). Yadin 1977, 1.77, 2.54 reconstruted an eighth day of *milluim* (cf. Lev 9). Recently, Milikovsky (2005) disputed his reconstruction and concluded that there were only seven days, and that the Qumranic ritual was different from the biblical ritual since it did consecated or inagurated the priests, but not the Temple.

41 B. *sukkah* 43a. Cf. j. *yoma* 1:5 (38a); Sifra, *Milluim* 1:37 (Weiss ed. 43a-b); b. *yoma* 2a.

42 On these festivals in the Temple Scroll as well as in Jubilees 7:36, see: Yadin 1977, 1.92-96; J. Baumgarten 1976; 1987. For the sacredness of first fruits and the like and the ritual of deconeacration, see Humbert and Mauss 1964, 57-58.

43 Temple Scroll 14:10-12; 23:11; 26:5-27:4; Yadin 1977, 1.103, 116-117.

44 In a *pesher* to Ps 37 (4QpPs^a 1-10, i, 26-27; Allegro 1968, 43), the Man of Lies, whom most scholars identify as the leader of the Pharisees (Stegemann 1971 41-53, 227-228; cf. VanderKam 2003), and his people are accused of choosing the "easy way." "Its [interpretation] concerns the Man of Lies who misdirected many with deceptive

the theology of the so-called Priestly Code, yet augmented the scope and intensity of its purity restrictions, ritual taboos and ceremonies of atonement. The rabbis totally diverged from the Priestly ideology, and tended towards greater leniency in the application of its restrictions.

The question is, why were the rabbis less concerned with the dangers of pollution and desecration? They certainly believed that the Temple and the sacrifices might be defiled or desecrated, and they were certainly not indifferent to the desecration of the holy since they discussed its legal implications at length (*viz.* in tractates *zebaḥim, ḥulin,* and *me'ila*). In what follows, I suggest that the relative lack of attention to the dangers of desecration of the holy in rabbinic halakhah should be explained as a reflection of the rabbi's conception of holiness, which was different from that of the Temple Scroll and MMT.[45]

In order to understand the two conflicting approaches to the Temple cult and holiness, I propose a new typology of holiness – dynamic holiness versus static holiness. This theoretical typology reduces an entire system of laws to a single worldview, and also characterizes holiness based on its associated practices, that is, adherence to practical instructions.[46]

I suggest that the laws of the Temple Scroll and MMT adopted and amplified the Priestly Code's general worldview of holiness. The rigorous pursuit of purity, sanctity and atonement in the Temple Scroll and MMT derives from the idea that the sancta is extremely sensitive to threats of pollution and desecration, and any violation of cultic holiness imposes blame upon Israel leading to divine wrath and punishment.

This concept of a fragile, vulnerable holiness is implicit not only in the contents of the laws of the Temple Scroll and MMT, but also in the rhetoric that their authors use. For example, according to MMT, one should restrict oneself from impurity (*ta'arovet*) because one must "be full of reverence (*yere'im*) of the sanctuary" (MMT B 48-49). Interestingly, in the Hebrew bible, the verb "to be in reverence" (*yr'e*) is

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words, for they have chosen worthless things (*qalot*, which I would translate according to its meaning in mishnaic Hebrew: lenient or slight) and did not lis[ten] to the Interpreter of Knowledge."

45 This assertion should be understood as (a) relative, namely, made in comparison to the stricter views of the Temple Scroll and MMT, and (b) mainly based on rabbinic halakhah. Occasionally one finds a heightened sensitivity to desecration, such as sins or bloodshed that pollutes the land, desecrate God's name or banish God's presence. See e.g., Sifra *Qedoshim* 4:1 (ed. Weiss, 89a); Sifre Numbers *Mas'ei* 160 (ed. Horovitz, 220); Sifre Deuteronomy *Shoftim* 148 (ed. Finkelstein, 203).

46 For the use of reductionism in the study of religion, see Segal 1983; Idinopulos and Yonan 1994. For the behavioral approach to holiness and religion in general, see Comstock 1981.

generally applied to God (e.g., Gen 42:18) and to certain authoritative individuals (e.g., I Sam 18:29), but never to the sanctuary. The emphasis on such a degree of reverence in a halakhic context of purity interdictions is the motivation underlying MMT's halakhic strictness.

MMT authors' use of Priestly School rhetoric indicates that they also followed the cultic worldview of the Priestly Schools.[47] In two cases, MMT orders that "the priests shall not cause the people to bear sin,"[48] with reference to eating *shelamim* sacrifices and thanksgiving cakes after sundown, as well as bringing in bones and hides of animals that were not slaughtered in Jerusalem. In the Priestly Code, these warnings originally refer to the prohibitions on desecration in eating *shelamim* after the permitted time span (Lev 7:18) and a non-priest eating holy food (Lev 22:16). Both the Priestly Code and the Temple Scroll contain prevalent interdictions and warnings concerning desecration and impurity,[49] although the aspiration to atone for guilt also appears in contexts which are absent in Scripture.[50]

Thus, the laws and the literary treatment of desecration, impurity and sin in the Temple Scroll and MMT indicate a basic pre-supposition of vulnerable, dynamic holiness that is susceptible to desecration by any one of many violations. The heightened awareness of the authors of the Temple Scroll and MMT to the fragility of holiness caused them to protect the sancta by defining additional taboos and rituals to prevent contamination or to restore sanctity in case of defilement. Without adequate protection, holiness (or the Divine Presence, namely, the earthly aspect of God's holiness) vanishes or at least is reduced, and human action is divinely viewed as sinful and punishable.

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47   One may also suggest that the authors' implicit claim that the failure to observe the laws of MMT will result in misfortunes and curses (C 12-26 and see Chapter 2) is also related to the belief that neglecting scrupulous observance of the cultic taboos will lead to grave punishment.

48   MMT B 12-13, 26-27.

49   For desecration, see Temple Scroll 35:7-8, 14-15; 46:11-12. For impurity, see *ibid.*, 7;7; 16:4-5; 45:13-14; 47:3-6, 10-11, 17-18.

50   Atonement for "all their guilt" (pertaining to the people of Israel) is mentioned in relation to the he-goat of *ḥattat* on the seventh day of the festival of unleavened bread (18:3-4). Similar cases appear in the festival of the first fruits of wine and oil: 11QTᵇ 6 8 (Qimron 1996, 30); Temple Scroll 21:8; 22:14-16. One may also infer from the conclusion of the laws of festivals (29:2-9) that God's promise: "and I shall dwell with them for ever and always. I shall sanctify my [te]mple with my glory, for I shall make my glory reside over it" (29:7-9), will be fulfilled only if these rituals are practiced meticulously. See Schiffman 1995a, 116-117.

7 Static Holiness in Rabbinic Halakhah

The Pharisees and rabbis upheld a more limited number of cultic ta-
boos and atoning rituals. They restricted the causes of impurity (e.g.,
bones and hides of unclean, "non-kosher," animals were considered
pure), and permitted certain labors in the Temple on the Sabbath and
festivals. Moreover, in many cases the rabbis collapsed the social and
theological hierarchy between the priesthood and laity (e.g., in eating
the animal tithe and the fruits of the fourth year). The rabbis gave the
sages authority that Scripture (and consequently the Qumranites) des-
ignated exclusively to priests, including the right to slaughter sacrificial
animals and determine the purity of people afflicted with skin disease.
Thus, rabbinic halakhah undermined the Priestly Schools' concept of
social hierarchy in relation to the sacred without transgressing explicit
scriptural commands.[51]

An illuminating example of the unique rabbinic cultic pre-
suppositions is found in m. *zebaḥim* 3:1: "All unfit people who slaugh-
tered – their act of slaughter is valid. For an act of slaughter is valid
when done by non-priests, women, slaves, and unclean men, even in
the case of slaughtering Most Holy Things, on the condition that the
unclean people do not touch the flesh. Therefore they also invalidate by
improper intention (*be-maḥshava*) in the act of slaughtering." Here, the
rabbis are permitting non-priests and even defiled persons to slaughter
sacrifices as long as they do not physically defile the animals. Although
this halakhah does not contradict any explicit scriptural command, the
rabbis disregard the threat to cultic hierarchy and ritual impurity
within the sacred realm that is typically recognized by the Priestly
Schools. Instead, the rabbis chose to stress the intention of the one who
slaughter the sacrifice.[52] This tendency is quite remarkable when com-
pared to the Temple Scroll's strict separation and differentiation be-

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51 In the case of skin disease, the Damascus Covenant reserved the halakhic authority
    for the priest, even when he was not learned (in such case, the overseer would teach
    him), whereas the rabbis granted actual authority to the sage and used the unlearned
    priest as a clerk who announced the sage's decision. See Fraade 1999. For additional
    examples, see Bar-Ilan 1982. Note that the rabbis did not follow many of the interdic-
    tions of grading and separation which were ordered in the Priestly Schools and in-
    fluenced MMT and especially the Temple Scroll. For these interdictions, see Milgrom
    1970, 5-59; Jenson 1992.

52 The cognitive category of the intention of the slaughterer is discussed extensively in
    tractate *zevaḥim*, but is not specified in the Pentateuch or the Temple Scroll. For peo-
    ple who are unacceptable to perform sacrificial offerings, see m. *zevaḥim* 2:1. For a
    general discussion of the emphasis on intent in rabbinic halakhah, see Neusner 1981,
    270-283; Eilberg-Schwartz 1986.

tween the degrees of holiness within the Temple. The persons who were permitted by the rabbis to slaughter, were not even allowed to enter the middle or inner courts according to the Temple Scroll.

Rabbinic halakhic positions probably derived from a worldview distinctively different from that of the Priestly Code or the Temple Scroll and MMT. According to rabbinic thinking, the sancta and holy food were not as sensitive to pollution and desecration as in the Priestly Code and not as vulnerable as the Temple Scroll and MMT tended to believe. I suggest that the rabbis viewed holiness exclusively as a status, rather than an entity; holiness was a convention used by God to name certain cultic objects or activities that relate to the worship of God. Holiness was static and could be approached more overtly, by the non-priests for example. In this view, desecration was merely an un-welcome change of this status rather than a genuine cosmic or natural event, and, at worst, the implications of pollution and desecration were limited to impiety or non-disciplined behavior.

In the rabbis' view, the entire cultic system comprised of the priests, the Temple and the sacrifices, was a construction that followed God's orders, but lacked any *inner meaning*. It was not a symbolic system, such as the theology of sacrifices and purity of the Priestly Code. It was a system of commandments (*misvoth*), designed to fulfill God's com-mands and attain rewards. The rabbis believed that certain sacrifices atone for certain sins, but viewed these rules as technical orders, rather than sublime activities that demand endless taboos or ritualistic meas-ures, as in the Temple Scroll and MMT.[53] In fact, evidence shows that the rabbis believed that the Temple cult was a set of heavenly com-mands devoid of any earthly reasoning or inner meaning.

Two famous Amoraic sayings from a much later period illustrate this view. A rabbinic *midrash* attributes to R. Yohanan ben Zakai (late first century CE) the following comment on the rationale behind the red heifer ritual: "By your lives, I swear: the corpse does not have the power by itself, nor does the mixture of ash and water have the power by itself to cleanse. The Truth is that the purifying power of the Red Heifer is a decree of the Holy One. The Holy One said: 'I have set it

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53   For the atoning power of sacrifices, see, e.g., m. *keritot* 1:3-7. Note that the rabbis saw the atonement rituals of the days of *milluim* and the Day of Atonement as a means of eliminating the people's guilt, and disregarded the aspects of ritual cleansing or con-secrating the sanctuary (such as were emphasized in Scripture and in the Temple Scroll). Cf. Knohl and Naeh 1993. The idea of intensive atonement rituals due to the fear of guilt is described in m. *keritot* 6:3 as a non-rational compulsion.

down as a statute, I have issued it as a decree. You are not permitted to transgress My decree. 'This is the statute of the Torah' (Num 19.1)."[54]

R. Yohanan ben Zakai does not even try to explain the so-called paradox of the red cow, namely, the fact that the ashes that purify the corpse-contaminated person also defile the one who sprinkles these ashes. R. Yohanan ben Zakai, who discussed the red heifer ritual perhaps more extensively than any other rabbi, and who was believed to have confronted and triumphed over the Sadducees and their priestly views, thought that this paradox needed no explanation.[55] The import of this provocative saying is that the most powerful biblical ritual of cleansing has no inner logic at all.

Another saying of R. Levi (mid-third century CE) is even antisacrificial: "Because Israel were passionate followers after idolatry in Egypt and used to bring their sacrifices to the satyrs... and they used to offer their sacrifices in the forbidden high places, on account of which punishments used to come upon them, the Holy One, blessed be He, said: 'Let them offer their sacrifices to me at all times in the Tent of Meeting, and thus they will be separated from idolatry and be saved from punishment'".[56] Here, R. Levi views the Temple cult as circumstantial and believes that ideal and indigenous Judaism would exist without sacrifices.[57] Although this saying is documented in the relatively late Leviticus Rabbah, it is significant that the same argument is used by Justin Martyr and the Pseudo-Clementines (ca. 150-200 CE), when local Christian circles probably used a traditional Jewish or rabbinic idea to refute the Jewish belief in the rebuilding of the Temple.[58] Thus, the saying attributed to R. Levi is a later midrashic compilation

54 Pesikta de-rav Kahana, *piska* 4 (Parah), trans. in Braude and Kapstein 1975, 82-83. See also the parallels in Tanhuma, *hukat* 26; Psikata Rabbati 14 (Ish Shalom ed. 65a). Interestingly, the core of R. Yohanan ben Zakkai's saying is already embedded in a much earlier text, Sifra *ahrei mot* 13:10 (ed. Weiss, 86a). Cf. also the parallels cited in Urbach 1975, 378-382.

55 For other traditions in which R. Yohanan discusses the red heifer ritual, see: t. `ohalot 16:8 (ed. Zuckermandel, 614); t. *parah* 4.7 (*ibid.* 633); Sifre Numbers *hukat* 123 (ed. Horovizt, 151). On R. Yohanan and the Sadducees see: t. *parah* 3:8 (*ibid.*, 632); Regev 2005a, 360-361. Urbach (1975, 98-100) sees in this saying a "complete sublimation and demythologization of the heifer ritual", but also explains it in light of the rabbinic tendency to refrain from searching for inner logic or allegoric interpretations (*ibid.*, 377-382).

56 Leviticus Raabbah 22.8 (ed. Margaliot, 517-518), trans. Slotki 1939, 286-287. The same theme also appears in Midrash Tanhumah, *ahrei mot* 17 (ed. Bober, 2.69-70).

57 This idea was later developed by Maimonides, *Guide to the Perplexed* 3:32 (see also 3:46).

58 Recognitiones I 35:1-36:1; Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypo the Jew 29:6; Rokéah 2002, 52-55 and references.

that apparently circulated much earlier among Jews, probably in rabbinic circles.

Following these sayings and other attestations, Ephraim E. Urbach has asserted that "...when the Sages interpreted... Scripture with respect to 'the sanctity of all precepts', these expositions have no mystical-magical connotation, as in the Cabbala, nor do they allude to holiness emanating from the substance of the ritual observance that is linked to the object of the precept." Urbach also thought that the rabbis transformed the sanctity to the realm of individual religious experience, as a personal commitment for observing the commandment. At first glance, it seems that the rabbis believed that individuals had more immediate access to holiness. However, "the commandment is thus voided not only of any magical-mystical quality, but also of its very ritual-cultic basis."[59] Urbach's characterization of the latter rabbinic view of holiness is consistent with a static view of holiness, a concept of sanctity that is merely status, and assigns no actual inner symbolism to ritual.

According to Urbach, the rabbis may have shared this perception of heavenly commands without earthly reasoning or inner meaning, with the view reflected in the sayings attributed to R. Yohanan ben Zakai and R. Levi, regarding the Temple cult.[60] Tannaitic sources did not typically address meta-halakhic issues directly, which explains why no explicit reference is made to this particular rabbinic cultic theology in earlier rabbinic sources. Nonetheless, viewing the sacrificial cult as a set of heavenly commands devoid of inner symbolism is definitely related to the lenient halakhic positions of Pharisees and rabbis concerning the danger of desecration and pollution, hence it is possible to trace the theological ideas that Urbach ascribed to the later rabbis back to the Pharisees in the Hasmonean period as well as to the earliest layers of the Mishnah. It therefore seems to me that this perception actually was the foundation for the Pharisees' lenient approach to the priestly cult.

8   Biblical Sources and Sadducean Variations

Not only do the dynamic and the static worldviews of holiness effectively characterize the two halakhic systems, they also explain why the Temple Scroll and MMT on the one hand, and the Pharisees and the

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59   Urabch 1975, 368-369.
60   For an illustration of this tendency in Hinduism, see Staal 1979. Staal thinks that in some cultures rituals prevail only due to the force of the consistency of tradition.

rabbis, on the other hand, differed so greatly on many cultic issues. Each school shaped and developed its interpretation of Scripture according to a different theological, philosophical or anthropological presupposition. I am fully aware of the fact that both schools supported their laws with halakhic exegesis.[61] But I maintain that most of these exegetical moves were motivated and directed by a general (but typical) concept of holiness. Otherwise, how should we explain the consistency of the conflicting halakhic tendencies in relation to holiness?

These dual concepts of holiness were by no means inventions of the Temple Scroll or the Pharisees. In earlier studies, I described the dynamic concept of holiness in the so-called Priestly Schools of the Pentateuch and the static concept of holiness in Deuteronomy.[62] This is not to imply, however, any direct connection between the biblical and the post-biblical perceptions of holiness. All these trends may have been unconscious, but this of course does not invalidate my theory, since as sociologists and anthropologists teach us, humans are often unaware of their own basic modes of thought.[63] Both schools had to decide between two very different halakhic possibilities introduced in the Torah and naturally chose the option that suited their general perception regarding the required degree of restriction of impurity and desecration. In many cases, they justified their choices by using literary interpretations rather than on broader ideological arguments. These choices, however, had implications for the significance of holiness (or attaining holiness) and the kind of culture the Torah aims to create.

Throughout the foregoing comparison between the rabbis and MMT or the Temple Scroll I have admittedly neglected the Sadducees and their cultic laws. Any account of Jewish halakhic approaches cannot dismiss the Sadducees who triumphed in their competition with the Pharisees to wield control of the Temple for certain periods, through their high priests, and undoubtedly had a greater practical influence on the sacrificial cult than the Qumranites. Based on a few strict purity laws common to the Sadducees and MMT, some scholars have portrayed the legal or cultic system of these scrolls as essentially Sadducean or as a variant of the Sadducen system, arguing that both are "priestly." My own study of the Sadducees, their halakhah and

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61   For Qumranic scriptural exegesis relating to the cultic laws, see Milgrom 1989; 1990. For rabbinic exegesis, see, e.g., Halbertal 1999.

62   Regev 2001; 2004d.

63   Notwithstanding this, it is interesting to note certain cases in which apparent conflicting scriptural commands led the Temple Scroll or Jubilees to follow the Priestly Schools while the rabbis followed Deuteronomy. Cf. Werman 1994 (covering the blood); Schiffman 1995b (non-sacral slaughter).

worldview, however, highlights the following differences between the Sadducees and the Temple Scroll or MMT.[64]

The laws of Temple Scroll and MMT are much more extreme than the laws of the Sadducees in two major categories: the calendar and the distribution and function of the Temple courts. I maintain that the Sadducees, quite like the Pharisees, did not follow the 364-day "solar" calendar but used a lunar calendar. Furthermore, the fact that Sadducean high priests headed the existing or non-utopian Temple proves that they approved its spatial organization; they carried out no reforms to enhance the separation of the priests from the laity, as prescribed by the Temple Scroll. Another difference between the Sadducees and the Temple Scroll is the attitude towards the laity. In contrast to the Sadducees, the Temple Scroll designated several ritual activities to the laity, such as their constant presence in the outer court and the role of tribal leaders in the sacrificial cult according to the War Rule. The Temple Scroll also applied special purity regulations to the laity outside Jerusalem.[65]

Since the Sadducees adopted a stricter approach to the Temple cult (as well as to Sabbath laws and penal codes) than the Pharisees or rabbis, I have characterized the Sadducean concept of holiness as dynamic. However, the Temple Scroll and MMT hold an even more rigorous attitude, insisting on more restrictions to prevent the desecration of the Sabbath by the festival sacrifices, and call for a stricter spatial separation between priests and laity in the Temple. Thus, in comparison to the Sadduceen worldview, the concept of holiness in the Temple Scroll and MMT may be termed ultra-dynamic.

The Temple Scroll and MMT did not simply follow the Priestly Code; they wished to implement its principles in their contemporary Temple cult. This scenario was probably followed by the less extreme Sadducees. The Temple Scroll and MMT used the cultic parameters of

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64   For the Sadducees, their history, halakhah and control of the Temple, see Regev 2005a. The view that the Temple Scroll and MMT is similar to Sadducean halakhah (see the studies of Yadin, Schiffman, J. Baumgarten and Sussman in n. 1) is challenged in Regev 2005a, 208-215; 2005b.

65   For the calendar of the Sadducees, see Regev 2005b, 169-177. For the presence of the leaders of the laity in the Temple cult, see War Rule 2:3-6; Yadin 1962, 202-208, 263-265. According to the Temple Scroll (48:14-17), menstruating women, women after childbirth, skin-diseased persons, and men with seminal discharge or seminal defiled, were not permitted to enter any city, (whereas the rabbis held more limited interdictions and restricted skin-diseased individuals from the so-called "fortified cities," and excluded menstruating women and people with seminal/menstrual discharge from the Temple Mount m. *kelim* 1:7-8). For the encompassing holiness restrictions in the Temple Scroll, see also Shemesh 2000.

the Priestly Code in the most rigorous and far-reaching manner, creat-
ing taboos and ritual where none were prescribed by the Scripture.
They extended the scope of impurity, desecration and atonement to
maximum.

9   Typologies of Holiness and the Anthropology of Religion

To portray more vividly the distinction between dynamic and static
holiness, it is useful to relate this distinction to other fields of research,
and especially the anthropology of religion. Since the conceptualization
of holiness is the core of almost every religion, it is possible to identify
similar relevant distinctions that emerge in the social-scientific explora-
tion of different cultures in the study of religion and anthropology.

The concepts of dynamic and static holiness are intertwined, similar
to Yohanan Silman's two contradicting religious worldviews of the
relationship between God and man: ontological and deontological.[66]
According to the ontological pattern, this relationship is closely related
to nature. Human behavior affects man's environment, and conse-
quently, his holiness. This perception is dynamic since reality changes
according to human actions, and hence can be related to the concept of
dynamic holiness. According to the deontological pattern, the relation-
ship between God and man is established only by human discipline
and obedience to heavenly commands, without any effect on nature
and environment. Man cannot affect the holy, nor God's presence in the
world, but only his own destiny before God, thus, holiness has a static
feature.

A distinction similar to the one between dynamic and static holi-
ness can also be made concerning purity and impurity. My use of the
following typology of impurity illustrates the distinction between the
dynamic and the static, and is based on the relationship between purity
and holiness. The notion of purity is one of the markers of the behav-
ioral or practical approach to the holy, since the nature and conse-
quences of impurity affect the character of the sacred.

In ancient Judaism as well as in many other religions, there are two
distinct perceptions of impurity. Dynamic purity may be defined as a
dangerous, substantial entity, which violates the sacred and conse-
quently requires extreme caution and elimination rites. Static impurity,
in contrast, merely marks a religious phase transformation from the

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66   Silman 1998.

profane to the sacred without actual threat or anxiety. It may signify an object that is prohibited or improper, although this object does not pose any risk to the holy. The removal of static impurity may be necessary before a certain religious activity or experience, that is, a rite of passage that functions as social or religious procedure unconcerned with sacrilege.

Dynamic impurity is common in African and Polynesian cultures, and can be discerned in the concept of moral impurity in Qumran (see Chapter 2).[67] Impurity is also dynamic in the laws of ritual impurity in the Temple Scroll and MMT. In these cases, impurity is a taboo that leads to exclusion and is associated with anxiety. Static impurity, on the other hand, can be found in ancient Greek ceremonies before entering the Temple, in rites of adulthood of girls among the caste system in Seri-Lanka, and in washing or bathing before prayer in Second Temple Judaism or in Islamic rite.[68] In addition, neglecting to remove oneself from a source of static impurity may violate the existing social order, such as outside Indian caste system.[69]

I suggest that the rabbis held a similar static concept of impurity as improper and even repulsive or disgraceful, when compared with holiness, yet powerless to damage holiness. According to the rabbis, impurity was merely something to be avoided. In fact, the comparison of rabbinic purity laws with the impurity system of the Priestly Code indicates that the rabbis diminished its power of pollution. Although the rabbis held that contamination of the sacred was a transgression of the heavenly commands, they did not believe that pollution endangered the holy.

Several examples demonstrate their approach. The rabbis ignored both the biblical prohibition to remain in a state of impurity,[70] and the concept of "Sancta Contagion" (when profane people are fatally af-

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67   Turner 1967, 74-81; Meigs 1978; Klawans 1998; Cf. also Douglas 1966.

68   Parker 1983, 19-21. Greek religion also contains patterns of dynamic impurity, viz. the exclusion from temples of women in the first months of their pregnancy as well as corpse-defiled persons. See, *ibid.*, 48-61. Interestingly, Parker (e.g. *ibid.*, 113-114) finds it hard to decide whether impurity is a powerful determinant of action, or merely a religious idea that lacks coercive force. On Seri-Lanka, see Yalman 1963. For Second Temple Judaism, see Regev 2001. For Islamic rites, see Reinhart 1990, 1-24. For another example from ancient Jewish Mysticism (Heikhalot literature and the Sar-Torah texts), see Swartz 1994.

69   Dumont 1980, 48-49.

70   See Lev 5:2-3 with Milgrom 1991, 298-99, 308-18 (also discussing the rabbinic interpretation); Num 19:13, 20 with Levine 1993, 457-58. For the rabbinic and medieval interpretation, see Broyer 1987.

fected by contact with sacred objects).[71] Furthermore, whereas MMT and Jubilees viewed the gentiles as morally and repulsively defiled, the rabbis merely decreed that the gentiles should be deemed defiled in order to prevent intermarriage. Hence, they did not emphasize the desecration of the holiness of the people of Israel that results from contact with gentiles.[72]

In order to illustrate the typology of holiness, it is interesting to introduce a system of three different constructions of nature analogous to static, dynamic and ultra-dynamic types of holiness. In their *Cultural Theory*, Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky introduce a classification of the social construction of nature based on Mary Douglas's grid-and-group anthropological model, first published in her book *Natural Symbols*, as well as on the work of ecologists.[73] Of the five general ideological and sociological worldviews in this classification, three correspond to my categories of static, dynamic, and ultra-dynamic holiness.

According to Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky, a "Nature Benign" worldview sees nature (including, in our case, God) as a forgiving force that allows human activity a free reign. In this view, nature appears to be impervious to human deeds and behavior, does not change radically, and since it reacts to human actions only indirectly, it is not dangerous. This may be illustrated by a U-shaped vessel containing a ball rolling inside. No matter how the ball moves, it will ultimately return to the bottom of the vessel. "Nature Benign" is related to an individualistic pattern of society, and corresponds to the view of static holiness held by the Pharisees and rabbis.

"Nature Preserve/Tolerant", however, sees nature as tolerant of certain acts but vulnerable to other, more radical, actions. In this view, nature's forgiveness and endurance of mankind is limited, and crossing the boundaries of this tolerance leads to destructive consequences. Human life is thus subject to dynamic changes, and specifically at risk of harm if certain behavioral codes are not upheld. This worldview may be likened to an M-shaped vessel with a ball rolling on its top. In comparison to the U-shaped vessel that illustrates Nature Benign, the

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71   Milgrom 1981; Friedman 1993.

72   Klawans 1995.

73   Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky 1990, esp. 25-29. For Douglas' grid and group theory, see Douglas 1996. A model which slightly resembles the classification proposed here was introduced by Bergson 1935. He distinguished between static (closed, which corresponds to dynamic holiness here) and dynamic (open, which corresponding to static holiness here) religion, and favored the latter. However, Bergson focused on a broad definition of the role of humans in the religious system rather than the nature of holiness. Another illuminating typology of religious systems and approaches to holiness is Smith 1978, 67-206, and especially xi-xv, 101.

ball remains inside this M-shaped vessel only if the ball's course is limited. Nature Preserve/Tolerant is related to a hierarchic pattern of social effects and is similar to my portrayal of the Sadducean dynamic holiness that is stricter than the rabbis, but not as extreme as the approach of the Temple Scroll and MMT.

In the "Nature Ephemeral" view, the world is fragile, and God is unforgiving. The slightest upset of the world's order may trigger a complete collapse. Therefore, effective sanctions must be established to prevent such a collapse, and institutions or rituals that treat the ecosystem (or cultic system) with great care are encouraged. This perception may be illustrated by an omega-shaped vessel (Ω) in which the ball's movements must be restricted to prevent its falling. Nature Ephemeral is related to a sectarian pattern of society that corresponds to the portrayal of ultra-dynamic holiness of the Temple Scroll and MMT.

The correspondence between this classification of nature and my proposed typology of holiness is reinforced by the social patterns of organization that are associated with each ecological/religious view. "Nature Benign," which resembles the static holiness of the Pharisees or rabbis, is associated with an individualistic social tendency. Indeed, the Pharisees and rabbis emphasized the individual in their halakhah and religious ethos. "Nature Preserve/Tolerant," which resembles the Sadducees' dynamic holiness, is associated with a hierarchical social pattern, and the Sadducees, led by high priestly aristocrats, stressed priestly hierarchy and ritual distinctions.[74] "Nature Ephemeral," related to sectarian social perception, is similar to the ultra-dynamic holiness of the Temple Scroll and MMT which was later adopted by the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant.

I believe that these correlations between constructions of nature, types of holiness, social approaches and the socio-cultural characteristics of the Pharisees/rabbis, Sadducees and the Qumran sects support the portrayal of the ultra-dynamic holiness or "Nature Ephemeral" as a sectarian worldview. This extends our understanding of the underlying inspiration behind the laws of the Temple Scroll and MMT, and also provides the link between these scrolls and the established sectarianism lifestyle of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. The Temple Scroll and MMT, however, express additional elements of sectarianism.

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74   For the social approaches of the Pharisees/early rabbis and the Sadducees, see Regev
     2005a, 378-403. For the Pharisees and early rabbis, see also Regev 2001.

10 Dynamic Holiness, Cosmic Tension, Atonement and Pre-Sectarianism

The Temple scroll and MMT are very different from the Community Rule and the Damascus Document in their contents and concerns, and the Temple Scroll's relationship to the Qumran sects is, at best, indirect. Nonetheless, I suggest that their worldview reveals fundamental charertcistics of sectarian ideolgy: cosmic tension and quest for atonemnet. An exploration of these may shed further light on the social stance of the Temple Scroll and MMT and also support my suggestion that these scrolls reflect precursors of sectrian ideolgy which were futher developed by the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant.[75]

The (ultra-)dynamic holiness of the Temple and MMT consists of several ideological characteristics based on the perception that extensive negative forces in the world threaten the sacred, and cause evil and sin to prevail (as already shown in Chapter 2, both MMT and the Temple Scroll associate impurity with immorality and sin). Dynamic holiness requires attention to various boundaries and taboos to protect the sacred from pollution and sacrilege, and prescribes a more expanded system of atonement rituals that are not noted in Scripture. Hence, based on the assumed tension between the sacrificial cult and "the world," the Temple Scroll and MMT seek atonement more than any other Jewish cultic system.

The belief that sin and evilness govern mankind and the universe was already noted as the foundation of the sectarian worldview in Chapter 1, where it was termed it "cosmic tension" (following Stark and Bainbridge's model of social tension as the main characteristic of sectarianism) and traced in the Community Rule's Instruction of Two Spirits and in the Damascus Document. The quest for atonement (also related to this cosmic tension) was identified as another key ideological component of the Qumanic sectarian worldview.

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75 It is tempting to regard the Temple Scroll and MMT as reflecting a sectarian worldview simply on the basis of their demand for strict observance of the law. Indeed, the relationship between sectrianism and extremly rigourous (non-cultic) laws is attested in the penal codes of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, the celibacy of the Shakers, and perhaps also the observace of the Sabbath as a day of rest and preaching, as well as fasts among Puritans and Quakers. For strict Sabbatarianism, see Katz 1988; Hambrick-Stowe 1982, 51-52, 96-99, 203-206. Cf. Hill 1964, 145-218. For the New England Puritan Public fast days as a response to dire natural conditions and political and social crises, as well as in preparation for important events such as ordination of a minister, see Hambrick-Stowe 1982, 100-103. For Quaker fasts, see Reay 1985, 36, 112. This, however, is too broad a criterion for a sectarian worldview.

The system of relationships between God and man, evil/impurity and the sacred, sin and atonement in the Temple Scroll and MMT therefore resembles the Qumranic sectarian worldview. While the Temple Scroll and MMT set cultic boundaries, the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant define social boundaries. The Temple Scroll and MMT's view of the sancta as extremely sensitive to the threat of pollution and desecration, and their suspicion that any violation of cultic holiness imposes guilt upon Israel and causes divine wrath and punishment, corresponds to the demand of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant for separation from sin and moral impurity and adherence to atonement rituals of confessions, punishments and prayer. Both systems are behavioral means to achieve divine presence or salvation, and elevate Israel or the segregated group to a higher sphere of sacredness and closeness to God.[76]

In fact, the cultic laws of the Temple Scroll and MMT may be seen as antecedents of a sectarian worldview. As in the case of the cosmic tension and moral dualism of the Instruction of the Two Spirits, the Temple Scroll and MMT do not introduce a consolidated approach grounded in antagonism-separation-difference, yet they nevertheless illustrate the fundamental belief-system on which Qumranic sectarianism formed.

A sectarian worldview develops gradually. First it reflects on reality and only then aims to transform it. I propose that when the demanding worldview of the Temple Scroll and MMT became the basis for a belief system that sought to reform social reality in mid-second century Judaea, a sectarian ideology of hatred, separation and socio-religious alternative mechanism developed and offered a socio-religious alternative. The hierarchy of holiness and the rituals of atonement introduced by the Temple Scroll and MMT were adopted by the earliest Qumranites as a prescription for cultic reform. When this reform failed, the worldview of the Temple Scroll and MMT was transformed into a series of social challenges under a moral guise. As shown in Chapter 2, separation from and hatred towards Temple authorities

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76 Although such associations overlook many phenomenological differences between social/moral and cultic systems (for example, between the temporary vs. everlasting nature of social boundaries), I believe that the fundamental similarity between the social/moral and cultic systems is hardly coincidental. Following Chapter 2, I suggest that MMT serves as the ideological-historical link between the sacrificial system of the Temple Scroll and the explicit social/moral division between the sect and the world. It shares the Temple Scroll legal teachings, but is also concerned with social separation from moral impurity, which is the basis for the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. For the social and historical development of the Temple Scroll and MMT into segregated sectarianism, see Chapters 2 and 6.

and the outside world in general developed, and small groups became
a more convenient context setting (compared to the Temple) for the
practice of boundaries against sin and the search for atonement.

   What we have seen in this chapter is that the sectarianism of the
Temple Scroll and MMT was latent and less radical than the ideology
of the Community Rule, the Damascus Document, the Hodayot and the
Pesharim. These documents have wider behavioral consequences and
their social constructions are far more developed. Furthermore, the
cultic worldview of the Temple Scroll and MMT is more closely related
to the classification system of the Priestly-Code (purity-impurity, sa-
cred-profane, laity-priesthood, atonement-divine punishment) where-
as, the moral system of the *yaḥad* and Damascus Covenant appears to
be an innovation that has no actual base in Scripture. Dating the Tem-
ple Scroll before the emergence of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Cove-
nant is also confirmed by scholarly consensus, based on the conven-
tional means of dating according redaction criticism or external
historical correlations (both illuminating but non-decisive, since they
are based on indefinite pre-suppositions).[77]

11 Conclusions

Conflicting worldviews of the nature of holiness offer an explanation
for the cultic differences between the Temple Scroll and MMT and rab-
binic halakhah. The Temple Scroll and MMT call for the strict avoid-
ance or elimination of all pollution and desecration, since they hold the
perception that holiness is dynamic (or ultra-dynamic, compared to the
Sadducees' perception which is also dynamic, but not as strict as the
Qumranic view). Holiness is vulnerable to desecration, and in some
manner also changeable. The Pharisees, and subsequently, the rabbis,
held much more lenient views regarding the laws of purity and sacrifi-
cial rites. As they were less concerned by the risk of defilement and
desecration, they saw no need for such extensive efforts. In their view,
holiness was neither sensitive nor susceptible to change through dese-
cration. Holiness was a static halakhic status, and cultic laws were per-
ceived as divine orders similar to other heavenly commands, and gen-
erated no exceptional consequences.

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77   For this dating, see n. 1 below. Support for more concrete dating of the Temple Scroll
     and MMT may be due to their relationship with Jubilees, which in my mind is the
     only document that can be dated by external correlations more or less accurately to
     the 160's BCE. See Chapter 6.

These conflicting views of holiness have been deduced from the character and reasoning of the laws of the Qumranites and rabbis in a somewhat hypothetical manner, with explicit literary support and illustrations from expressions in MMT and the Temple Scroll as well as Amoraic sayings. Studies in anthropology and the study of religion seem to indicate that such worldviews exist in many other cultures and may explain the ideological sources of conflicting modes of behavior. Although the dynamic/static terminology I have used to characterize the different worldviews may be open to criticism and revision, (indeed, it is difficult to establish terms for such a general religious ideology), I hope that any criticism is directed to the meanings of these terms, rather to their labels.

The Temple Scroll and MMT addressed the issue of evil or cosmic tension in different ways than the later Qumran sects, and responded to it by intensifying cultic taboos and establishing rituals of atonement. Thus, the worldview of the Temple Scroll and MMT has much in common with the ideology of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant: viewing the world as sinful and opposed to God's will, recognizing the need to defend the sacred from desecration by purity and evilness, and above all, the need to atone for one's sins. All these elements correspond to the definition of cosmic tension which is the basis for a sectarian worldview and also reflect an emphasis on atonement, which is a major characteristic of introversionist sectarianism. I therefore conclude that the Temple Scroll and MMT are pre-sectarian documents from which the ideology of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant emerged. The reasons that led to the transformation of these sacrificial laws into social withdrawal and the creation of a new religious system within the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant are not entirely clear. However, as noted in Chapter 2, this development may probably have been affected by the emergence of Hasmonean independence and its social-religious repercussions.

My analysis in this chapter has focused on reading and associating the cultural ideology reflected in legal texts to specific social constructions of reality. Its historical implications should nonetheless be considered more tentative and circumstantial.

Chapter 4

Structure, Organization, and the Relationship between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant

1 Introduction

The social dynamics of a sect, implicating issues such as hierarchy, leadership and administration, consist of fascinating mechanisms that make it possible for the members to live together despite external pressures and internal stress stemming from debates on ideology and authority. A sect is a vulnerable social unit that is susceptible to splits and defections, and its capability to sustain over many generations owes much to the stability and control of its social institutions. Sects that share many elements in their belief systems may nonetheless develop very different structural patterns, ranging from hierarchical decision making structures to democracy and egalitarianism, due to differences in their basic social premises.

Numerous detailed organizational rules and regulations that have implications for the social reality of Qumran sect members are contained in the Community Rule and the Damascus Document. However, these rules are quite confusing if one wishes to discover exactly how these groups were organized because these largely administrative regulations are arranged in collections that were not carefully edited. They contain many duplications, and contradictions; when comparing different versions of the Community Rule from Cave 1 and Cave 4 as well as the Damascus Document from the Cairo *geniza*, and the manuscripts from Cave 4, additional corrections and supplements confound these issues even further. Another related problem concerns the social and historical relationship between the two major texts, the Community Rule and the Damascus Document.

These two documents share certain similar organizational terminology (as well as a common sectarian ideology), and even almost identical penal codes. The similarities are so great that most scholars failed to appreciate that they represent two distinct social groups which, although closely related, differed in their structure and organization. Scholars who did distinguish between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus

Covenant as two separate groups hastily inferred an overly-simplistic historical relationship of temporal succession, based on questionable redaction criticism.

In the present chapter I examine these texts in order to understand how each of these sects was organized and what were the principles of their social structure. I compare between the structure and organization of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, emphasizing the differences in their social structure and the role of the individual member within the sect. Throughout the discussion, internal variations or inconsistencies in the structure or organization of each sect are interpreted as historical developments or changes, although these suggestions should be considered as tentative. Finally, based on the analysis of the social features of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, I attempt to redefine the relationship between them, drawing mainly on organizational terminology, but also taking into account other evidence which emerges from these texts.

Extensive scholarship has been devoted to the organizational rules in the Community Rule and the Damascus Document, especially in the period immediately following their discovery. The publication of the variant texts from Cave 4 in the 1990's led to additional interest in these passages. After a short wave of studies on the communal institutions and the identity of the leading figures in these groups,[1] most scholars approached the texts through redaction criticism, that is, by comparing the literary or compositional units (either in the same text or in different textual variants), in order to determine the more original or earlier version.[2]

The results of these studies confirm that the textual material is very complex and shows evidence of extensive redactions and revisions.[3] But these findings offered quite simplistic social conclusions regarding organizational structure, and made a limited contribution to the understanding of how these sects operated in organizational terms. Recently, some adherents of reduction criticism, including Philip Davies, argued

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1   E.g., Wernberg-Møller, 1957; Suttcliffe 1959a; 1959b. See also Kruse 1981.

2   Murphy O'Connor 1969; Davies 1983 Metso 1997; Hempel 1998. See also Leaney 1966; Murphy O'Connor 1970; Pouilly 1976.

3   So Metso 2004, 330-331: "It is important to pay attention to the composite nature of the rule texts when they are compared and focus on individual redactional units rather than on complete documents as if they were literary units. Redactional matters as highlighted by textual similarities and differences must be taken into consideration before historical applications can be made." I agree with Metso that this indeed should have being done in the past, but the non-conclusive historical and social implications (in comparison to literary-compositional ones) of this method call for a different direction.

that the textual evidence is a result of heavy reworking and insertions that obscured the actual reality reflected in the laws, making it impossible to uncover the social reality behind the rules.[4]

I have already expressed my view that redaction criticism is a limited and subjective basis for drawing historical conclusions.[5] In the present case, the results of such criticism focus on diachronic developments but obscure the actual reality of the social life, and neglect the social implications of the rules, whether or not they were original or redactional. Even recent surveys of the evidence by leading scholars fail to address relatively basic issues which I find essential for any appreciation of the social characteristics of the Qumran sects,[6] and specifically, (1) the similarities and differences in the social structures introduced in the Community Rule and the Damascus Document, (2) transitional phases in the social development of the Damascus Covenant (similar to several scholarly conventions regarding the organizational development of the *yaḥad*), (3) the nature of the *yaḥad* as a single local group or a gathering of several colonies or sub-groups, and finally, (4) the organizational relationship or social contacts between the two sects.

Although they may seem old-fashioned since they remind us of the scholarship in the early days of Qumran research, these unresolved

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4   Davies 1996, 151-161 demonstrated "programmatic skepticism" regarding the Community Rule, since "the Community Rule of the 'community', in whatever recension, is not automatically to be posited as a living, working document of a living, working community" (1995, 17). He also described CD as a "fairly heterogeneous compilation of material" (Davies 1983, 2-3, 48-53). Charlesworth (2000) has recently expressed a pessimistic view concerning a possible systematic analysis of the actual meaning of the terms designating groups and leaders because of the evolutionary nature of the Qumran community. For the diversity of certain organizational terminology, see Metso 2002. Metso draws on the rhetorical/ideological function of several designations as an explanation for that diversity, foregoing any attempt to understand how the groups operated. See also Metso 2004, 322-323: "If various groups were using common sources and borrowed from each other and revising it, how can we identify the specific groups behind the manuscripts? If large parts of the material included in various manuscripts are borrowed and modified, how do we make the link between text and history?" (Metso is referring to the penal codes of the different versions of the Community Rule and the version in the Damascus Document from Cave 4).

5   See Introduction. Note the reservations of Alexander 1996, 447: "The trouble with redaction criticism is that the signs can nearly always be reversed. Arguments are often based on questionable assumptions. It is not inevitable that texts evolved towards greater length and complexity...Redaction criticism has its place in the historian's armory, but it should be used with a great deal of irony, and it will be all the stronger if it is subject to external checks and controls".

6   See Hempel 1999a; Metso 1999a; Charlesworth 2000; Knibb 2000a; 2000b.

issues call for a more thorough analysis of the evidence. More impor-
tantly, there is a need for a methodological shift from redaction criti-
cism, which, despite its failure to address these issues adequately, re-
mains the most prevalent means for thorough textual examination. My
basic premise is that notwithstanding the extensive reworking of the
rules, they were grounded in reality: whatever the nature of their dia-
chronic development, they represent certain modes of administration,
organization and social structures that should focus our attention.

In the present chapter I apply what may be termed a functional ap-
proach to the texts, in an aim of understanding the organizational
structure of the sects, and illustrating how the *yaḥad* and the Damascus
Covenant emphasize different principles of social structure and organ-
izational roles of individual members. I examine the functions of the
institutions and authorities in the Community Rule and Damascus
Document, such as the Council of the *yaḥad*, the assembly of the *rabbim*
(literally: many, multitude), the camps and the different overseers, the
judges and the penal codes, beginning with the Damascus Covenant
only due to its relative clarity. In fact, neither the data in the Commu-
nity Rule nor the Damascus Document can be understood without ref-
erence to the relevant terminologies and passages in the other. The
functional approach is given priority, yet findings from the studies
engaged in source-critical analysis are not overlooked, although ac-
cepted with a grain of salt when necessary.[7]

2 The System of "Camps" and Overseers in the Damascus Covenant

The camp structure is the most observable organizational form in the
Damascus Document. The members of the Damascus Covenant lived in
scattered communities, called *maḥanot*, "camps" (sing. *maḥaneh)*,[8] each
headed by spiritual leader known as the overseer *(mevaker)* of the camp.
He instructed the members of the sect in God's deeds and wonders,

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7   My interest in this subject was provoked when I first tried to compare the structure
     and organization of the Qumranites to that of other sects (see Regev 2004a) and dis-
     covered that elementary questions had not been addressed (and surely remained un-
     resolved). My present sensitivity to the internal group structure and the organiza-
     tional relationship between the different "colonies" of the sect developed in view of
     the comparative evidence. Thus, although the present discussion does not provide
     parallels with other sects (which are presented in Chapter 8), I would have remained
     unaware of the issues presented in this chapter without a comparative perspective.
8   CD 12:22-13:2, 15:3-6.

took personal care of them and assured that his congregation would not plunge into spiritual distress. The overseer also inspected aspiring new members of his camp, and had exclusive authority in accepting new members.[9] The camp's overseer was consulted in any matter of buying or selling property, taking or divorcing a wife, and was responsible for the moral education of the camp's children.[10]

The Damascus Document also mentions overseers without reference to a specific camp or any other designation, but they may nonetheless be identical to the overseer of the local camps. Several functions are cited for these non-designated overseers, including the instruction of priests in the laws of skin disease[11] and registration of complaints about other members in the "admonition" procedure.[12] Fragmented regulations may also indicate that the non-designated overseer conducted the entrance ceremony into the covenant and the expulsion of those who despised the Torah.[13] Accordingly, these rules indicate that the camp overseers enjoyed exclusive authority in their own local camps.

Supreme authority, however, was held by "the overseer of all camps." He "mastered all the secrets of the people and every language according to their families." This overseer may not have had direct and personal contact with all the members of all camps, who probably gathered together only at the annual reconfirmation ceremony of entry into the covenant, or the "the passing among those who are mustered (*pequdim*)," (probably an annual assembly and census)[14] but members of

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9   CD 13:7-13; 4QD^b 9 iv 3-11.

10   CD 13:15-19; 4QD^a 9 iii 1-10.

11   CD 13:4-7//4QD^b 9 iv 1-3. Since the passage specifies that the instructed priest is standing in the camp, it is possible that the passage discusses the overseer of a specific camp. Apparently, this priest should not be identified with "the priest among the ten," mentioned in the preceding passage in the text, since the latter is a learned authority (see below). Neither should the priest in the camp be identified with the *rabbim*'s priest, since the latter is already "learned in all the precepts of the Torah" (see below). Hempel 1998, 111-114, concludes that the non-designated overseer who is mentioned in this passage represents a later insertion.

12   CD 9:16-20. Cf. 4QD^d 6 iv 12-13. For the legal procedure of admonition, see Chapter 8. Note also that in 4QD^a 5 i 13-14, the non-designated overseer has the authority to accept or reject new members, as the camp overseer. The fact that the overseer is designated as the camp overseer only in certain cases may derive from different sources or different phases in the development of the Damascus Document. See below the discussion of the *rabbim*'s overseer.

13   4QD^a 7 iii; 4QD^b 8.

14   For the entry into the covenant (as in 1QS 2), see CD 9:23-10:2 and 15:1-2 (on which, see Qimron 1990). For the passing among those who are mustered, see 4QD^a 11, 16-18: "And all [those who dwell in] the camps will assemble in the third month and will curse whoever tends the right [or the left of the] law". The two terms, the oath to

all camps could approach him with their personal problems, especially in relation to "disputes and legal issues" (*riv u-mishpat*), apparently quarrels with other members.[15] Thus, the overseer of all camps maintained order, stability, and proper social relations among all the camps. The overseer of all camps was apparently entitled to intervene in the affairs of individual "camps," supervise the decisions of local overseers, and perhaps even transfer members from one camp to another. Under his direction (as well as the leadership of the judges, see below), the dispersed communities were transformed into a harmonious social system of voluntary associations with a shared sense of discipline and ethos.

The most striking social feature of the system of "camps" and overseers was its hierarchical structure. A network of officials controlled the lives of individual members, whose own views had no impact on the sect's administration.[16] Furthermore, the social hierarchy of the camps was based on descent, in the following order: priest, Levite, layman and proselyte (*ger*).[17] Individual members had at their disposal local

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the covenant and the passing among those who are mustered, are identified as relating to the same ceremony in CD 15:5-6.

15   CD 14:8-12. (translations of CD follow Charlesworth 1995; translations of Cave 4 fragments follow J. Baumgarten 1996a). One may presume that the communication between this overseer and individual members took place in a formal assembly, since the expression "by his word shall the members of the congregation come each in his turn" (CD 14:10-11) resembles the order of the assembly of the *rabbim* where each members speaks in turn (1QS 6:11). Nonetheless, since no such meeting is explicitly mentioned in the Damascus Document, it is more reasonable to assume that the passage refers to an individual's meeting with this overseer and not a public assembly.

16   Rabin 1957, 103 and Hempel 1999a, 75-76 argued that the term "the dwelling(s) (*moshav*) of the camps" in CD 12:22-23; 14:3, 17 (as well as "the dwelling [García Martínez and Tigchelaar 2000 translate "assembly"] of the cities of Israel" CD 12:19) is similar to the *yahad*'s assembly (*moshav*) of the *rabbim*, namely, that these dwellings serve as a collective institution or assembly of all the members which gathers frequently or on regular basis. So also Metso 2002, 441. I think, however, that this is much more general, abstract and technical term for CD's organizational pattern. In contrast to the assembly in the Community Rule, this term never appears in the Damascus Document in conjunction with procedural regulations regarding the order of speech, matters that should be addressed by that forum etc. CD 12:19, 22-23; 14:3, 17 only introduces the general system of the camps or discusses the identity of the attendants, i.e. the members. Furthermore, as will be shown below, the actual structure of the camps is not as democratic as in the organizations of the *yahad*, and the system of governing overseers and administrating priest makes it unnecessary for all members to gather frequently for decision making.

17   CD 14:3-6. For priestly authority and hierarchy in both the Covenant and the *yahad*, see below. *Ger* probably means proselyte, a gentile convert, rather than a novice,

and supreme overseers who could be approached for guidance (for the judges, see below). The camps of the Damascus Covenant functioned with minimal dependence on the spiritual competence or initiative of its members, who were expected merely to obey the rules.

3   The Overseer and Priest of the *rabbim* in the Damascus Document

The *rabbim* ("many") is a term which, as shown below, recurs very frequently in the organizational rules and the penal code of the Community Rule, although apparently refers to an organization that is not identical to the camp structure described above. Charlotte Hempel noticed this discrepancy and concluded that the term *rabbim* was inserted into the Damascus Document by a later redactor who wished to harmonize it with the rules of the *yaḥad*.[18] Although one may suggest resolving the problem by concluding that the members of each camp were simply called *rabbim*, several arguments contest this identification.

A functional analysis of the officials underlines the interpretation that the text contains descriptions of two distinct organizational forms that were mixed together as a result of a later, sloppy redaction. This interpretation is also supported by the fact that several passages contain references to both the *rabbim* and the camps.[19] More importantly, the *rabbim* passages refer to an overseer and a priest who apparently share authority that is similar to the authority of local camp overseers. A comparison of different official functions in the Damascus Document (see Table 1 below) illustrates the overlapping roles of the *rabbim*'s overseer and priest and the roles of the overseer of the local camps. The overseer of the camps and the *rabbim*'s overseer and priest could not function simultaneously without plunging the group into organiza-

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since the Damascus Document makes no mention of a probationary period for candidates such as is mentioned in the Community Rule.

18   Hempel 1998, 81-85. See the discussion below.

19   The *rabbim* and the camps are introduced in consecutive (but apparently separate) passages in CD 14:3-19//4QDᵃ 10 i //4QDᵈ 11 I; 4QDᵃ 11. There are however more problematic passages. CD 14:3-6 opens "and Rule of the dwelling(s) (*moshav*) of the camps" but then mentions the *rabbim*'s priest. Another phrase introduces the camp overseer but also states that he will instruct the *rabbim* (CD 13:7). I believe that the different designations have actual meaning, since I see no reason why the authors would falsify or fantasize organizational patterns (as Davies 1996, 151-161 tends to think) instead of reflecting their actual social structure. I prefer to see here two distinct organizational patterns which, in certain cases, were obscured when merged by a later editor or copyist.

tional (and ideological) chaos, and therefore provide further support for understanding the *rabbim* as a distinct group.

"The overseer (*mevaker*) over the *rabbim*" was responsible for admitting new members, who took an oath in his presence. He also taught new entrants the revelations of the Torah, as they were known to the multitude of the camp, and commanded each new member to study "up to one complete year according to his knowledge, let him be brought near."[20] The *rabbim*'s overseer also bore a certain responsibility for the procedure required when a member wished to marry a girl "of whom there is a bad name in her maidenhood in her father's house," which required a skilled inspection by professional and reliable women. It is not clear whether this overseer supervised the general process of selecting a wife (in this case, his authority would overlap with the authority of the local overseer) or perhaps merely the selection of the inspecting women, an interpretation which may better suit the syntax of the passage.[21]

Another regulation, which begins with the phrase "this is the order (*serekh*) for the *rabbim*," states that the overseer of the *rabbim* should, together with the judges, collect the charity tax of "two (work) days per month" that the *rabbim* donate to the destitute and the needy.[22] According to another passage, the non-designated overseer also registered the transgressions of members who maintained contact with an expelled member (which somewhat parallels the camp overseer's registration of transgressions in the procedure of admonition). I attribute this passage

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20   CD 15:7-13 //4QD^a 8 i. Cf. 4QD^e 6 ii 5-7. In CD 15:13b-15//4QD^a 8 i 5, where the teaching of the erring member is discussed, a non-designated overseer is mentioned. He may be identified with the *rabbim*'s overseer since the passage seems to continue the procedure discussed in the preceding passage. Admittedly, CD 15:13b-14a mentions "the camp," which may be better understood as referring to the system of camp overseers. Nevertheless, this may be a separate passage, since there is a vacat in the middle of line 13. It is also possible to explain the word as a later redaction of the *rabbim* phase into a camps phase (cf. below on the development of the Covenant's organization). Even if the occurrence of "the multitude of the camp" is original, it is still possible to interpret it as a spatial denotation for the unitary community of the *rabbim*.

21   On "inspection by trustworthy and knowledgeable women, selected by the command of the inspector who is over the *rabbim*", see 4QD^d 9//4QD^e 5 17-21//4QD^f 3 10-16. Note, however, that J. Baumgarten's reading of the final *mm*, and consequently his completion of term *rabbim* (1996a, 132, 175) is questionable. Hempel 1998, 65-67 reads the final letter as *he* and completes "the overseer over the camp".

22   CD 14:13-18//4QD^a 10 i. This rule is designated among "the foundation walls of the community" (4QD^a 10 i 11//4QD^d 11i// CD 14:17-18).

to the *rabbim* since it refers twice to the *rabbim* and the *rabbim's* priest, see below.[23]

The *rabbim* passages also refer to a religious leader, the priest, who was in charge of the *rabbim*, was "versed in the book of *hagi* and all the precepts of the Torah to declare them according to their judgment," and was probably in charge of drafting and teaching the laws to the entire Covenant.[24] According to some fragments from Cave 4, the *rabbim's* priest preached to the "disciplined" (*mityasrim*) members, who approached him and informed them of their sins, expressing their willingness to accept punishment in atonement. By reciting a ceremonial prayer, he also expelled members who rejected the sect's regulations.[25] Other authoritative persons connected to the *rabbim* structure include the "fathers" and "mothers" (`amot`, probably corruption of `imahot`), who appear in the penal code (where the *rabbim* are mentioned several times in the context of complaints against the fathers and mothers).[26]

Similar to the camps structure, the *rabbim* group was also governed by a set of leaders. Leadership and guidance related to discipline and theology were divided between the overseer and the priest. The members were obligated to obey these leaders and follow their instructions. Other than obedience, individual members had no active role in managing their own lives or participating in communal decisions.

4 The Relationship between the Camps and the *rabbim* of the Damascus Document

The foregoing analysis of the functions of the overseers and priests in the camps and the *rabbim* attests to several duplications (see Table 1 below). Both the overseers of the local camps and the *rabbim's* overseer were responsible for spiritual instruction, personal advice concerning marriage and commerce, the admission of new members, and probably also for the registration of complaints. Furthermore, both the overseers

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23 For the overseer, see 4QDᵃ 11 16. For the *rabbim*, see *ibid.*, line 1. For the priest, see *ibid.*, line 8.

24 CD 14:6-8.

25 4QDᵃ 11 1-16; 4QDᵉ 7 i 15-21.

26 4QDᵉ 7 i 13-15. J. Baumgarten 1996a, 163-164. Cf. the male and female elders in 4Q502 19 2. Since their role is unclear, an analogy from the authority of the elders among the English Quakers may shed light on these functions. In Quakerism, there are two types of officials: the Elder and the Overseer. In theory, the Elder supervises the ministry, and the Overseer supervises members' general conduct. Eldership is a more honorific title and status symbol for affluent and socially eminent Friends. See Ischei 1967, 188.

of the camps[27] and the *rabbim*'s priest instructed members regarding the laws and expelled members. These textual overlaps suggest that the Damascus Document contains two separate sets of regulations, one for the camps and one for the *rabbim*. I think that the repetition of several regulations pertaining to both the camps and the *rabbim* is extremely superfluous if the two terms referred to the same social authority. Since these responsibilities can be hardly shared by different officials in the same group, these functional overlaps show that the camps and the *rabbim* were distinctive organizations.

The different organizational units, the camps and *rabbim*, are extremely significant for understanding the distinctions between the two group systems. The camps structure indicates a movement that is spatially divided into separate groups. The differentiation between the overseer of the local camp and the overseer of all camps underlines the hierarchical structure of the group. In contrast, the term *rabbim* is a single collective of all members. As I show below, this term is frequently used in the Community Rule to designate the entire *yaḥad* group or as general designation of *yaḥad* members as a unified social body and even alludes to communal meals. The *rabbim* thus seems to be term for a unified group which is not spatially divided.

The *rabbim* of the Damascus Document also practiced a monthly charity tax which was not imposed on the camps. The penal code of the *rabbim* (discussed below) refers to punishments of exclusion from the purity, probably communal meals, and reduction of food, which are also found in the penal code of Community Rule. These restrictions attest to a relatively cohesive social group that practiced communal meals from which transgressors were barred. Another difference between the camps structure and the *rabbim* group concerns the function of the priest. In the *rabbim*, he is an actual leader who instructs members in the laws, and expels disobedient members. In the camps structure, the priest is instructed by the overseer regarding the purification of a person from skin-disease.

I believe that all these differences suffice to demonstrate that the rules of the Damascus Document refer to two different organizational structures. The fact that their rules are sometimes intertwined in a single text makes it difficult to distinguish between the *rabbim* and the camps. However, once the data is analyzed from a functional point of view, by examining the roles of each official, it is possible to overcome

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27   Assuming that the non-designated overseer is indeed identical with the overseer of the local camp (see above).

the confusion caused by the redactional character of the text and recon-struct the distinct organizational structure of the camps and the *rabbim*.

Once this differentiation is established, the question arises regard-ing the temporal relationship between the camps structure and the *rabbim* group. I do no believe that they co-existed simultaneously, al-though it is impossible to prove this point with certainty.[28] Other mod-ern sects, even the largest ones and those in completely autonomous local colonies, comply with a characteristic organizational pattern, or otherwise they split into different, unrelated movements, as the Men-nointes did (see Chapter 8). Moreover, the heavily redacted organiza-tional rules seem to imply that the regulations were updated to reflect structural and organizational changes that were introduced over time.

Inferring which organizational form predated the other may be a dubious endeavor and is naturally based on preliminary pre-suppositions, even if these are unconscious. As already noted, Hempel concluded that *rabbim* terminology was inserted into the camps pas-sages in order to emphasize their similarity to the organization of the *yaḥad*. This deduction is consistent with the assumption that the Da-mascus Document is earlier than the Community Rule, although this assumption should be proven independently and cannot merely be assumed. The problem of the diachronic relationship between the *rab-bim* and the camps may be resolved by referring to the logic of organ-izational development whereby the less sophisticated organizational unit probably predates the more structured and complex, and probably also larger, organization. The unified *rabbim* is a simpler structure com-pared to that of the system of camps. If one argues the opposite, namely that the camps preceded the *rabbbim*, one must explain why and how the sect shrunk from a network of colonies to a single (large?) undifferentiated congregation.

The origin of the term also supports this view of the *rabbim* as the earlier organizational form. In the Community Rule, *rabbim* is almost synonymous to the *yaḥad*, and appears in almost all organizational rul-ings. Why should the developed camps organization adopt this term? It is more plausible that the *rabbim* of the Damascus Covenant inherited or borrowed this term (as well as the attached social outlook) from the *yaḥad*. Later autonomous developments may had led the Damascus Covenant to abandon this designation (as well as the more cohesive

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28 Schiffman 1993, 23 claimed that the *rabbim* organization coexisted with the camps
    system. It is quite possible, however that the term *rabbim* denotes *all* the members of
    the sect, implying that no additional related organization existed apart from the *rab-
    bim*.

lifestyle and possibly also the communal meals) and deviate further from the *yaḥad*'s social structure.[29]

The transition from a simple to a more complex organizational structure may have occurred as a gradual process rather than revolutionary change. A functional analysis of the role of the "priest among ten" provides possible evidence of a transition phase in the transformation of one organizational structure into the other.

5   The Priest among the Ten: A Forerunner of the Overseer of the Camp?

The "priest among the ten" is mentioned in the Damascus Document as a priest who heads a community of at least ten members. His authority is discussed in "the rule for the dwelling of the camps of at least ten men by thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens."[30] The priest among the ten, similar to the *rabbim*'s priest, was required to be "learned in the Book of *hagi*" (and if he was not, a Levite could replace him). His authority was local, and yet exclusive: "All of them shall obey him... the lot shall determine that all the members of the camp shall go out and come in at his word,"[31] which recalls the function of the overseer of the local camp, who controlled the lives of the camp members, admitted and perhaps also expelled members.

Interestingly, a leading priest among a group of at least ten members is also found in the Community Rule, a point that has led Hempel to trace here "a pre-Qumranic provenance of communal legislation."[32] However, the priest among the ten in the Damascus Document stands

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29   A possible argument for the predating of the *rabbim* structure may be that the rules of the *rabbim* focus on acceptance, expulsion and discipline, which is characteristic of an emerging sectarian organization. In contrast, the rules of the camps system concentrate on the administration of daily life: commerce, choosing a spouse, educating children, reducing quarrels between members, and alleviating personal distress. The latter represents a stage at which a sect already formed its boundaries dividing it from the outside world, and addresses the internal religious and social tensions that develop as the sect becomes established and flourishes.

30   CD 12:23-13:4. Cf. the poorly preserved parallel in 4QDᵃ 9 ii 14-15.

31   CD 13:2-4.

32   1QS 6:3-4; Hempel 1998, 110-111. A priest is also mentioned in the rule of lost property (CD 9:10-16). Hempel 1998, 92-93 traces here a phase which predates the function of the overseer. However, the reference to the biblical law of *me'ila* (secularization of sacred objects or food) indicates that the priests have no special communal authority in this case. Following an expansion of the biblical laws, the priests merely accept the property (due to their holy status) but do not manage or control it. Cf. Schiffman 1983, 117-120; 1993, 232-236.

at the head of a hierarchical organizational pattern that is very different from the democratic and relatively egalitarian character of the Community Rule. In contrast to the priest in the Damascus Document, the priest in the Community Rule is not an absolute leader, but only the most prominent among equals. The only explicitly stated privilege that the latter enjoys relates to priority in eating, drinking and blessings. He does not advise the other nine members since they all consult with each other (similar to the assembly of the *rabbim*, discussed below). These significant organizational conceptions, which further demonstrate the social differences between the Damascus Covenant and the *yaḥad*, also show that the regulations concerning the priest among the ten in the Damascus Document could not merely have been copied from the Community Rule.

The title and religious or intellectual competence of the priest of the ten resemble those of the priest of the *rabbim*, whereas his actual function was similar to the overseer of the local camp (see Table 1). As a result, it is difficult to trace the precise relationship between the sect's division into groups of ten or more members, and the organizational structure of the *rabbim* or the camps. Since the function of priests of the ten implies a sect that is organized in small groups and is similar to but less sophisticated than the camps structure, I suggest that the organization of tens should be viewed as a transitional phase between the organization of the Covenant in a single, cohesive (perhaps also geographically concentrated) community called the *rabbim*, and a more complex unit subdivided into dispersed communities called "camps." [33]

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33   This conclusion is supported by Hempel's analysis (1998, 111-114) of CD 13:2-7, where she points to the later insertion of the overseer into the law which introduces the priest of the ten. Nonetheless, Hempel (*ibid.*, 136) concludes that in CD 14:6-8 the title of the *rabbim*'s priest was inserted into a passage that originally concerned the priest (of the ten), arguing that the heading of the passage concerning "the dwelling of the camps" (CD 14:3) corresponds to the priest of the ten. However, due to the significantly different functions of the two, such redaction seems questionable. Moreover, the subdivision into smaller groups of ten should not be ascribed to the more complex camps structure of local and superior overseers. Hempel infers that the rules of the individual camps referred to both an overseer and a priest, but does not notice that the two wield quite similar authority (although the overseer's powers are elaborated in greater detail). It should also be noted that although Hempel based her conclusions on the headings of the laws, she herself observed (*ibid.*, 16-18) that the headings may have been composed by a redactor and may not correspond to the actual content of the passages.

Table 1. Schematic comparison of the functions of officials in the Damascus
Document (*non-designated overseer)

Role or Authority	Camps	*rabbim*	The Ten
Spiritual instruction	**overseer**	**overseer**	priest
Personal advise (marriage, commerce)	**overseer**	**overseer**	
Instructing of laws	**overseer***	priest	priest
Accepting new members	**overseer**	**overseer**	
Registering complaints	**overseer***	**overseer***	
Performing the entry into the covenant ceremony and expelling members	**overseer***	priest (expulsion)	
Resolution of disputes and legal debates	**overseer of all camps**		
Tax collection		**overseer**	

6 The Judges of the Damascus Covenant

The Damascus Document elaborates upon several rules regarding the
judges and their authority. Ten judges were carefully selected from the
whole congregation, four of whom were priests or Levites while the
other ten were laymen, all of them "versed in the Book of *hagi* and in
the foundation of the covenant."[34] As mentioned above, the judges (to-
gether with the *rabbim*'s overseer) were also responsible for the collec-
tion and distribution of the charity tax. Judges also played a role in the
resolution of property disputes. For example, a member who took an-
other member's property was commanded by the judges to take an
oath of adjuration in the curses of the covenant and return the property
in order to atone for his sin.[35] One who used property inappropriately
and lied in his vow was obligated to pay a ransom to the judges.[36] In
other cases, however, the judges were authorized to decree capital pun-
ishment. Judges were required to sentence to death any person who
delivers another member to the gentiles, and consequently causes his

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34 CD 10:4-9//4QD^a 8 iii//4QD^e 6 iv 15-19.
35 CD 15:3-5//4QD^c 6 I. Cf. Qimron 1994. For taking a vow not in front of the judges see
    CD 9:8-13.
36 CD 15:15-20//4QD^a 8 ii// 4QD^c 6 iii.

death.[37] In death penalty trials, juveniles and other transgressing members, who were not considered fully-fledged members, could not testify.[38]

These laws attest to the inclusive judicial authority of the judges, as well as to the crimes that were anticipated by the legislators. It is possible that the fact that members owned their own property yet lived in a relatively intimate, cohesive community caused social friction relating to property, and perhaps even quarrels that ended in bloodshed, which the overseers were unable to resolve peacefully. Sanctions were required to maintain order and administer justice. Still, it is surprising to find the application of the death penalty in a voluntary association, and therefore it is conceivable that such rules were merely theoretical or designed to illustrate the coercive authority of the Covenant's court. No judges are mentioned in the Community Rule, which may indicate that their role is related to the special social structure of the Damascus Covenant (see below).

7 The Social Structure of the *yaḥad*

The *yaḥad* was a democratic yet semi-hierarchical organization and its primary social institution was the assembly (*moshav*) of the *rabbim*. According to the rule (*serekh*) of the assembly in 1QS 6:8-13, seating in the assembly was arranged in the following order (corresponding to the right of speech): priests were seated first, elders second, and each the other members according to "his order of rank." The role of the assembly of the *rabbim* was to address questions concerning "judgment, any counsel, and (any)thing which is for the *rabbim*, to answer each man to his friend for the Council of the *yaḥad*."[39] Discipline and order of speech were scrupulously maintained. "At the assembly of the *rabbim*, no man may say anything which is not according to the interest (*ḥefeṣ*) of the *rabbim*; and if the man (who is) the overseer over the *rabbim* and every man who has something to say to the *rabbim* which is not in the presence/standing (*ma'amad*) of the one who questions the Council of the *yaḥad* (namely, one should present a new question only when no other

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37 CD 9:1//4QDᵃ 8 ii// 4QDᵉ 6 iii.

38 CD 9:23-10:3//4QDᵉ 6 iv 13-15.

39 1QS 6:9-10// 4QSᵇ XI 6-8// 4QSᵈ III. My translation follows Licht 1965a, 143, who rightly interprets *mada'o* as "friend", while Charlesworth 1995 as well as García Martínez and Tigchelaar 2000 translate it as "knowledge." For *mada'o* as friend, see 1QS 7:3; Licht 1965a, 161.

question is addressed), then the man may stand on his feet and say 'I have something to say to the *rabbim.'*"[40]

The entire sect, termed *rabbim*,[41] supported an executive administration. Several overseers and one official were responsible for implementing specific decisions of the *rabbim* based on the assembly's collective authority. An official called *paqid* (literally, "the one who is authorized"), stood at the head of the *rabbim*, and performed the initial examination of wisdom and merits of each aspiring new member. If the candidate was found to be suitable, the *paqid* confirmed his admission and instructed him in all the laws of the *yaḥad*. Only then was the new entrant examined by the *rabbim*, which decided whether to approve his admission to the "Council" of the *rabbim/yaḥad* (1QS 6:13-16). Thus, the first stage of the screening process was performed by the *paqid*, who could reject the candidate's application before the entire *rabbim* reviewed his application. This official also acted as an agent of the *yaḥad*'s doctrine and introduced the new entrant to its provisions.

The overseer of the *rabbim*'s work (*melekhet*) was responsible for the registration and transfer of the new member's property and possessions to the *rabbim*, and probably administered the economic union of the *rabbim*.[42] Indeed, the procedure of the novice's integration into the *yaḥad* in 1QS 6:13-23 confirms that the *rabbim* was a united cooperative organization based on shared ownership of property.[43]

One obscure figure is the overseer (*mevaker*) of the *rabbim* who participated in the assembly of the *rabbim*. He is mentioned in 1QS 6:11-12 (cited above), but his function is not specified.[44] Perhaps he should be identified with the overseer of 4Q275 whose role was to curse expelled members in a ceremony that resembled the Community Rule's initia-

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40 1QS 6:11-13. Translation follows the interpretation of Licht 1965a, 142. See also Suttcliffe 1959b; Schifmman 1983, 68-73; 1993, 81-84.

41 Licht 1965a, 109-110; Schiffman 1993, 84.

42 1QS 6:19-20. Wernberg-Møller 1957, 109 identified this specific overseer with the general/non-designated overseer, mentioned below, but the specific designation concerning the *rabbim*'s work invalidates this suggestion.

43 Murphy 2002, 158-160.

44 According to the reading by Rofé 1992, 315-321, the overseer restrained members who wished to speak and probably supervised the assembly of the *rabbim*. Licht, 1965a, 115 concluded that the rules of the *paqid* and the overseers refer to the same authority, who, according to Licht, also registered the members according to their spiritual level (note that 1QS 5:24; 6:22 do not specify who registers members or determines members' ranking). Metso (1997, 137 n. 91, and bibliography) and Hempel (1999a, 80) also identified the overseer with the *paqid*, although they are mentioned in different contexts.

tion ceremony.[45] If the fragment indeed refers to the *yaḥad*'s overseer (as the editors tend to think), the overseer may have filled a liturgical function and perhaps even conducted the annual entry into the covenant.[46]

These overseers and officers were the administrators rather than the leaders of the *yaḥad*'s *rabbim*. They did not control the lives of the "Council" members or issue orders. Generally speaking, the *yaḥad* had no principal leader who directed its members. Decisions were made by the democratic assembly, of which the overseers were its representatives, and no external authority or supreme leadership existed outside the assembly of the *rabbim*.

Still, the *yaḥad* was not an entirely egalitarian organization. Members were registered in the "rule" (*serekh*) in a certain order, each "according to his spirit, insight and works in the Torah". Lower ranking members were obligated to obey higher ranking members, including in work-related matters. At assemblies, members were seated and spoke according to a second hierarchical ranking of (in descending order) priests, elders and laymen.[47] Time and time again the Community Rule emphasizes status differences between the priests and the lay Israelites,[48] and certain regulations refer to the priests as an elite group within the *yaḥad*. In 1QS 9:7, the priests wield economic authority within the *yaḥad*. Although the priests generally wielded more authority than lay members, their authority was not absolute one. In the assembly, for example, it seems that a priest's vote had equal weight to the vote of a lay member.

The *yaḥad*'s structure, however, is not always portrayed consistently. According to certain passages in 1QS, the sect is comprised of "the Sons of Zadok, the Priests and the multitude of their covenant's people" before which a new member must take an oath to return to the

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45   4Q275 *Communal Ceremony* 3, 3 (Alexander and Vermes 1998, 214). Cf. 1QS 1:16-3:12.

46   Cf. Alexander and Vermes 1998, 211-216. The presence of the elders in this fragment may indicate that the scroll should be connected to the *yaḥad*, since they are mentioned in 1QS 6:8-9 but not in the Damascus Document.

47   1QS 5:23-24; 6:9-11. This is also reflected in the penalties imposed for defying the authority of a relatively senior member (1QS 6:26-27) and speaking angrily (even unintentionally) against one of the priests enrolled in the book (1QS 7:3).

48   E.g. 1QS 5:1-3, 21-23; 9:5-6. See Licht 1965a, 110-113. Jastram 1997, 363-365. The Community Rule (1QS 9:12-23), the Damascus Document (CD 13:22), as well as the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifices and other texts, mention a spiritual leader called "*maskil*" (literally, the one who makes others wise, some translate it "Master"). He is responsible for imparting the ideology and theology of the Qumran sect to other members of the group. According to Schiffman (2003, 423), the *maskil* was one among "a class of scholars but not priests... they do not seem to have been assigned any specific administrative functions." For the Covenant's overseer portrayed as *maskil*, see Jastram 1997, 358-361.

Torah as revealed to them (1QS 5:7-9). Interestingly, another version of
the same rule from the recently published fragments from Cave 4 con-
tains no mention of the Sons of Zadok (or the remaining members) but
only mentions the revelation to the "Council of the men of the *yaḥad*
(*'aṣat 'anshey ha-yaḥad*)."[49] Similarly, the same passage from Cave 4 does
not differentiate between classes within the sect when it argues that the
yaḥad gives answers in accordance with the opinion of the *rabbim* in all
matters relating to the Torah and possession,[50] whereas the parallel in
1QS 5:2-3 distinguishes between the Sons of Zadok the Priests and the
lay "multitude of the men of the *yaḥad*."[51]

Geza Vermes, Albert Baumgarten and Sarianna Metso concluded
that the Sons of Zadok led the *yaḥad* in a later phase of the sect's his-
tory, documented in the later recension of the Community Rule in 1QS,
but not in the shorter (and therefore earlier) version reflected in the
fragments from Cave 4.[52] Following this line of thought, the *rabbim* may
have constituted a more egalitarian structure in the earlier phase of the
sect's history, and may have played a specific role in interpreting and
shaping its laws in accordance with the divine revelation of its mem-
bers. But in its later development, the priests, either the Sons of Zadok
or the priests in general, were granted special authority, although their
higher status within the *yaḥad* is unclear and possibly mainly symbolic.

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49 4QS[b] IX 6-8//4QS[d] I 5-7.

50 4QS[b] IX 2-3//4QS[d] I 2.

51 My translation (E.R.). The Sons of Zadok the priests are designated separately from
    the lay members in 1QSa 2:2-3. See also 4Q174 *Florilegium* 1 I , 21, 2, 17. For the Sons
    of Zadok, see Licht 1965a, 113-115. Schiffman 1983, 72-75; 1993 84-88; 2003, 418-419
    believes that the Sons of Zadok enjoyed high prestige at earlier stage, but does not
    support his view with any evidence from the Community Rule.

52 Vermes 1991, 250-255; A. Baumgarten 1997b; Metso 1997 78, 80. Alexander 1996, 450-
    451, however, supports a reversed sequence, suggesting that the 4Q fragments ab-
    breviated the original, longer 1QS version. The view that the 4QS[b], 4QS[d] and 4QS[e],
    which include shorter versions of 1QS 5-9, represent earlier versions of the Commu-
    nity Rule despite their later paleographic dating, is also followed by Bockmuehl 1998
    who ruled out the possibilities of abbreviation and excision of the Rule as well as its
    not being a normative of authoritative text (hence it is not plausible that there were
    other abridged versions for private use). Note, however, that the *rabbim* (and not the
    priests or the Sons of Zadok) are also mentioned in the most strict (and perhaps
    later) procedure of accepting new member in 1QS 6:14-23.

8 The *yaḥad's* "Council" and the Local Communities within the *yaḥad*

An interesting term which occurs several times in the Community Rule is *'aṣat ha-yaḥad*. In biblical Hebrew, *'eṣah* is an advice, wisdom or plan.[53] In the Community Rule, however, this is a noun representing a social institution, translated above as "Council." I believe that this term reflects a certain structural complexity within the *yaḥad* that is significant for understanding its unique social character, although it has not attracted sufficient attention of previous scholars. An examination of the functions of *'aṣat ha-yaḥad* is therefore necessary.

The clearest passage which attests to the Council discusses the *yaḥad's* Council as a group of at least ten members: "And in every place where there are ten men (belonging to) the Council of the *yaḥad*, there must not be lacking among them a man who is a priest."[54] It is also noteworthy that the introduction to this regulation states "In these they shall behave in all their dwellings *(megureyhem)*."[55] The expressions "in all their dwellings" and "in every place" indicate that this regulation applies to more then one specific Council. The Council's spatial location varies from one Council to another. Apparently, the regulation refers to several very small and scattered communities of at least ten members.[56]

Is it possible that the *yaḥad* consisted of several small communities, in view of the frequent mention of the *rabbim* as a single unitary community? In posing this possibility, I have in mind the division of many early modern sects into small local communities in order to keep the

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53 II Sam 15:3; Isa 8:10, 11:2; Jer 18:18; Prov 19:20; 21:30. Its meaning in rabbinic literature is quite similar.

54 1QS 6:3-4//4QS^d II 7-8//4QS^i 4-5 Translations of 1QS and the 4QS fragments follow Charlesworth 1994.

55 1QS 6:1-2. Metso 2004, 324-325 regards this passage as reflecting a very early phase of the *yaḥad*.

56 Following the expression "in all their dwellings," Leaney (1966, 180, 185-186) correctly distinguished between periphery and center (i.e., the assembly). Murphy O'Connor (1969, 536-537) criticized his interpretation, arguing that the *yaḥad's* dwelling was evidently in Kh. Qumran (relying on de Vaux). But Murphy O'Connor overlooked the plural form of "their dwellings" which implies a number of communities. Some scholars identified this description of the Council with communities outside kh. Qumran (assuming that the *yaḥad* dwelt in the settlement there), which is quite similar to my own interpretation. See the discussion and bibliography in Metso 1997, 133-135.

organization manageable and flexible (see Chapter 8).[57] Although this conclusion seems very likely in relation to this passage, other occurrences of the Council are obscure and confusing.

The most widely discussed passage in which the Council is mentioned, again describes the classes of its members: "In the Council of the *yaḥad* there (are to be) twelve (lay)men and three priests, perfect in everything which has been revealed from the whole Torah, to perform truth, righteousness, justice, merciful love, and circumspect walking, each one with his fellow to keep faithfulness in the land with a steadfast purpose and a broken spirit, to pay for iniquity by works of judgment and suffering affliction, and walk with all by the measure of truth and the norm of Endtime."[58] In this passage, which focuses on the members' faith and discipline and lacks any description of the Council's function, the Council is comprised of twelve laymen and three priests, in contrast to the Council in the passage discussed above, which consisted of nine laymen and at least one priest.

In the early days of Qumran research, scholars debated over the meaning of this Council. Some argued that it was an inner council with special authority within the *yaḥad*'s organization.[59] Others concluded that it was designation for "the community as a whole."[60] Sutcliffe, Murphy O'Connor and others claimed that the "Council" was the original and indigenous phase of the *yaḥad*.[61] Admittedly, the lack of

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57   Burrows 1955, 231-232, as well as Licht 1965a, 9, 117-120, already sensed that the *yaḥad* included several local associations. However, they did not connect this possibility to the actual meaning of the term Council, and thus could not find any real proof for their assertion regarding this subdivision within the *yaḥad*. Collins 2003, 104 asserted that "the term *yaḥad*, as used in 1QS V, 1, refers to the umbrella organization of these smaller groups, not to single settlement such as the Qumran community." He also addressed the similarities between the councils and the camps of the Damascus Document.

58   1QS 8:1-4// 4QSᵉ II 9-13. Cf. 4Q265 *Miscellaneous Rules* 7 II, 7.

59   See the references in Murphy O'Connor 1969, 529 n. 5; Hempel 1999a, 78 n. 35; Metso, 2002, 441. See also Collins 2003, 105-106.

60   Wernberg-Møller, 1957, 122-123 (citing previous studies), concluded that the community must contain at least twelve men and three priests and stated that "it was their particular responsibility to guide the other members." See also Schiffman 2003, 417. However, Metso 1997, 80, concluded that "the terms *ha-rabbim* and *'aṣat ha-yaḥad* are synonymous" (cf. also *ibid.*, 134).

61   Suttcliffe 1959a; Murphy O'Connor 1969, 529. Cf. Davies 1996, 147, 149. Pouilly (1976, 20-21, 94) rejected the identification with a supreme institution and concluded that it represents a mode of existence for all the members. However, I cannot see the reason why the number of members in a primordial community would be limited; it should include all interested and qualified persons. Moreover, the term Council is very common in the Community Rule, especially in juxtaposition to the *rabbim*, and can hardly be limited to the earliest phase of the *yaḥad*.

exact context and functions, as well as the vague term *'eṣah* for a group of people, make it impossible to reconstruct the role of the Council from this passage.

However, the interpretation of the Council as a special board is undermined by the previous passage describing the Council of ten "in every place" and "in all their dwellings," in which Council members hold no special authority nor are they described as having a specified function. The interpretation of the Council as a special board is also inconsistent with a passage in another document, the eschatological Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), where the same term designates the assembly of a congregation, including wise men, chiefs, judges, Levites, and officials of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens. Although the Rule of the Congregation is a separate document which relates to the entire Jewish nation rather than a sect, it contains several terms and ritual features that appear in the *yaḥad*'s Community Rule. Hence, this passage may be relevant for assessing the meaning of this term.[62]

According to the Rule of the Congregation, the Council was a sacred convention from which impure and inflicted persons were excluded since the angel of holiness were in its midst.[63] This assembly was a supreme convention or an assembly of the delegates of all the Israelites, and surely not a sub-group of the congregation as described in the Council of the ten in the Community Rule.

On the other hand, based on the fact that the majority of the references to the Council in the regulations of the Community Rule, appear in the context of the entire *yaḥad* and the *rabbim*,[64] several scholars, and recently Metso, concluded that the Council is interchangeable with the *rabbim*, hence designates the entire *yaḥad* members or their communal gathering and occupations.[65] In a previous study I have argued that the Council cannot be synonymous with the *rabbim*, and should therefore

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62 The eschatological character of the Rule of the Congregation is obvious in its introductory phrase "And this is the rule of all the congregation of Israel at the End of Days" (1QSa 1:1). For this rule, see Schiffman 1993, 268-311. Stegemann 1996 argued that this document is not eschatological but rather represents a relatively early social pattern. Collins 2003, 107-110, rejected this view, pointing to the descriptions of the davidic and priestly messiahs in 1QSa 21:11-21. It is still quite possible that these rules reflect actual patterns of organization of the Qumran movement that are portrayed in eschatological manner. See Hempel 1996.

63 1QSa 1:25-2:2. cf. *ibid.*, 2:3-11. Cf. also 1QSa 2:11 and "the Council of Holiness" in 1QSa 2:9; 1QSb 4:26. The same use of the term is found in 4Q164*pIsaᵈ* 2.

64 1QS 5:7-9; 4QSᵇ IX 6-8//4QSᵈ I 5-7; 1QS 6:11-14; 1QS 7:1-2//4QSᵍ 4a-b; 1QS 7:22-25//4QSᵉ II 5-9; 1QS 8:10-12//4QSᵈ VI 4-5.

65 Wernberg-Møller, 1957, 122-123; Metso 1997, 80, 134; 2002, 441. Cf. Licht 1965a, 109-110, 120, who tried unsuccessfully to distinguish the *rabbim* from the *yaḥad*'s Council.

be identified with the local community described above.[66] Specifically, I pointed to the redundancy of parallel terms in the Community Rule which seemed to me superfluous and puzzling, and noted the passages which mention Council of ten or fifteen members that ostensibly prove that the Council is part of the sect as a whole.

However, a more recent reassessment of the evidence has led me to revise my original rejection of the view that the Council refers to the whole group. In all occurrences other than those in which the ten or fifteen members of the Council are mentioned, the function of the Council and its context are consistent with its identification with the *rabbim*. More particularly, I concede that my earlier argument, that the *yaḥad* legislators would not use two different terms for the same institution in the same passage, is disproved by a passage in 1QS 6:14-17, where the Council of the *yaḥad* is clearly interchangeable with the Council of the *rabbim*. Thus, on purely philological level, it is impossible to reject the identification of the Council of the *yaḥad* and the *rabbim* as a whole.

Nonetheless, the rules discussing a Council of fifteen or at least ten members undoubtedly attest to some temporary or permanent organizational division within the *yaḥad*, that was probably regarded as an integral part of the *rabbim*, and may have played an equal role in the collective decisions of the assembly. Unfortunately, since the organizational terminology of the Community Rule is overly general or ambiguous, the manner in which members of the Councils of ten or fifteen operated within the sect as a whole, including their spatial and economic relationship to the sect (or other such sub-groups), remains unclear.

9 Structural Differences between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant

Previous scholarship has not always distinguished between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant as two separate sects and very little attention has been directed to the differences in their structure and organization. The foregoing analysis demonstrates several significant differences.

The most striking social difference between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant relates to the authority of the different administrators and overseers. Although the Damascus Covenant *rabbim*'s officials bore

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66 Regev 2004d, 235-244.

titles which were very similar to those of the officials in *yaḥad*, they actually served very different functions. The Covenant's overseers of the camps or the *rabbim* admitted and tutored new members, whereas the overseer of the *rabbim* had no specified function in the Community Rule's detailed admission procedure. In 4Q275, the *yaḥad's rabbim* overseer cursed expelled members, but was not necessarily entitled to admit others.

The official whose authority most closely corresponded to the Covenant's overseer of the *rabbim* is the *yaḥad's* official *(paqid)*, who examined and taught new entrants before their case was submitted for a final decision by the *rabbim*.[67] However, the *yaḥad's paqid* directed only a preliminary stage of screening or teaching candidates whereas the entire group, the *rabbim*, made the actual decisions regarding admission. I have already noted on the differences between "the priest among the ten" in the two sects, emphasizing that, in contrast to the Covenant's priest (either the one among the ten or the priest of the *rabbim*), this priest was no real governor or leader in the *yaḥad*.

The structure of the *rabbim* of the Damascus Covenant, was strictly hierarchical, in contrast to the democratic and semi-egalitarian structure of the *rabbim* of the Community Rule. The organization of the *rabbim* in the Damascus Document does not correspond to the functional organization described in the *rabbim* in the Community Rule. The only point of resemblance is the use of the term *rabbim*. These conclusions have important implications for the social and historical relationship between the Damascus Covenant and the *yaḥad* since the different structures and organization of the two sects cannot support the view of some scholars that the Damascus Covenant was actually a branch of the more stringent sectarian center known as the *yaḥad*. [68]

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67   1QS 6:13-16. Rowley, Brownlee, Delcor, Wernberg-Møller, and Metso identified CD's overseer with the 1QS's *paqid* since both admitted new members (see Wernberg-Møller 1957, 107 and bibliography; Metso 2002, 439-440), disregarding the different designations and the more limited authority of the *paqid*. Scholars also tended to identify the overseer of CD with the overseer of the Community Rule (cf. Wernberg-Møller 1957, 106). Schiffman 2003, 422 does not distinguish between the overseers of the *yaḥad* and the Covenant and identifies the *yaḥad's paqid* with the *rabbim's* priest in the Damascus Document.

68   E.g., Licht 1965a 9, n. 2, 16, 118; Schiffman 1983, 175 n. 18, 163; 1993, 243 n. 15, 250. Speculations regarding such interrelations, for instance, that the Covenant's overseer of the *rabbim* was actually a member of *yaḥad*, or identical with the overseer of the *yaḥad's rabbim*, seem unpractical. It is more probable that *yaḥad* members criticized the Covenant's compromises and closeness to the outside world. They might also have scorned the Covenant's lack of democracy, as well as its dependence on overseers, judges and other officials.

I have already discussed the social status of priest within the *yaḥad*. Interestingly, the Damascus Covenant also systematically separates between priests and lay Israelites,[69] and priests hold religious leadership in the phases of the *rabbim* and the ten. In contrast to the *yaḥad*, however, descent – not only priestly descent – was significant in the Damascus Covenant. The entire social hierarchy of the Covenant was based on descent: priests, Levites, laymen and proselytes (CD 14:3-6). A general version of the spiritual hierarchy characteristic of the *yaḥad* is also attested in the Damascus Document: "and they shall inscribe him in his place according to his inheritance of the lot of light."[70] Nonetheless, both the literary evidence and the structural analysis of the two sects makes it is quite clear that the intellectual or spiritual competence of the common members in the Covenant did not really matter, whereas *yaḥad* members were continuously and periodically reevaluated and their merits influenced the daily social dynamics.

Another structural difference between the two sects is the significant role of the judges in the Damascus Document in comparison to their total absence from the Community Rule. Their absence is even more surprising since the penal laws of the Community Rule are extremely similar to those of the Damascus Document in many other aspects. One possible reason for the difference is the fact that the Covenant was much larger sect, with much more personal frictions and conflicts. Another explanation for the absence of judges in the *yaḥad* lies in the existence and function of the assembly of the *rabbim*, where members gathered frequently and were considered reliable and self-disciplined, hence they were able to resolve conflicts and disagreements without resorting to external institutions which could potentially undermine their democratic and semi-egalitarian community organization.

Moreover, the *yaḥad* was a communion based on shared property and close personal ties (at least in the "Councils"). Therefore, ostensibly, there was no property to quarrel about. Social tensions were also reduced due to the institutional democracy within the assembly. When problems and quarrels emerged, the *yaḥad*'s assembly may have resolved them by functioning as a judicial court. Consequently, I believe that there is a connection between the subordinate status of Covenant members to the authority of the overseers or priests, on the one hand, and the need to supplements the more conventional disciplinary penal could with judicial trials in order to reduce crime, on the other hand.

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69   CD 1:7, 6:2, 19:10-11.
70   CD 13:12. For summery of the evidence of different patterns of hierarchy in Qumran, see Jastram 1997.

10   The Relationship between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant

Several scholars, presuming that the two sects did not emerge simultaneously, were intrigued by the relationship between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. Not all agreed which of the two should be considered the "original" Qumran sect. Joseph T. Milik believed that the initial phase of development was characterized by the strict Essenism reflected in the Community Rule, followed by a second, more moderate phase of "Essenism with Pharisaic nuances," reflected mainly in the Damascus Document. Milik, however, did not support this reconstruction with textual evidence.[71] Hartmut Stegemann similarly concluded that the Community Rule preceded the Damascus Document, although the latter contains the earliest laws of the Essenes (which Stegemann attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness).[72]

In contrast, Davies Knibb and Hempel asserted that the Damascus Covenant was the parent group of the *yaḥad*, arguing that the *yaḥad* was responsible for the redaction of the Damascus Document.[73] Hempel presented the most detailed treatment of the problem pertaining to communal rules in the two texts. She concluded that all the references to the *rabbim* in the Damascus Document, especially those related to the overseer of the *rabbim* and the penal code, result from a redactional process ("a Serekh redaction") that "is intended to bring the laws of D into line with S."[74] In this conclusion Hempel seems to assume that the *yaḥad* was a direct continuation of the Covenant and that the *yaḥad*'s scribes regarded the Damascus Document as their own binding lawbook (as the biblical scribes regarded earlier prophecies or law codes), which they sought to harmonize with their own practices.

A functional analysis of the two sources, however, does not support this view of the *yaḥad* as an outgrowth of the Damascus Covenant. The

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71   Milik 1959, 83-93. Cf. also the discussion in the Conclusion of Chapter 8.

72   Stegemann, 1990; 1998, 107-108, 110, 112, 116-118, 150-152. For D as "the final exegesis (*midrash*) of the Torah," see Stegemann 1996, 495, n. 62. Kruse 1981 noticed several structural differences between the two texts, predating the Community Rule to the Damascus Document. However, Kruse pre-supposed that the Damascus Document was a direct development of Community Rule, a view that is not supported by the organizational differences discussed above.

73   Davies 1983, 173-201; 2000, 36; Knibb 1994; Hempel 1998, 101, 150; 1999; 77; Metso 1999a, 196-197, 208-209. Davies concentrated on the redaction of CD's Admonition (especially CD 19-20) whereas Hempel discussed the laws, especially those of the Cave 4 fragments. Note, however, that elsewhere (1996, 139-150), Davies was much more cautious in defining the relationship between the two documents (see below).

74   Hempel 1998, 81-85 (citation from p. 83). See also *ibid.*, 90, 122-123, 136, 138.

actual functions of the priest and overseer of the *rabbim* in the Damascus Document, as well as the hierarchical character of the Covenant's *rabbim*, do not correspond to the limited role of the *rabbim*'s overseer in the Community Rule or to the *yahad*'s egalitarian structure and organization. In other words, the *rabbim* in the Damascus Document is substantially different from the *rabbim* in the Community Rule,[75] and a simple formative reshaping of the Damascus Document by the scribes of the *yahad* could not bridge these discrepancies. The Damascus Document could never have been used as a binding law-book for the *yahad* since its social basis is fundamentally inconsistent with the concepts of social organization on which the *yahad* was based.

I therefore tentatively propose another theory based on the functional reconstruction of the Covenant's development. On both philological and functional grounds, the most common feature of the Community Rule and the Damascus Document is clearly the term *rabbim* designating all the members of the group. This term constitutes the major terminological link between the two texts or groups. Both texts, however, use the term *rabbim* at quite a different frequency. In the Community Rule, it features in every ruling (thirty-four times in 1QS), yet is quite rare in the Damascus Document: there are only four occurrences in CD and another five in all the Cave Four fragments that have no parallel in CD.[76] The Covenant's organization reflected a more sophisticated organization in the camps phase, which was apparently unrelated to the term *rabbim*. Thus, the *yahad* was always *rabbim*, whereas the Covenant was mostly something other than *rabbim*.

Applying this observation to the question of which document predated the other, the original group is probably the one that established the term *rabbim* and used it consistently in its legal writings. Its organization was more simplistic than the network of camps. I believe it is quite evident that the origin of a phenomenon (either textual or social) should be traced to where it is more prevalent and more consistent. Therefore, I conclude that the designation *rabbim* was first created or used by the *yahad*, and only later was adopted by the Damascus Covenant. Hence, it seems that the *yahad* predates the Covenant. The Covenant may have sought to imitate the *yahad* by using this term and oth-

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75   Hempel 1998, 138-139 sensed the differences between the charity tax that begins
     with the heading "this is the rule of the *rabbim*" (CD 14:12) and the rules of the *rab-
     bim* in the Community Rule, in terms of their attitude towards women, captives and
     private property. Nevertheless, she concluded that this was yet another "Serekh re-
     daction."
76   Metso 2002, 440.

ers (*mevaker/*"overseer", *serekh/*"rule" etc.), although these terms were incorporated into a quite different social structure.

In my previous distinction between different organizational phases within the Damascus Document, I concluded that the *rabbim* phase was the first among three. This was based on its apparent simplistic organizational structure in comparison to the division into local communities with a supreme overseer in the camps phase. If the *rabbim* phase of the Damascus Covenant indeed predated the camps phase, my conclusion that the *yaḥad* preceded the Covenant gains some support. The Covenant's first phase bears a certain affinity to the *yaḥad*, but this similarity disappeared when the Covenant transformed from *rabbim* to a camps structure. It is, then, more logical to argue that this earlier phase was influenced by the *yaḥad*'s *rabbim*, rather than claim that the *yaḥad*'s *rabbim* developed from the Covenant which subsequently changed into a camps structure.

Following this reconstruction, I conclude the Damascus Covenant was initially modeled on the *yaḥad*, in its general terminology or self-identity, but later evolved into a sect divided to camps. The Covenant originally emerged as a different type of *rabbim*, but abandoned this label and its unified structure when it evolved into a larger and more complex organization. As an illustration of this historical process, one may speculate that some deserters or novices of the *yaḥad* may have established the Damascus Covenant, and used its teachings, theology and mythic history as the basis for new developments and interpretations.

Evidence from the penal codes supports this conclusion that the *yaḥad* preceded the Covenant and that Covenant's early days were characterized by a degree of dependence on the heritage of the *yaḥad*.[77] The penal code of the Damascus Document refers to the *rabbim* but contains mention of several transgressions and penalties that are not mentioned in the Damascus Document outside its penal code. Transgressions such as sleeping and lying in the assembly of the *rabbim*, as well as the penalties of separation from the *rabbim*'s purity and reduction of food, originated from the social world of the *yaḥad*.[78]

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77   CD 14:18-22; 4QDᵃ 10 i-iii; 4QDᵇ 9 vi; 4QDᵈ 11 i-iii; 4QDᵉ 7 i (see the composite text in Hempel 1998, 141-142, following J. Baumgarten 1996a). Compare 1QS 6:24-7:25; 8:20-9:2. Cf. the discussion in Chapter 2.

78   For references to the assembly, see lines 9, 11, 12 and perhaps also 23, in the composite text of 4QD penal codes in Hempel 1998, 141-142. For references to the separation from the sect's purity, see *ibid.*, lines 6, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16, 19, 22. For food reduction, see *ibid.*, lines 5, 6-7.

Quite surprisingly, however, the *rabbim* assembly or the separation from its purity are not mentioned elsewhere in the Damascus Document (nor is any mention made of the similar separation of a new member during his gradual acceptance into the group, as in the Community Rule). Moreover, the penalties of food reduction, which are understandable in the *yaḥad*'s community of shared property and common meals, are quite anomalous in the setting of communities of independent households of the Damascus Covenant.[79]

Hempel has tried to explain these discrepancies as redactional adaptations of the Damascus Document under the influence of the Community Rule.[80] Such alterations and emendations, however, would have to include adaptations of the *yaḥad*'s assembly as a regulating body, as well as rigorous purity restrictions, perhaps also regarding admission of new members, and would therefore entirely change the Covenant's essence and way of life. None of these issues are mentioned anywhere in the Damascus Document outside its penal code. I concede that the penal code indicates that the Covenant's *rabbim* did follow common rituals ("purity") from which transgressors were excluded, and conducted communal meals to which food reductions applied, although these are not explicitly mentioned anywhere in the Damascus Document. But I am not certain that a public assembly could have operated in the Covenant. The assembly is a democratic and semi-egalitarian institution and may be incompatible with an organization in which an overseer and a priest are responsible for all the important decisions and instruct the members.

Hence, the references to the assembly in the Cave Four fragments of the Damascus Document are probably taken from the Community Rule. It is unclear whether the penalties of separation from the sect's purity and food reduction were actually practiced in the Covenant or are a result of literary borrowing. Admittedly, it is surprising that the authors or redactors of the Damascus Document copied from the Community rule laws which were not applicable to their own group,[81]

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79 "Could reductions of food be effectively imposed upon independent households?" (J. Baumgarten 1992, 272).

80 Hempel 1998, 83-84, 147; 1997. Metso, 2000, 88-90 concluded that the two penal codes amended a common source. J. Baumgarten 1996a, 162-166, Hempel 1997 and Metso 2000, 88-90 noted the changes or special characteristics of the penal code of the Damascus Document in comparison to the Community Rule. It seems that the Covenant did use this penal code, but it hard to explain its references to the assembly of the *rabbim*. There are also indications that the *rabbim* passages in the penal code of the Damascus Document have been reworked (Hempel 1988, 83-84).

81 In the discussion following Knibb 1994, 160, Stegemann stated that some sections of the laws of 4QD, especially in the penal code, depend on 1QS and that "1QS is used

but an appreciation of the social differences between two sects leaves no room for a different interpretation. The misplaced social characteristics of the penal code of the Damascus Document therefore indicate that it was not original, and probably introduced from the Community Rule. This is another indication of the textual and socio-historical precedence of the Community Rule.

Until now I limited my discussion to the laws of organization in the two documents. Another issue which is more than relevant to the textual and historical relationship between the Community Rule and the Damascus Document is the correspondence between the Admonition of the Damascus Document and several passages in the Community Rule and the name *yaḥad*. Davies noted significant overlapping between CD 19:33-20:34 and 1QS 8-9. The strongest case of similarity is CD 20:31-32 "they are to be instructed in the first precepts in which the men of he *yaḥid* (read: *yaḥad*) were judged and listened to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness" and 1QS 9:10 "they shall be judged by the first judgments in which the men of the *yaḥad* began to be instructed."[82] Davies concluded that "the group reflected in CD 20 and in 1QS 9 are one and the same, and indeed, at more or less the same moment."[83] He was nevertheless reluctant to identify the two groups due to the absence of the Teacher of Righteousness in the Community Rule (as well as other, less significant, discrepancies), whereas CD 20 claims to continue his heritage (Davies concludes from CD 20:32 that the Teacher

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in the Damascus Covenant. 1QS is an older book." Since the content of the *rabbim* phase in the Damascus Document bears no hint of an assembly or separation from the sect's purity, it is difficult to attribute discrepancies to the early development of the Covenant. Nevertheless, it is still puzzling that these laws were not expunged. One possible explanation may be the sanctity or symbolic authority of these rules; an emerging movement may find it easier to ignore some unaccepted precepts of the parent movement than renounce them blatantly and thus explicitly acknowledge its innovation by revising the original legal text. J. Baumgarten (1992, 274-275) sees a possible relaxation of the penalties in the penal codes of the Damascus Document (including 4Q265 Miscellaneous Rules [previously know as *Serekh Damesek*]) in comparison to 1QS. These and other differences may derive from the revision of an older penal code by the authors of the Damascus Document.

82 My translation (E.R.). See Davies 1996, 139-150 ("Communities at Qumran and the Case of the Missing Teacher"). Both phrases use the verbs *lehityaser* and *nishpetu* (which have similar meaning) but in a different position in the sentence. The concept of "the laws of the first ones", common to the Community Rule and the Damascus Document, is also found in CD 4:8-9: "in order to act according to the precise meaning of the Torah in which the first ones (*rishonim*) were instructed (*hitvasru*)." See also the common designations "the people of holiness," "the study (*midrash*) of the Torah," the adjective "perfection" (*tamim*), and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel, in Davies 1996, 142, 146-147.

83 Davies 1996, 147.

was the founder of the *yaḥad*, an assumption already made by previous scholars).[84]

I believe that these textual parallels, and in particular the mention of the *yaḥad* in CD 20, point to a different conclusion. The fact that the Damascus Document refers to the *yaḥad* in column 20:32 does not mean that the Damascus Covenant is identical with the *yaḥad*, since we have seen many differences between the two in the present chapter as well as in Chapter 1. CD 20 therefore either alludes to the *yaḥad* itself or, more probably, was taken from an earlier source related to the *yaḥad*. In any event, the fact that the Damascus Document refers to the *yaḥad* and designates the Teacher of Righteousness as "the Teacher of the *yaḥid*" (CD 20:1) is simply further evidence that the *yaḥad* predated the Damascus Covenant.

The Admonition of the Damascus Document has also led scholars to assume that it reflects a more ancient sect that still remembered the Teacher of Righteousness and his opponents, and his disputes with deserters and "traitors."[85] Such a reading may also lead to the conclusion that a more rigorous branch emerged over the years and formed the *yaḥad*. This, I believe, is only a false impression stemming from the genre of the Damascus Document. The historical descriptions of the origins or early history of the sect in the Admonition seem to telescope developments that were quite remote from the authors' time.[86] On the other hand, the Community Rule says nothing about the *yaḥad*'s traditions regarding the Teacher, or about its origins or history. We cannot, however, eliminate the existence of such traditions merely because the genre of Community Rule consists mainly of rules and rituals, and lacks any reference to the history of the *yaḥad*.

The organization and structure of the two sects, and the relationship between their penal codes, and the fact that CD 20 refers to the *yaḥad* as a historical group all lead to the conclusion that the *yaḥad* preceded the Damascus Covenant.[87] The Covenant was not a direct con-

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84   Davies 1996, 142, 149.

85   Murphy O'Connor 1974; Davies 1983.

86   Hempel 1999b, esp. 327-328. She concludes that the different descriptions pertain to the movement's different chronological phases (or groups).

87   Another possible indication for the earlier date of the Community Rule is that the Sons of Zadok appear there as a leading elite only in a relatively later phase, whereas in the Admonition of the Damascus Document, they appear as a symbol or metaphor (CD 3:21-4:1; cf. Zadok the priest in CD 5:5). It is more plausible that their symbolic meaning may rely on an actual historical role, rather than the transformation of metaphor into social reality. Support for the earlier provenance of the Community Rule may also be found in the paleographic dating of the two documents. The 4QD fragments were copied later than 1QS and even later than 4QS[b,d,e]. See Charlesworth

tinuation or adaptation of the *yaḥad*, but an entirely different move-
ment, which adopted and extensively revised certain precepts and con-
cepts from the *yaḥad*.

11 Conclusions

The *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, or the Community Rule and
the Damascus Document, share numerous theological (*viz.* dualism,
moral im/purity), textual (the penal code) and terminological character-
istics, such as overseer (*mebaker*), *rabbim*, rule (*serekh*), etc. They also
reflect a similar organizational structure of a community sub-divided
into local and sometimes even independent communities: the Cove-
nant's camps and (although much less clear) the *yaḥad*'s Councils.
These similarities, however, are misleading. The two sects differed
substantially in the degree of their social separation from the outside
world, the distribution of wealth,[88] and their self designations. Now it is
also possible to conclude that they had different social structures.

The Damascus Covenant lacked any trace of democracy, and had
no collective governing body corresponding to the assembly. In the
camps phase, it was directed by the overseer of all camps, and each
local community ("camp") was headed by a local overseer. In the *rab-
bim* phase, the sect was headed by an overseer and a learned priest. The
hierarchical structure applied to the leaders, as well as to the members
themselves, who were ranked according to their descent. In contrast,
the assembly, which had no definite leader and in which all members
participated, made the focal decisions for the *yaḥad*. At some point,
under circumstances that remain unclear, the *yaḥad* divided into local
communities called Councils. Although the *yaḥad* assembly was a de-
mocratic institution, it was not entirely egalitarian, since the priests
held a distinguished position. There was also a type of spiritual hierar-
chy among assembly participants.

These different organizational patterns reflect contrasting sociologi-
cal conceptualizations of the role of individual sect members and their

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1995, 59-60, and the bibliography in Metso, 1999b, 308 n. 5. For the significance of the
date of copying such official and constitutional documents, see Alexander 1996, esp.
448. The intensive copying of the scrolls, however, requires us to treat such findings
cautiously. Cf. J. Baumgarten (1992, 273): "(T)he script of 1QS is paleographically
somewhat earlier than that of 4Q266 (=4QDᵃ)," although "it does not necessarily
prove that its penal code represents an earlier stage of development."

88   Stegemann 1990, 420-421; Davies 2000. For social boundaries, see Chapter 1. For the
distribution of wealth see Chapter 10.

spiritual potential to attain self-discipline, holiness, and a personal reli-
gious experience through divine revelations. The *yaḥad* and the Damas-
cus Covenant each had a very different sense of their member's
Menchenbild. It is therefore not surprising that revelation played a dif-
ferent role in each sect. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, *yaḥad* members
were expected to experience revelation in their daily lives or study,
whereas the Damascus Covenant relied on past revelations, whose
messages were imparted by the overseer. Covenant members were not
entitled to experience such divine presence: they were guided by their
leaders, while *yaḥad* members were instructed directly by God.

Furthermore, the *yaḥad*'s organizational structure, especially the as-
sembly, was suited to the administration of a small-scale society, a cho-
sen minority of great spiritual merit, who had no need or desire to re-
ceive ongoing day-to-day guidance from superior officials. The camps
structure of the Damascus Covenant, however, suited a large commu-
nity whose administration required a network of leaders (no details of
their nomination or appointment are provided), including the judges,
of whom no mention is made in Community Rule.

The Damascus Document alludes to diverse figures and structures,
sometimes even in the same passage or instruction. As I have asserted
at the outset of this article, I believe that redaction-criticism cannot de-
termine which is the original and which is the later insertion. A func-
tional analysis has allowed us to distinguish between three different
organizational patterns in the Damascus Covenant. I propose that they
reflect different phases in the development of the sect, tentatively re-
constructed in the present order: 1. A single cohesive group called *rab-
bim* led by an overseer and a priest. 2. Local communities of at least ten
members, each headed by a priest. 3. A centralized organization of local
communities called "camps," each directed by a local overseer, while
the whole congregation was headed by "the overseer of all camps."[89]

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89   Stegemann 1990, 427, n.78, has already conjectured that the priestly leadership of the
     local communities preceded the overseers' organization, and that the organizational
     system of the 1QS 5-9 was relatively close to the original Essene phase. Although my
     reconstruction is based on reordering the different phases diachronically, it should
     be admitted that some variations may also stem not only from different times but
     also from different locations. For example, Sanders 1977, 323-325 suggested that dis-
     crepancies among the penal codes (within 1QS) may be attributed to different sub-
     groups instead of two different stages of formation, especially in view of my conclu-
     sion that these penal codes were actually applied to the local communities. How-
     ever, one cannot use Sanders' argument to suggest that the variations of *organiza-
     tional terminology* also reflect different segments of the Qumran sectarians. All the
     rules of the *yaḥad*'s organization pertain to the *rabbim*. I regard the term *rabbim* as a
     definite and defined group, pertaining to the whole congregation. Hence, only one

It is important to add that the penal code of the Damascus Document which mentions the *rabbim* several times, should probably be related to the *rabbim* phase. This penal code, which is almost identical to that found in the Community Rule, alludes to punishment by separation from the group's purity and a reduction of food (see also Chapter 2). Hence, it seems that, like the *yaḥad*, the Covenant's *rabbim*, conducted frequent ritual sessions and shared meals. However, in contrast to the *rabbim* of the *yaḥad*, the Covenant's *rabbim* did not maintain communal property ownership. This is demonstrated by the fact that the *rabbim*'s overseer was in charge of the charity tax of two days salary. The *yaḥad* and the camps of the Damascus Covenant were therefore entirely distinct groups, each constituted an independent sect or social system. Although they shared some general religious ideas, social presuppositions, as well as certain rituals (see also Chapters 2 and 8), they practiced them in extremely different ways.

The *yaḥad*'s communal way of life and its cohesive structure may correspond to the communal facilities of dinning rooms, ritual baths, cemetery and perhaps also manufacturing facilities in kh. Qumran (which cannot be attributed to the Damascus Covenant that did not practice common property ownership). The site may have served as the gathering site of the *yaḥad*'s assembly, and the site of the Councils which may have lived separately.[90] However, recent studies demonstrate that the Community Rule from Cave 1 was copied several decades before kh. Qumran was inhabited. Hence it is not certain that the site was the center of the *yaḥad*, since some variations and social developments may have occurred. Kh. Qumran may have been the site of a subsequent group that developed out of the *yaḥad*.[91] It is also quite possible that kh. Qumran was the site of one of several *yaḥad* groups. What

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body of *rabbim* could have existed in any given period. Cf. Metso 1999b, 311-314. Therefore, I also do not agree with Schiffman (1993, 23), who claimed that in the case of the Damascus Covenant two different organizational *systems* coexisted within the same group: the *rabbim* and the camps.

90 Cf. de Vaux 1973, 11, 26.

91 For the findings, see the survey of Magness 2002. For re-dating the beginnings of the occupation, see *ibid.*, 63-66. Note that there were no living quarters in kh. Qumran, and this corresponds with the possibility that the site of the *rabbim*'s assembly was fully inhabited for very short periods, and the members did not live there permanently. I hope to address this problem in a separate study. Note, however, the interesting remark of Collins (2003, 103): "Communal property does not necessarily require cenobitic life. Members might have the use of common property for their daily affairs, but maintain separate dwelling places." The shared meals, nights devoted to studying the Torah and blessings, require that they live in close proximity, but not necessarily under the same roof. Indeed, nowhere does the Community Rule refer to a specific type of members' dwellings.

I am suggesting is that, rather than a single monolithic congregation, numerous and entirely independent *yaḥad* communities existed concurrently in a structure that recalls the Hutterite colonies discussed in Chapter 8.

The analysis of the organization patterns also allows us to propose a new tentative reconstruction of the relationship between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. The term *rabbim* is much more prevalent in the Community Rule than in the Damascus Document, and probably originated with the *yaḥad*. The Covenant seems to borrow it from its forefathers. This possibility gains support from my conclusion that the Covenant's *rabbim* phase preceded the more complex camps phase, hence the Covenant emerged as a different type of *rabbim* and developed into a group which probably did not use this term.

The penal code of the Damascus Document, in which the *rabbim* appear, alludes to separation from purity, food reduction, and especially the assembly of the *rabbim*, all of which are characteristic to the *yaḥad* but are not mentioned elsewhere in the Damascus Document. It is therefore quite probable that the penal code was adopted from the *yaḥad*. CD 20 mentions the *yaḥid* or the *yaḥad* as the group of the Teacher of Righteousness or those who follow his teachings. Thus, it seems that the Damascus Document alludes here to the *yaḥad* as an earlier group. All these point to the conclusion that the *yaḥad* preceded the Covenant. In summary, the Covenant may have been dependent on some of the ideological foundations of the *yaḥad*, but developed into an entirely independent sect.

Part II

Related Movements:
1 Enoch, Jubilees and the Essenes

Chapter 5

1 Enoch and the Origins of Sectarian Tension

1 Introduction

This chapter, together with Chapter 6 (on Jubilees) and Chapter 7 (on the Essenes), explore texts that were not composed by the Qumran sects or movements that are usually identified with the Qumranites. In these three chapters, I examine the religious and social ideology of the groups represented in 1 Enoch and Jubilees and the descriptions of the Essenes by Philo and Josephus, and compare them to the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, in light of the insights arising from the discussions in previous chapters concerning introversionist sectarianism in general, and the Qumran sects in particular.

Chapters 5 and 6 demonstrate that 1 Enoch and Jubilees do not subscribe to a sectarian worldview in the strict sense of the term, but nonetheless contribute to a deeper understanding of the background from which the Qumranic sects, and sectarian ideology in general, evolved. The discussion of the Essenes in Chapter 7 highlights the differences between the Essenes on the one hand, and the *yaḥad* and Damascus Document, on the other hand, despite their shared characteristics of introversionist sectarianism, and suggests that the Essenes developed from these Qumran sects.

This discussion also traces, in detail, the ideological origins of the Qumran sects in 1 Enoch and Jubilees.[1] Nonetheless, in devoting separate chapters to 1 Enoch, Jubilees and the Essenes, I wish to stress the differences between Jubilees and Enoch one the one hand, and the Essenes on the other hand, and to challenge prevailing theories which either identify the Essenes with the Qumranites or view them as the "parent movement" of the Qumran sects.

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[1] The pre-supposition that these texts represent different groups or movements is shared by most scholars today, and was recently reaffirmed by Collins 1999. Collins also defines the distinctions between the different elect groups who held eschatological expectations and used Pseudenyms, and the Qumran sects, which did not used Pseudonyms. He concludes: "we should postulate a multiplicity of groups in the early second century BCE, groups that were probably quite small and loosely structured" (*ibid.*, 55).

Recently, scholars have directed greater attention to the relationship between 1 Enoch, Jubilees and the Qumran movement, based on an increasingly popular belief that it is possible to trace Qumran origins to these texts. Florentino García-Martínez introduced the so-called Groningen hypothesis which views the Qumran group as a split within the Essene parent movement, or "a Palestinian apocalyptic tradition," implying that apocalyptic writings such as 1 Enoch and Jubilees can be labeled as Essene.[2] Gabriel Boccaccini similarly regards the Enochic literature as the Essene origins of the Qumran movement.[3] These issues are now the main concern of the Enoch Seminar.[4]

This chapter, as well as the following chapter on Jubilees, builds on these theories as well as on the extensive body of research on 1 Enoch and Jubilees (especially the contributions by James VanderKam and George Nickelsburg). Nonetheless, my discussion focuses on the ideological components of sectarian worldview and the comparison of 1 Enoch and Jubilees, on one hand, to the Qumran sects and the Essenes, on the other, suggesting a system of correlations and links which is more complex than those proposed by previous scholars.

1 Enoch is also known as the Ethiopic book of Enoch and is one of the most interesting books of the so-called Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. It is a collection of several documents: the Book of Watchers (chapters 1-36), the Astronomical Book (72-82), the Dream Visions (83-90), and the Epistle of Enoch (91-105). The oldest copies of the Book of Enoch were discovered at Qumran in eleven different manuscripts in their original Aramaic, a fact that indicates the interest of the Qumranites in these writings.[5] The fragments of the Astronomical Book discovered in Qumran are the earliest of these texts, dated on paleographical grounds to the beginning of the 2nd or the end of the 3rd cen-

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2   García Martínez and van der Woude 1990; García Martínez and Trebolle Barrera 1995, 77-97.

3   Boccaccini 1998. A similar approach is implied by Beckwith 1981; Davies 1987, 107-134; Collins 1997. Although Boccaccini's study is thought-provoking and influential, I think that it is not sufficient to approach the question of Qumran origins exclusively from the perspective of shared religious ideas. It is necessary to study the social stance of each document or group, as well as the group's governing practices and rules. For similar approach, see A. Baumgarten 2005.

4   Boccaccini 2005, with discussions on 1 Enoch, Jubilees, the Groningen hypothesis and Boccaccini's Enoch-Essene hypothesis. Other than A. Baumgarten, none of the many contributors distinguishes between the Qumran sects and the Essenes. For a survey of scholarship on the origins of the Qumran movement, see Introduction.

5   For the Aramaic fragments, see Milik 1976. Unattested in Qumran, and probably of later provenance is the Similitudes of Enoch (1 En 37-71). The Book of Giants is another Enochic document found in Qumran associated with the Enochic corpus that was not preserved in 1 Enoch. See Milik 1976; Nickelsburg 2001, 7-11.

tury BCE, and therefore composed in the 3rd century if not earlier. The Book of Watchers may have also been written in the third century, while the Visions and the Epistle are usually dated to the mid-second century BCE.[6]

Although each of the documents in 1 Enoch is an independent composition, they appear to be part of a successive tradition which was later edited into a single unit, and are therefore discussed here together. Indeed, a thematic connection is obvious between the Book of Watchers, the Astronomical Book, the Animal Apocalypse, the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Epistle of Enoch. They address similar topics, including heavenly revelations, cosmology, dualism, and especially God's coming judgment of the wicked angles and corrupted humans, and its eschatological consequences for the righteous ones, and, of course, all use Enoch as a pseudonym.[7]

Below, I trace the cosmic and social tension and other major themes related to the sectarian worldview in general and the Qumranic ideology in particular, in the Enochic documents. Such an analysis clarifies that the ideologies of the Enochic movements, particularly the social groups that are represented in the Apocalypses of Animals and Weeks, were the precursors of a sectarian worldview that was subsequently adopted and developed by the Qumran sects.

2   The Angels' Blame

A dominant theme in 1 Enoch is cosmic tension between just and evil, which is a central sectarian idea that is typical of the Qumran sects (see Chapter 1). 1 Enoch explains the origins and presence of evil on earth by portraying the human propensity to sin and commit evil as the result of a primordial heavenly revolt.[8] The Book of Watchers (Aramaic 'irin) builds on Gen 6:1-4, and expands it into several angelic myths. The angel Sheminihaza and his associates, the Watchers, breached the divinely-ordained boundary between flesh and spirit by taking human wives, with whom they performed sexual intercourse. The Watchers taught their human partners charms and spells, and showed them how to cut roots and trees. The women became pregnant and gave birth to large giants. The Watchers' rebellious nature was inherited by their

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6   For the paleographic dates of Astronomical Book and the Book of Watchers, see
      Milik 1976, 5, 7, 22, 273. As for their dates of composition, I have followed Stone
      1978. Milik 1976, 24-28; Sacchi 1997, 61-62, claim for earlier dates. For the Visions and
      the Epistle, see below.
7   For the ideological unity of 1 Enoch, see Nickelsburg 1991. See also 1 En 1.2-7; 5.4-9.
8   For a detailed discussion, see Hanson 1977; Davidson 1992, 31-129.

giant offspring, who committed acts of violence and fornication that aroused complaints of the earth (1 En 6-7; 9:8-9; 15:3-10). After their death, the ghosts of the dead giants formed a world of demons who continue to plague humanity, leading them to sin and afflicting them with illness (15:8-16:1).

In another passage, the angel 'Asa'el and the Watchers transgressed the boundary between heaven and earth, revealed heavenly secrets that allowed humans to fabricate weapons for bloodshed, and produce cosmetics and jewelry for sexual seduction (1 En 8:1; 9:6; 10:4-8). When 'Asa'el promulgated his teachings on earth, "the world was changed" (8:2), possibly alluding to the major cultural change in the authors' world, during the Hellenistic period.[9] Chapters 12-16 describe the Watchers as priests who abandoned their station in the heavenly Temple and defiled themselves through intercourse with women, implying a critique against the priesthood and the cult.[10] The ghosts of the dead giants inhabit a world of demons who continue to plague humanity, leading them to sin and afflicting them with illness (15:8-16:1).

The apocalyptic symbolism of the myth of the Watchers reflects some type of perceived crisis of violence and lawlessness, symbolized by the earth's pollution. It is reasonable to conclude that such mythic symbolism serves to relieve anxiety, although the concrete situation of the historical author is concealed.[11] The fallen angels induced culture shock in the pre-diluvian generation, echoing the cultural shock in Israel during the Hellenistic period that gave rise to the composition of the apocalyptic visions ascribed to Enoch.[12] The Watchers may allude to the Diadoci (the Hellenistic princes who inherited Alexander the Great, 323-302 BCE) or the Jerusalem priesthood. In any event, the myth is not restricted to a specific historical situation but rather serves as a paradigm of evil.[13]

The Astronomical Book is "the book of the revolutions of the lights of heaven" according to their classes, times, names, places of origin and months, as revealed to Enoch by the angel Uriel (72:1). This composition addresses the order of the universe, focusing on the 364-day solar

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9   For this latter point, see Collins 1998, 51. Collins probably has in mind the Hellenistic conquest of the East.

10   Nickelsburg 2001, 47-56.

11   Collins 1998, 51-52. On the effect of symbolism, see the studies cited *ibid.*, nn. 26-27. Collins *ibid.*, 56 believed that the judgment of the Watchers is paradigmatic for human sinners.

12   Collins 1998, 51, 59.

13   Collins 1998, 51. For the Hellenistic background of the Shemihazah myth, see Nickelsburg 2001, 169-171.

calendar, and the human and angelic transgressions of this calendar as one of the causes of evil in the world.[14] The Astronomical Book emphasizes the four intercalary days, refuting not the 354-day luni-solar ("rabbinic") calendar, but a 360-day solar calendar.[15] It also deals with predestination angelology and eschatology, themes that are common in the Book of Watchers as well as the rest of 1 Enoch.[16]

Relief from the heavenly evil lies in the divine realm. The angels Sariel, Raphael, Gabriel and Michael bind 'Asa`el, destroy the giants, arrest Sheminihaza and instruct Noah to hide from the deluge, and finally destroy the rebel Watchers and their violent progeny (1 En 10). Additional references to righteous angels are found elsewhere in 1 Enoch.[17] Another aspect of salvation is the eschatological resurrection of the righteous dead and a reward of afterlife, while sinners are relegated to eternal torment (1 En 25; cf. 102:4-103:8).

The ultimate means of deliverance in 1 Enoch is an appreciation of esoteric divine wisdom: the knowledge that a universal world order exists, after all, and the belief in an eschatological day of judgment for both angels and humans.[18] In his visionary ascent to heaven, Enoch sees the high throne and thousands of Holy Ones stand before "He who is great in glory," and is nominated to mediate between the humans and the angels (14:9-16:4). In his heavenly tour (1 En 17-19), Encoh is shown the secrets of the universe: the prison of the stars of heaven and the host of heaven (18:14), the prison of the angels (21:10), or the spirits of the souls of the dead (1 En 22) where they are stored until the great judgment day, the fragrant tree that will be given to the righteous when God comes down to ultimately visit the earth, and Gehenna (1 En 25-27).

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14   1 En 80:2-8 (see also 100:10-101:9); Beckwith 1981; Davidson 1992, 89-91. The theme of transgressing angels is found elsewhere in 1 Enoch. In the Animal Apocalypse, the sheep (which symbolize Israel) are handed to the care of seventy shepherds, which symbolize the angels in charge of the nation, and destroy more sheep than the Lord of sheep commanded (89:65, 69, 76). Traces of the myth of the fallen Watchers and the birth of the giants, as well as their eschatological judgment, also appear in the Animal Apocalypse and the Epistle of Enoch (1 En 88; 90:20-27; 91:15; 106:13-17).

15   VanderKam 1983, 164; Sacchi 1997, 128-139. On the debate regarding the antiquity of the 364-day calendar and the view that it is a ("sectarian") innovation, see Beckwith 1981; Regev 2005b, 169-177 and bibliography.

16   For the conceptual connection with the Book of Watchers, see Beckwith 1981; Collins 1998, 61-62. Cf. Davidson 1992, 79-95.

17   Such as the "first seven white men" who punish the seventy shepherds in the Animal Apocalypse (90:21-22), and the angles who imprison the sinners and protect the righteous (100:4-5).

18   1 En 18:16; 19:1; 22:4, 11; 25:4; 27:3.

3 Social Conflicts and Group Formation: Blind Sheep and Just Lambs

The responsibility for sin and evil does not lie solely with the rebelling angels, but also with human beings who violate God's law.[19] Three documents within the Enochic corpus – the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Animal Apocalypse, and the Epistle of Enoch – focus on social tension between humans, and reveal several ideological and historical characteristics of the Enochic group(s). As already shown in Chapter 1, social tension is a major sectarian characteristic.

The Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En 91-93)[20] divides history from creation to the eschaton into ten "weeks," each classified as a week of justice or evil. The fourth week alludes to the covenant in Sinai, and the fifth to the First Temple period. In the sixth week, "all who live in it will become blind, and the hearts of all will astray from wisdom", the Temple will be burnt and the chosen people will disperse. In the seventh, "there will arise a perverse generation, and many will be it deeds ... And at its conclusion, the chosen will be chosen, as witnesses of righteousness from the eternal plant of righteousness, to whom will be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge" (93:8-10).[21]

At this point, when the text alludes to events in the future tense, it appears to represent a transition from accounts of the past and present, to a description of the eschatological age.[22] "They (that is, the chosen, witnesses of righteousness from the eternal plant, or the wise) will uproot the foundations of violence, and the structure of deceit in it, to execute judgment" (91:11). After this, "there arises an eighth week of righteousness, in which a sword will be given to the righteous, to execute righteous judgment on all the wicked, and they will be delivered to their hands. And at its conclusion they will acquire possessions in righteousness and the Temple of the Kingdom of the Great One will be built in the greatness of its glory for all generations of eternity." After

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19   E.g., 1 En 1:10; 5:4-9.

20   Its correct sequence is probably: 91:1-10, 18-19; 92:1-93:10; 91:11-17; 93:11-14. See Milik 1976, 263-272 (following the Aramaic fragments); Nickelsburg 2001, 414-415 and bibliography.

21   The Ethiopic version is confirmed by the Aramaic fragment (Milik 1976, 265): "there shall be chosen the elect, for witnesses to righteousness, from the eternal plant of righteousness, [to whom] shall be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge". Nickelsburg 2001, 448 interpreted the wisdom and knowledge in the Epistle of Enoch as "a particular understanding of the divine law, other esoteric information about the cosmos, and the eschatological message of the coming judgment."

22   VanderKam 1984, 147, 149.

this, "there will arise a ninth week in which righteous law will be revealed to all the sons of the whole earth, and all the deeds of wickedness will vanish from the whole earth and descent to the eternal pit, and all humankind will look to the path of eternal righteousness." In the final tenth week, there will be an eternal judgment, execution of the Watchers, a creation of a new heaven, and an eternal age of piety and righteousness devoid of all sin (91:12-17).

The author's empathy is given to the "chosen, as witnesses of righteousness from the eternal plant of righteousness," who "possess wisdom and knowledge." He envisions the execution of a universal eschatological law of righteousness in the ninth week, and expresses opposition to the "perverse generation," probably associated with the violence, deceit and wickedness in the eighth week. The author also regarded the Israelite First Temple period as "blind.' The First Temple and the eschatological Temple are of a great importance to the author, but no mentioned is made of the Second Temple, possibly due to his criticism of the cult (expressed more explicitly in the Animal Apocalypse).[23]

The conflict in the seventh week, which refers to distinct circles in Judaism, ends with the defeat of the "perverse generation," the Jewish opponents of the author. The subsequent military struggle during the eighth week, in which the righteous execute "judgment on *all* the wicked," probably pertains to a war with the gentiles, and in any case, the ninth week brings bliss to all the sons of earth.

Although the social tension between the chosen righteous and their Jewish and non-Jewish enemies is extremely high, the chosen righteous do not regard themselves as separate from the rest of Israel.[24] All commentators have attributed this conflict to the tremulous period between 175-161 BCE, the age of the Jewish Hellenizers, the religious decrees of Antiochus IV, and the Maccabean wars. However, although the hatred against both fellow Jews and gentiles, and especially the affinities with the more detailed Animal Apocalypse (discussed below), may support such interpretations, I maintain that the concise and intentionally obscure form of the apocalypse contains no such hints.[25]

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23 Nickelsburg 2001, 447 emphasized the critical approach to the restoration period and the Second Temple.

24 Boccaccini 1998, 108.

25 For the state of scholarship, see VanderKam 1984, 145-149, and bibliography. Some identified the sword of the eighth week with the Maccabean uprising. VanderKam believes that it is part of the eschatological description and dates the apocalypse to the period before the decrees of Antiochus IV (167 BCE), identifying the "perverse generation" with the Hellenizing segment of the population.

In contrast to the view of some scholars, the author is not an advo-
cate of the Maccabees or traditional conservative Judaism which re-
sisted the Hellenistic reform. This is evident from the latent religious
tension between the emerging "eternal plant of righteousness" and the
old regime (probably the high priesthood which the Maccabees aimed
to represent). The "plant" is introduced as a new movement of special
wisdom and knowledge that emerged as a reaction to the misdeeds of
the "perverse generation." The elect righteous cannot be identified with
the Maccabees since it presents a reaction and a call for a religious re-
form of all Israel and eventually, all humankind. Consequently, even if
the initial foes of the "plant" were the Hellenized Jews, the "plant"
challenged mainstream Judaism. The context of the apocalypse within
the framework of the Epistle of Enoch, which discusses wisdom and
religious agenda, also support this conclusion (see below).

The Animal Apocalypse (1 En 85-90) is an allegorical dream in
which animals symbolize figures or ethnic groups in biblical history,
from creation to eschaton. In the course of this vision (beginning in
89:59), seventy shepherds (the angelic patrons of the nations) are ap-
pointed by God to watch over the sheep (the people of Israel) and de-
stroy some of them. They, however, kill many more sheep than author-
ized. The shepherds' reign is divided into four periods that roughly
correspond to the Babylonian, Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid periods.
The First Temple is portrayed as a high tower, upon which the Lord of
sheep (God) stood, and the lambs spread a full table before him
(89:50).[26] In contrast, the restoration of the Second Temple ("tower") is
portrayed in a critical light, described as a site where the bread (sacri-
fices) served on the table (altar) of the tower "was polluted and not
pure" (89:73b). This appears to allude to a certain halakhic controversy
between the author and traditional priestly circles of the Second Tem-
ple period, not unlike the Qumran sects and Jubilees.

Immediately following the reference to the impurity of the Second
Temple, the author mentions that the sheep became blind (1 En 89:74).
Blindness is a symbol (or rather, the cause) of straying from God's

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26 The tower serves as a seismograph of piety also in relation to transgressions of the
    monarchic period (1 En 89:54). For the distinction between the house that symbolizes
    Jerusalem and the tower as symbolizing the Temple, see Dimant 1982. Viewing Jeru-
    salem as "the house" is related to conceptions characteristic to the New Jerusalem
    scroll (1Q32, 4Q544-555, 5Q15, 11Q18), the Temple Scroll and MMT. See Dimant
    1982; Tiller 1993, 40-51.

path.[27] The focus on the bread served on the table (instead of a rather more general description of disobedience that could also refer to moral transgressions) suggests that the debate concerns halakhic or cultic issues. Since the calendar is the only halakhic or cultic issue that appears explicitly in 1 Enoch, this matter quite likely is related to the author's critique.

At the beginning of the forth (Seleucid) period, "lambs were born of those white sheep and they began to open their eyes and see, and to cry out to the sheep. But they did not listen to them nor attend to their words, but they were extremely deaf, and their eyes were extremely and excessively blinded" (90:6-7). These seeing young lambs are similar to the chosen righteous who emerge in the Apocalypse of Weeks. They both correspond to the sociological definition of a reform movement as a group that "recognizes the evil but assumes that it may be dealt with according to supernaturally-given insights about the way in which social organization should be amended," that is, they wish to change the world through persuasion from within instead of deserting it.[28]

In this period (1 En 90:8-18), both the lambs and the sheep are stricken by the ravens (the Seleucids). One of the lambs is caught and the sheep are devoured, but the lambs strike back. Then "a great horn sprouted on one of those sheep (that is, it became a ram), and it looked on them, and their eyes were opened, and it cried out to the (other) sheep, and the rams[29] saw it, and then they all ran to it" (90:9b-10). Battles ensued between various birds (gentiles) and the sheep, rams and the sheep/ram with the great horn. At this point, when the age of the seventy shepherds ends, a man (angel) and the Lord of sheep interfere and save this leading ram by striking all the birds.

The clash of the sheep and the Seleucid "birds" inspired many scholars to seek hints of historical events in these verses. Most scholars identified allusions to the Maccabean revolt, identifying the "ram" with Judas Maccabaeus. Milik even followed an older view that vss. 13-15

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27 1 En 89:32-33, 44, 54. Opening the eyes symbolizes various kinds of revelations (89:28, 44). For blindness as a symbol of an absence of religious or moral knowledge, see Nickelsburg 2001, 380-381.

28 Wilson 1973, 25, defining the reformist response to the world. Wilson overstated the role of divine revelation or inspiration (the Pharisees were a reformist group but did not argue for such revelations), but in the case of Enoch, in which angelic revelation is the governing paradigm, he is correct. Cf. also the discussion of the "young ones" in Jubilees 23 in Chapter 6. The Enoch movement, however, had a strong revolutionist (millennial) fervor.

29 For the issue of whether the rams are the lambs or other sheep, see Tiller 1993, 355-356.

refer to the battle of Beit-Zur (164 BCE).[30] Menahem Kister argued against this interpretation on several grounds. The text lacks any reference to the Jewish Hellenizers, cooperating with the Seleucids, or to internal clash within Israel. The lambs were blind for a very long period, and their blindness cannot be connected to a recent development such as the Hellenistic reform and the opposition to this reform by conservative Jews. The ram cannot represent Judas Maccabaeus, since he opens the eyes of the lambs who suffer from extended theological blindness, and is therefore a religious rather than military leader. The lambs cannot be identified with the Hasidim or the Maccabees' supporters, since, unlike the Hasidim and the Maccabees, the author, who sympathizes with the lambs criticized the Temple cult. Finally, Kister claims, the passage does not refer to a genuine historical battle or victory because the battles in 1 En 90:14-15, 18-19 are clearly eschatological, since they correspond to the eighth week in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En 91:12), which is undoubtedly eschatological.[31]

Kister's conclusion, that the ram is a religious leader, is supported by the fact that the text contrasts the lambs that opened their eyes, to deaf and blind sheep, expressing criticism of contemporary Jewish society. However, in contrast to Maccabeean attitude toward the Jewish Hellenizers, the members of this society are not portrayed as wicked. Moreover, the reference to a "man" (an angel) who "showed it (namely, the ram) everything" (90:14b) indicates that the ram experienced a heavenly revelation and therefore can hardly be identified with Judas.

I accept Kister's arguments and believe that a deeper investigation of this passage may reveal more information on the group represented by the lambs and the ram. If we follow the text without amending it, the ram was not a member of the lambs but came from outside. This

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30 For the ram as Judas, see: Collins 1998, 69; Tiller 1993, 62-63, 78, 355-357. For the battle of Beit Zur, see Milik 1976, 44 (commenting on 90:13-15, which are probably a result of a later insertion, see Tiller 1993, 63-79). For efforts to discover additional historical hints, see Goldstein 1976, 41-42 n. 12; Tiller 1993, 357. For the eschatological character of the "historical" implications in 1 En 90:13-18, see Tiller 1993, 72-73. Another historical hint that was noted by many commentators is the identification of "one of these lambs" that was killed (90:8) with the death of the high priest Onias III. See Collins 1998, 69 and bibliography; Tiller 1993, 354-355. Note, however, that the victim is not a sheep but a lamb (a member of the reform movement), and that the author does not sympathize with the Second Temple nor probably with the high priesthood (Cf. Tiller's treatment of these difficulties).

31 Kister 1986, 2-5. Kister associates these two passages also because the elect are given a sword in both. Nickelsburg (2001, 400) recently argued that the allusions to the Maccabean revolt are later insertions, although he did not support this with sufficient philological or literary argumentations

recalls CD 1:9-12, which refers to the blind-guilty-groping group that was enlightened by the Teacher of Righteousness.[32] The parallelism is, however, limited, since the rams in the apocalypse (the group with which the authors sympathizes) are not blind. The lambs' eyes were opened before the appearance of the leading ram with the great horn. This leading ram opened the eyes of the remaining blind sheep which also accepted his leadership (90:9b-10).

Thus, unlike the Teacher of Righteousness, the leading ram not only headed an established movement, but also became the leader of many other Jews, and acted against the gentiles. Unlike Judas Macca-baeus, he was not a military leader: he was a religious leader who ex-perienced a heavenly revelation and led a religious reform. I therefore believe that the leading ram does not represent either Judas or the Teacher. It is most probable that either the ram itself or its success is eschatological,[33] and the envisioned effects on the remainder of Jewish society and the conclusive victory on the gentiles are merely utopian aspirations rather than accounts of historical events.

Hence, "the lambs that are not blind" was a group that faced Seleu-cid oppressions, and may have rallied around a leading figure in the author's time or perhaps only anticipated such a religious leader. The only logical conclusion is that the allegory describes a reform move-ment that was in a state of tension in relation to, but did not withdraw from, broader Jewish society; this group possessed a certain wisdom regarding past and present sins or religious ignorance, and was in-spired by intense eschatological expectations.

Indeed, these hopes are further elaborated in 1 En 90:19-42, in the most detailed ancient description of the Messianic age.[34] After the ram and the sheep defeated the birds with the help of the man (representing an angel) and God, a sword is given to the sheep. The Watchers and the seventy shepherds are annihilated, and the blind sheep (apostate Jews)

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32 Noted by Kister 1986, 9-11. Kister's portrayal of the lambs as similar to the Qumran sectarians or the Essenes implies the identification of the ram with the Teacher, al-though Kister did not explicitly point to this possibility. Dimant 1984, 544-545 pro-posed to identify the lambs with "plant root" of the so-called Qumran. This possibil-ity was rejected by Collins 1999, 44-48.

33 This stands in contrast to the common view that the eschatological prediction begins in 1 En 90:17 (see also VanderKam 1984, 162). In eschatological descriptions, the ac-tual present is typically described in much detail, while the future is abbreviated (e.g., Daniel 11:1-39/40-45). However, in the present case, this criterion for tracing the transition from reality to the eschatological age would not apply since the eschaton in 1 En 90:18-42 is highly elaborate in any case.

34 For the symbolism in these verses and comparison to other messianic scenarios, see Tiller 1993, 19-20, 365-392.

are judged and thrown into the valley of fire. The old house (Jerusalem) is replaced with a new, higher one, and all the animal and birds now bow down to the sheep. All the animals, whose eyes were now opened, gather in the house. A new white bull with great horns (representing the messiah) is born and instills fear in all animals. All animals are then transformed into white bulls, just like Adam and the early patriarchs, implying a new creation (which is explicit in Jubilees), and God comes down and live among the animals. In a sociological functional sense, these messianic hopes may have served as a religious compensation for the distress of the minority group (of lambs), and they were employed to reinforce the minority's ideology of religious reform and its experience of existence in a hostile environment.

The **Epistle of Enoch** (1 En 92-105[35]), in which the Apocalypse of Weeks is also embedded, elaborates on an additional facet of this hostile environment, namely the socio-economic tension between the rich and the poor, and between the powerful and the weak. Enoch calls his sons to love righteousness and walk in its path, although "certain men in a generation" will follow the path of violence (e.g., 94:1-4). The author speaks against evil sinners and the rich, and foresees their judgment and destruction (91:5-11; 95:3), promising a reward at the end of days (e.g., 104:1-2) to the righteous and wise, who will eventually defeat the sinners.[36]

Beyond these general recurring themes, the text also contains references to more specific debates on religious law and authority. The author claims that the "true words and eternal covenant" are being violated by the erring and sinning opponents (99:2), and promises that "blessed will be all who listen to the words of the wise and learn to do the commandment of the most high" (99:10). In 1 En 104:10-13, Enoch reveals "mysteries" to his audience. The sinners alter the words of truth, invert great fabrications and write books in their own names, while Enoch's own books are given to the righteous, pious and wise, in which they will believe and rejoice, and learn from them the path of truth. Here the author may be making reference to some kind of ten-

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35   The original extent of the Epistle is debated. I have followed the more common view in which chapters 92-105 constitute a single literary unit. The Aramaic fragments contain chapter 104. See Nickelsburg 2001, 2, 336-337, 426. Nickelsburg recognized that the Epistle contains older traditions, especially the Apocalypse of Weeks. Boccaccini 1998, 110-112, 131-138 argued that 1 Enoch 94:6-104:6 is a later interpolation. Knibb 2005 argues for the Epistle as coherent literary unity. For a discussion of the oppositions between the righteous and sinners, the poor and the affluent, and the theme of the judgment day in the Epistle, see Boccaccini 1998, 94-103.

36   1 En 95:3; 96:1; 98:12. This idea is presented in the Apocalypse of Weeks as imminent (91:12). For a survey of social tension in the Epistle, see Nickelsburg 2001, 426-427.

dentious rewriting of the Torah – similar to the Temple Scroll and Jubi-
lees – in which the sinners attribute to God their own interpretation of
the Torah, which contradicts the author's interpretation and therefore is
considered falsehood.[37]

The author wishes to convince others of his truth. He is confident
that the wise will acknowledge his truth and that all sons of earth will
eventually "contemplate these words of the epistle."[38] The author even
appeals directly to the sinners,[39] indicating, according to Nickelsburg, a
certain openness to outsiders.[40] Nickelsburg concludes that the author
of the Epistle "speaks for a group of Jews who make exclusive claims
for their interpretation of the Torah and who perceive as revealed wis-
dom the belief that the imminent judgment will separate them from
those whose interpretation of the Law differs from theirs, as well as
from the violent rich who oppress them. These exclusive claims not-
withstanding, this is not a closed group who simply gather to comfort
one another and to hurl curses on their enemies and opponents. The
wise speak where they can be heard, and they testify to the truth in the
hope that their message will be heeded and met with repentance."[41]
This interpretation of the text lends further support to our identification
of the group as a reform movement, rather than a sect that withdrew
from the community at large.

The Epistle of Enoch, as well as the Animal Apocalypse and the
Apocalypse of Weeks all reflect a reform movement. It is quite possible
that they all pertain to a single group or movement. It is impossible to
determine, however, how this movement was organized in terms of
social structure or public performance.

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37 Nickelsburg 1982, 342. Nickelsburg (*ibid.*, 343), associated Enoch's books with the
    wisdom that will be given to the elected in the seventh week in the Apocalypse of
    Weeks (93:10).
38 1 En 100:6; 105:1; cf. 99:10.
39 1 En 99:10-16; 101.
40 Nickelsburg 1982, 344.
41 Nickelsburg 1982, 344-345. Dating the Epistle is very problematic. See Nickelsburg
    2001, 427-428 who maintained an early Hasmonean date. However, if its author is
    the same author who composed the Apocalypse of Weeks, it may be dated to the
    Maccabean period (before the rise of the Hasmonean state).

4 The Heritage of Dualism: The Enochic Worldview and Qumranic Origins

The documents in 1 Enoch and the writings of the Qumran sectarians share many common ideas and traditions: cosmic dualism, righteous and evil angels, 364-day solar calendar, criticism towards the Temple cult, moral impurity, revelation, eschatology and the holy war against the gentiles. Still, considerable differences are reflected in almost every aspect of these general themes. Listing these similarities and differences may illuminate the ideological and social relationship between the movements reflected in 1 Enoch and the Qumran sects.

According to 1 Enoch's general worldview, humanity exists at the intersection of three kinds of dualism – temporal, spatial and cosmological. The present age is evil and awaits the time of adjudication, deliverance, and renewal. This world is the scene of sin, violence, victimization, and pollution, and is separated from the heavenly and cosmic spheres, where God's will is done. Humanity is the victim of evil spirits who oppose God and are contrasted with the holy ones in God's heavenly entourage.[42] The Enochic writings, specifically the Book of Watchers, may have served as the source of inspiration for the stark cosmic and moral dualism in the Instruction of the Two Spirits, the Damascus Document and the Hodayot, but the two systems are not identical. The Instruction of the Two Spirits expands this cosmic dualism by adding another significant factor of conflict and tension – psychological dualism, namely, the struggle of righteousness and evil in every human being.

The concept of angels as the origin or manifestation of evil, and as a symbol of cosmic dualism, and the struggle between wicked and righteous angels appears in 1 Enoch as well as in the Instruction of the Two Spirits, the War Rule and the Hodayot,[43] and the participation of the angles the eschatological battle is common to 1 Enoch and the War Rule. Nonetheless, there are differences in details: Blial, the archangel of the Damascus Document and the Community Rule, is not mentioned in 1 Enoch, and many of the Enochic angels are not mentioned in the Qumranic documents (other than the War Rule); in 1 Enoch, the Watchers rebelled against God, whereas in the Instruction of the Two Spirits, Belial was nominated by God; the relationship between God and the good angels is closer in the Instruction of the Two Spirits than in Enoch; whereas the figure of Enoch represents an extraordinary per-

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42   Nickelsburg 1991, 60.
43   Cf. the reference to the fallen Watchers in CD 2:17-18.

son who was selected from all humans and ascended to heaven, all *yaḥad* members referred to themselves as consorting with angels or even as having equal status of angels (see Chapter 11); in contrast to 1 Enoch, angels in Qumran do not serve as mediators of divine revelations.[44] These discrepancies suggest that the Enochic angelology was modified in Qumran.

Criticism towards the Temple cult and the high priesthood, which is one of the features of the Qumran sects, is also implied in the Animal Apocalypse (1 En 89:73). The Apocalypse generally views the generations after the Second Temple restoration as non-obedient (the blind sheep motif), which is consistent with CD 1-5.[45] Further hints for such condemnation may be traced in the Book of Watchers, which claims that the real Temple is in the heavenly palace (1 En 12-16) and the purification and purgation is designated to take place by Michael, not by Aaronite priests.[46] Nonetheless it is difficult to support the view of the Enochic stance as "a harsh indictment against the temple cult and its expository tradition, an indictment originating within the sectarian perspective of a highly developed apocalyptic eschatology."[47] The cri-

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44 Davidson 1992, 288-322. 1 Enoch (especially the Book of Watchers and the Epistle) has much in common with pre-Qumranic wisdom texts such as 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction. See Knibb 2003 and bibliography. For the correlations between these texts and the Qumranic characteristics in the Community Rule and the Damascus Document, see Hempel 2002. The ideology of these wisdom texts and their sectarian markers deserve a separate investigation.

45 See Collins 1998, 76-77. It seems more than mere coincidence that the author of the Apocalypse of Weeks fails to mention the Second Temple in 1 En 93:9. This may be an expression of resentment to the manner in which the Temple cult is performed.

46 1 En 10:20-22; Nickelsburg 2001, 54. Nickelsburg also argued that the most holy place on earth in Enoch's ascent is not Mount Zion, but (around) Mount Hermon (1 En 13:7-10). However, there are also allusions to Jerusalem as a holy mountain (26:1-2; cf. 25:3-5) and to the eternal Temple (91:12-13). Suter 1979 argued that the myth of Semihaza's sexual impurities in 1 En 6-11 serves as a polemic against priestly violations of laws of marriage and purity. See, however, the objections of Davidson (1992, 44), who argued that the focal point is the restoration of earth and humanity. Nickelsburg (2001, 230-232) claimed that the angelic priests' forsaking of the heavenly sanctuary (1 En 12-16) reflects a belief that the Jerusalem priests violated laws of sexual purity. Collins (1998, 54) viewed Enoch's entry into the inner sanctum (14:9-25) and his angelic role (15:2-3) as implying that he assumed a role filled by a priest or angel because the official cult was dysfunctional, hence the mystical ascent offers an alternative means of access to the divine throne (Collins has in mind the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices, discussed in Chapter 11).

47 Hanson 1977, 226. Himmelfrab (1993, 27) correctly recognized Enoch's criticism of the priesthood and the Temple cult alongside his deep devotion to the ideal of the Temple. Boccaccini (1998, 72-75) viewed the criticism as an expression of opposition to the hegemony of the Zadokite high-priesthood.

tique of the cult is only one part of the general scheme of reprehension of the present world-order.

Another common ideological thread in both groups of texts is the defiling power of moral sins (e.g., 1 En 91:8). Evil deeds in general are described as impure, such as the mouths speaking against God (5:4; 27:2). This motif may be also associated with the Watchers' sexual relationship with the women (9:8; 12:4; 15:4). 1 Enoch also expresses an aspiration for angelic purification of the earth from the pollution of sin (10:20), a concept which occurs frequently in Jubilees. In both texts, moral impurity is not ritually defiling and does not require immersion as in the Community Rule.

Revelation has a redemptive function in 1 Enoch. To be "given wisdom" is the first step towards salvation, since not only does it give one hope, but instructs one how to attain righteousness. Enoch, the seer who accepts revelations,[48] is the bridge between opposing worlds: present and future, earthly and cosmic, human and divine. His revelations are constitutive of the community of the chosen and righteous, who stand on the verge of the end time.[49] We have already seen a somewhat similar concept of revelation of divine mysteries and eschatological knowledge in *pesher* Habakkuk (ascribed to the Teacher of Righteousness) and the Hodayot, and it is possible that the Qumranites expanded an Enochic heritage.[50] But there is a significant difference between the two approaches. In 1 Enoch, the authors' divine experience is disguised by the attribution of the revelations to Enoch (and in Jubilees, to Moses), while the *yaḥad* emphasized the special individual mystic competence of all members. Moreover, the *yaḥad* attained "interpretative revelation" through the study of Scripture, a practice that is unattested in 1 Enoch.

1 Enoch envisions a violent judgment day, when evil angels and humans will be destroyed. Both the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Animal Apocalypse envision that sinning Jews will be destroyed by the righteous,[51] or by Gods' angels (90:26). Both apocalypses also foretell of a holy war between Jews and gentiles, in which a sword will be given to the righteous to do universal justice (90:19; 91:12). This somewhat corresponds to the Qumranic expectation of "the day of visitation." More important, the Enochic idea of a violent and terminal conflict with all the gentiles probably inspired the authors of the War Rule to

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48   1 En 1:2; 10:1-2; 12:1-2; 17:2-3; 18:14; 22:1, 3; 24:6; 32:6; 81:1, 5; 83:1; 85:1; 93:2.
49   1 En 5:8; 90:6; 93:10. Cf. 104:12-13. See Nickelsburg 1991, 61-62.
50   For such a comparison, see Nickelsburg 1986, 345-352.
51   1 En 91:11; also the Epistle in 95:3; 96:1; 98:12.

describe in great detail how the Sons of Light would wage war against the Sons of Darkness, who were synonymous with the gentiles.

Two basic ideas are common to the two apocalypses in 1 Enoch and the War Rule. First, in contrast to the human passiveness and absolute dependency on supernatural (Godly or angelic) intervention in biblical prophecies and in Daniel (e.g., 12:1), these texts emphasize the active, leading role of the just ones in the war. Second, the conflicting sides are characterized by a confusing mixture of ethnic and moral characteristics. In the Animal Apocalypse, taking revenge on the gentiles leads to the judgment of those blind sheep that seemed not to open their eyes when the horned ram appeared (1 En 90:26); in the Apocalypse of Weeks, the destruction of the (apparently Jewish) sinners, predates the defeat of wicked, probably throughout the world, and the execution of universal justice. As for the War Rule, in the first stage of the war, the Sons of Light also fight against sinning fellow Jews called "violators of the covenant" (1:2). Here the moral designations of the two conflicting sides are transformed into notions of light and darkness, and the ethnic affiliation of the righteous is still blurred.

This confusion between moral-ideological and ethic categories in all three documents may have been the result of the interweaving of the internal quarrel with other Jews (either the Jewish Hellenizers or competing pious groups) with the conflict with the "gentiles roundabout" following the Maccabean revolt, in a desire to triumph on both fronts simultaneously.[52] Of course, the detailed plan of the eschatological war and its ritualistic and liturgical aspects is the innovation of the War Rule.

The Enochic documents make no reference to several ideas that were the main concern of the Qumran sects. Enoch has no sense of conversion, or entering the covenant, as well as no concern for ritual purity or cultic, "priestly" issues.[53] 1 Enoch is remarkably silent on the Mosaic

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52 For a Maccabean dating of the earlier draft(s) of the War Rule (e.g. the original form of 1QM 1, 15-19 and several fragments from Cave 4), see the survey of different theories of its literary developments in Duhaime 1995, 83-84. For its "pre-Essene" origin in the early Maccabean period, see Stegemann 1998, 102-103; Collins 1975, 610-611 and bibliography. See also Chapter 1. However, the fact that the Enoch documents also reflect a belief in cosmic dualism indicates that this early stage should not necessarily be viewed as "non-sectarian," reflecting a pro-Maccabean ideology. Although the angels' designations do not correspond in the Animal Apocalypse and the War Rule, both texts have a similar conception of the role of just and evil angels (cf. Davidson 1991, 215-234).

53 Nickelsburg 1986, 360. Nickelsburg (ibid., 358-359) was able to trace only ideas that are indirectly related to the "priestly" world-view (improper sexual relations, heavenly ascent, scribal authority).

covenant and Torah, which are mentioned only in relatively later sections (1:4; 93:6). Instead, it focuses on heavenly-revealed wisdom, tying together soteriology and possession of the "correct" knowledge. Adherence to the correct calendar and general moral behavior are the main laws mentioned. Enoch has little concern for repentance, forgiveness of sins, and atonement, perhaps due to the stark distinction between righteous individuals and sinners (interestingly, almost all these issues are addressed by Jubilees).[54]

In fact, the religious agenda of the Enochic groups is very general and vague. Their halakhic disputes with contemporary Jews are not specified (other than the 364-day calendar), and there are no references to specific legal transgressions and social or moral misconducts. This cannot be explained by Enoch's genre of foretelling the future from a primordial perspective, since Jubilees expresses much more concrete statements using quite a similar genre. It seems to me that the authors had not yet developed a clear agenda other than the calendar. They felt that "something is wrong" and explored methods to rectify the situation. I suggest that 1 Enoch reflects a stage of searching,[55] during which the group developed general ideological guidelines and established the general outlines of its social identity. Those guidelines may have been further developed only several years later, in Jubilees.

Few sectarian markers can be identified in the social stance reflected in the Apocalypses and the Epistle.[56] The Enochic group(s) saw itself as a "plant of righteousness" and a chosen people. Nickelsburg regarded the eschatological recipient of wisdom revealed by the chosen as a "sectarian consciousness," since "the people apply exclusively to themselves a term that biblical texts apply to Israel as a whole," implying that they defined themselves as the true Israel. He believes that "the black and white distinctions between truth and perversion, and the paths of truth and the path destruction...suggest an exclusivist mentality".[57] These characteristics are compatible with Stark and Bainbridge's definition of antagonism and perhaps also difference, but they lack the essential component of separation.

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54   Nickelsburg 2001, 50-51, 54.
55   Compatible with the groping ones in CD 1:9-12. Nickelsburg (1986, 345) postulates that "perhaps CD 1 in its present form a rewritten version of a text that reflects Enochic traditions." However, in contrast to CD 1, the Enochic circles did not view themselves as blind and guilty.
56   The following discussion disregards the Book of Watchers and the Astronomic Book which are rather older documents and are less concerned with social issues.
57   Nickelsburg 1986, 356-357. According to Wilson, a sense of being chosen is a general sectarian characteristic (and also appears in the Qumranic documents). The group behind the Epistle designated its leaders as "the wise ones" (1 En 98:9; 99:10).

Nickelsburg is well aware of the fact that the term "sectarian" cannot fully apply to the Enochic corpus. The Enochic eschatological aim is not exclusive but universal, since "all sons of men will become righteous."[58] This is also implied in the Animal Apocalypse, when all humanity will be transformed into white bulls. The eschatological possessors of Enochic wisdom will be the instruments through which the human race is directed to the path of righteousness. These elements of the eschatological view imply that the community was not a closed group, and divine wisdom was not limited to the community as in CD 4:6-12.[59]

In sociological terms, the Enochic group(s) aimed to transform reality by leading a universal reform rather than by withdrawing from the world. 1 Enoch contains no call for social separation from the surrounding society or for positing boundaries. From this perspective, the Enochic documents expressed the worldview of a reform group driven by a formidable eschatological belief that it would overcome all evil forces in the imminent future and execute justice due to supernatural interference. Therefore, they are closer to revolutionist sectarianism rather than to the introversionist response.

Judging by all the similarities and differences between 1 Enoch and the Qumran sects, it is impossible to identify any Enochic texts or group(s) with the Qumran sectarians. The "plant of righteousness", the "lambs" and "the wise" were probably groups that were active in the early Maccabean period; the circles which later established the Qumran sects probably evolved from these groups.[60]

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58   1 En 10:21; cf. 91:14.
59   Nickelsburg 1986, 357-358.
60   Nickelsburg (1986, 360) concluded that "the Enochic writings stem from circles ancestral to Qumran", and that "the Epistle is in many ways compatible with the specific interests, emphases, and viewpoints expressed in various writings of Essene or proto-Essene provenance... The Epistle was composed in circles ancestral to the Essenes" (Nickelsburg 1982, 347). See also Dimant 1984, 544-545 and Kister 1986, 2-6, regarding 1 En. 90. For criticism of the view that the two apocalypses, the Damascus Document and Daniel, refer to the Hasidim see Collins 1998, 77-79 and bibliography. See also Tiller 1993, 109-115. For the obscurity of these Hasidim as a social and religious group in 1 and 2 Maccabees, see Davies 1996, 5-21.

Chapter 6
Jubilees' Reform Movement

The Book of Jubilees is a re-writing of Genesis 1-Exodus 18, planting the author's own religious and halakhic worldview in the mouth of an angel who reveals the course of history to Moses. This book of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha survived mainly in Ethiopic. About fifteen scrolls, including portions of Jubilees in Hebrew, were found in Qumran; the oldest was copied in 125-100 BCE.[1] Unfortunately, the author provides only scant clues to his social position within contemporaneous Jewish society. In order to appreciate the author's social stance and relationship with the Qumran sectarians, one must focus on the ideology reflected in Jubilees, by examining the points which the author emphasizes in his review of the biblical narrative and the account which he adds from his own imagination.

The following discussion examines the religious conceptions employed by the Jubilees' author, comparing them with characteristic sectarian concepts in general, and the worldview of the Qumran sects and the Temple Scroll in particular, focusing on cosmic and social tension and the attempts to eliminate them.

1 Cosmic and Social Tension: Evil Angels and Sinning Jews

The author of Jubilees, similarly to the authors of 1 Enoch, has a special interest in angels, the first products of God's creative activities on first day of creation (Jub 2:2). Jubilees draws a strict distinction between good and evil angels. The holy angels, including the angel of God's presence, guide and instruct humans and intervene in the course of events.[2] The content of Jubilees was dictated to Moses by the Angel of God's presence (2:1). Evil angels and other beings, including the Prince

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1   VanderKam and Flint 2002, 196-199 and bibliography. VanderKam and Flint believe that the Qumranites viewed Jubilees as Scripture.
2   E.g., Jub 3:1, 4-5, 12, 15, where they take part in creation. In many other cases they assist God. See Dimant 1994; Vanderkam 2001, 126-127.

of Mastema, Satan, Belial, and other evil sprits and demons also play an extensive role in Jubilees' narrative.[3] There is a cosmic struggle between good and evil angels,[4] and the wicked angels will be destroyed only on the great Day of Judgment.[5]

These evil angels have an enormous impact on humans, misleading them into sin, impurity and transgression (Jub 11:4). Moses prays, "may the spirit of Belial not rule them so as to bring charge against them before you and to trap them away from every proper path so that they may be destroyed from your presence" (1:20), illustrating Belial's potential to lead the Israelites to their own destruction. Prince Mastema "was sending to those who were placed under his control (the ability) to commit every (kind of) error and sin and every (kind of) transgression; to corrupt, to destroy, and to shed blood on the earth" (11:5). Noah is also aware that "demons have begun to lead you and your children astray."[6]

More importantly, the gentiles are also ruled and misguided by angels, and particularly by the angel Mastema.[7] It may be too far reaching to conclude that Jubilees attributes all sins and misdeeds to evil angels, demons and spirits, but it seems that they bear the main responsibility for the evil in the world. This imposition of blame probably reflects the author's own belief in cosmic dualism, quite similarly to what we have seen in 1 Enoch and the Instruction of the Two Spirits.

There is also a considerable tension within the human sphere. In his description of the age of Genesis, the Jubilees author emphasizes human sins, and especially the sins of the Israelites.[8] The Israelites' disobedience to God focuses on two major areas that are related to the concept of impurity: sexual morality and separation from the gentiles. The author seems to imply that these are acute problems in his own society. The Jubilees author shows a great concern for purity, but this is moral impurity rather than ritual impurity, and associated with specific

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3   Prince of Mastema: Jub 10:8, 11; 11:5; 17:16; 18:9, 12; 19:28; 48:2, 9, 12-18; 49:2. Satan: 23:19; 40:9; 46:2; 50:5. Belial: 1:20; 15:33. Evil sprits and demons: 7:27; 8:3 10:1-13; 11:4; 12:20; 15:31-32; 17:15-18:12; see also Dimant 1994, 109-110. For general discussion, see Vanderkam 2001, 127-129.
4   Jub 5:6; 10:11; 18:9; 48:2-3, 12-19.
5   Jub 5:10; 10:11. Cf. "the times when there is no Satan" in 23:29; 40:9; 50:5.
6   Jub 7:27; cf. 10:3. The evil angels may have been also responsible for the neglect of circumcision, since those who leave their sons uncircumcised are called "the people of Belial" (15:33).
7   Jub 15:31-32; Dimant 1994, 108-109.
8   Jub 1:5-14, 22; 9:15; 11:5, 16-17; 15:34; 21:10, 21; 23:11-12, 16-25; 41:23;49:9; 50:5

sins:[9] murder,[10] idolatry,[11] and especially sexual misconduct (*zenut*, "fornication").[12] The gentiles (and the Canaanites in particular) also produce impurity.[13] Thus, impurity in Jubilees is not a ritual status, but rather a state of mind that signifies a renunciation from God's will and commands.

Jubilees pays special attention to the gentiles' iniquity and its implications for relations between Israelites and gentiles. The author expresses his contempt for the gentiles' abhorrent idols, statues and images, which are also impure.[14] In his view, the Philistines are cursed, and they will be abolished from the land on the Day of Judgment (Jub 24:28). This hostility towards gentiles is not merely theoretical: Jubilees calls for a complete separation from the gentiles, because any contact, *a fortiori* intermarriage, would defile the holy essence of Israel.[15] Violation of the law of circumcision or the interdiction to marry gentiles leads to the individual's removal from the covenant with God.[16]

An interesting indication of Jubilees' severe opposition to intermarriage is found in the far-reaching consequences of the moral pollution of the Temple that are attributed to intermarriage: "If one does it or shut his eyes to those who do impure things and who defile the Lord's sanctuary and to those who profane His holy name, then the entire nation will be condemned because of all this impurity and this contamination" (Jub 30:15). Here, as in the biblical *ḥattath* and *'asham* sacrifices, and in the Temple Scroll, sin pollutes the Temple from afar.[17] However the contamination of the Temple by the impurity of intermarriage is unique to Jubilees and probably attests to the relative currency of the practice in contemporaneous society.

Jubilees' call for complete severance of all ties between Israel and the gentiles is also evident in the author's opposition to the foreign

9   For sin as producing impurity, see Jub 9:15. Cf. also 11:5; 21:16-22; 22:14; 30:13; 50:5; Klawans 2001, 47-48. Ravid (2002, 71-72) terms the type of gentile's impurity 'metaphysical impurity'.

10   Jub 7:33; 21:19.

11   Jub 1:9; 11:4, 16-17; 20:7; 21:5; 30:10.

12   Jub 4:22; 7:20-21; 9:15; 16:5-6; 20:3-6; 21:5; 22:14, 19, 23; 23:14, 17, 21; 25:1, 7; 30:2-17; 33:7-20; 41:16-17, 25-26; 50:5.

13   Jub 1:9; 20:7; 22:16, 19; 25:1. For the Canaanites, see 25:1; 30:13-15; 35:14. According to Klawans (1995), gentile impurity derives from their association with idolatry and sexual misconduct.

14   Jub 1:8-11; 11:16; 12:1-8, 12-14; 20:7-8; 21:3, 5; 22:18, 22; 31:1-2; 36:5; 48:5.

15   Jub 6:35; 9:14-15; 22:16; 25:1; 30.

16   Jub 15:34; 30:7-10, 15-16, 21-22.

17   For the *ḥattath* and *'asham*, see Milgrom 1976a; 1976b. For the Temple Scroll, see Chapter 2.

practice of nudity, and his reproach of those who disregard the Jewish
ethnic mark of circumcision. When discussing Adam covering his sha-
me, Jub 3:31 emphasizes that "it has been commanded in the tablets
regarding all those who know the judgment of the law that they cover
their shame and not uncover themselves *as the nations.*" Elsewhere
(7:20) it is stated that Noah commanded his sons "that they should do
what is right, cover the shame of their bodies... and keep themselves
from fornication, uncleanness, and from all injustice."[18] Although, in
Jubilees, nudity signifies a traditional boundary separating Israel and
the gentiles, the controversial nature of nudity probably emerged a-
round 175 BCE. Athletic performances in the gymnasium, which were
probably associated with nudity, were characteristic of the Hellenistic
reformers in Jerusalem in that period. Jubilees seem to allude to this
practice in a polemic vein.[19]

The failure to circumcise is mentioned in Jubilees as a grave sin. Jub
15:26 announces that anyone who is not circumcised on the eighth day
does not belong to the people of God but to "the people (meant for)
destruction." Jub 15:33-34 foresees that the Israelites will not circumcise
their sons according to the law but "will leave some of the flesh of their
circumcision," rendering themselves like all nations and consequently
will no longer have any chance of forgiveness or pardon. Jub 15:25 also
seems to refute the practice of postponing circumcision.

The only known incidents of failure to perform circumcisions oc-
curred during the Second Temple period were during the Hellenistic
reform of 175 BCE and the decrees of Antiochus IV (167-164 BCE). In
fact, I Macabees 1:15 argues that the Jewish Hellenistic reformers who
built the gymnasium in Jerusalem "underwent operations to disguise
their circumcision."[20] A few years later, Antiochus IV decreed that cir-
cumcision was prohibited and punishable by death. When Mattathias
and his followers escaped to the mountains and established resistance,

18   For the problem of Noah's nudity see Jub 7:8-10.
19   Cf. VanderKam 1977, 245-246; Collins 1998, 81. For the wrestling performances in the
     gymnasium, see 2 Mac 4:12-15. For the assumption that, like the Greek gymnasium,
     the games in the Jerusalem were performed in a state of nudity, see Goldstein 1976,
     200. Although Goldstein doubted this elsewhere (1983, 230) because it is not men-
     tioned in II Mac, this assumption is supported by the reference to the practice of dis-
     guising the circumcision (see below). Doran 1989, 10-11 argues that Jub 3:31 ex-
     presses the author's concern for purity and proper sexual relations, rather than a
     specific anti-gymnasium reference.
20   1 Mac 1:13-15 (translations of 1 Mac follow Goldstein 1976); cf. *Ant.* 12:241. The need
     for covering the foreskin derives from the shame of performing in a state of nudity
     before the gentiles. On this phenomenon and the surgery involved, see Schürer-
     Vermes-Millar 1973, 149 n. 28.

they compelled the uncircumcised young boys they found to undergo circumcision, implying that some Jews had observed Antiochus' decree and refrained from circumcising their sons.[21] It is most probable that Jubilees' protest is a reaction to any one of these events. Moreover, since the problem vanished in the Hasmonean period (when many gentiles were converted to Judaism), these events serve as the most definite criterion for dating Jubilees to the period around the decrees of Antiochus IV.

Jubilees' burning enmity towards the gentiles echoes the Maccabean age (167-152 BCE) when many Jews, led by Judas Maccabaeus, fought the Seleucids and their allies in the Greek cities,[22] and the Jews themselves, Hellenized and non-Hellenized, confronted each other violently concerning cooperation with the Seleucids.[23] In the author's eyes, Jews who did not separate themselves from the gentiles, their idolatry or moral impurity, as well as those who tended to follow the gentile practices such as nudity or neglecting the law of circumcision, were no longer considered Jews. They crossed the boundary and became non-Jews, and should be therefore condemned. During the Maccabean period (in contrast to the Hasmonean period), the "nationalistic" outlook of Jubilees was not self-evident or shared by all the Jews in the Land of Israel. In fact, the author subscribes to additional positions that were not shared by the remainder of non-Hellenized or pro-Maccabean Jews, specifically in relation to calendar and halakhah.

Jub 6:23-32 introduces the 364-day "solar" calendar as originally handed down from God, and strongly criticizes its abandonment:

> Lest they forget the covenantal festivals and walk in the festivals of the nations, after their error and after their ignorance. There will be people who carefully observe the moon with lunar observations because it is corrupt (with respect to) the seasons and is early from year to year by ten days. Therefore years will come about for them when they will disturb (the year) and make a day of testimony something worthless and a profane day a fes-

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21   I Mac 1:48, 60-61; 2:46.

22   Hatred toward the gentiles is used by several scholars as the most important criterion for dating Jubilees. Schwartz 1982 dates Jubilees to 175-164 BCE. Goldstein 1983b dates it to 175 (or 169)-167 BCE, viewing the lack of any explicit mention of the decrees and persecutions of Antiochus IV as indicative of a date earlier than 167 BCE. Jubilees' hostility towards idolatry recalls the Maccabees' destruction of pagan Temples and the Maccabean ideology towards the "gentiles' roundabout" in general. Cf. the sources in Schwartz 1991.

23   Compare the Hellenizers' (usually termed in scholarship "renegades")' ideology in 1 Mac 1:11 "Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles around us, for since we separated from them many disasters have come upon us." Cf. their cultural agenda in 1 Mac 1:11-15.

tival. Everyone will join together both holy days with the profane and the profane day with the holy day, for they will err regarding the months, the Sabbaths, the festivals and the jubilee" (Jub 6:35-37; cf. 23:19).

Here, the traditional Jewish lunar calendar is associated with the gentiles, probably because the Greek and Hellenistic calendar was also lunar. The lunar calendar is considered much less accurate than the solar calendar, leading to the distortion of the correct dates of the festivals, and their subsequent desecration. According to Jubilees, desecration of holy festivals is equated with causing pollution to sacred time.[24] The polemic of the Jubilees author against the more prevalent lunar calendar, reflecting what the author saw as an unlawful approach to observance of the festivals, was probably directed towards the Temple establishment.

Additional criticism against the Temple cult is concealed elsewhere in the text. Although the author of Jubilees is greatly concerned with sacrificial or priestly rites, as attested to in references to several sacrificial laws and numerous references to patriarchs who performed sacrifices,[25] there is no explicit mention of the Second Temple itself in the text. Eden is considered a Temple, and there are several discussions of the new ideal Temple that will be built at the time of the New Creation.[26]

The moral defilement of the sanctuary is mentioned twice. In 23:21, the wicked parties who indulge in cheating and other moral sins, and also reject the true calendar, are accused of defiling and contaminating the "holy of holies" through their corruption. In 30:15, intermarriage is regarded as a grave sin that pollutes the sanctuary from afar. Jub 30:16

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24 For the defilement of time (sabbath, festivals, calendar), see Jub 2:25-26; 6:37. For Jubilees' 364-day calendar, see Glessmer 1999, 236-238; Ravid 2003. For the 364-day calendar in the Temple Scroll and MMT, see Chapters 2 and 3. In contrast to Jaubert, VanderKam and others, I believe that it is not identical with the traditional Israelite calendar (which in my view was a lunar calendar), but a radical innovation. See Regev 2005b, 169-177. In any event, Davies 2005, 78-79, correctly comments that observance of a different calendar does not necessitate a segregated, sectarian lifestyle since neither the Astronomical Book of 1 Enoch nor Jubilees seem to imply a socially segregated matrix.

25 Sacrificial rules: Jub 20:7-17; 49:16-21. Patriarchs' sacrifices: 3:27; 4:25; 6:1-3; 7:3-5; 13:4, 8, 16; 14:11; 16:20-24; 22:4; 24:23; 32:4-6. The priestly outlook is also reflected in the tradition in which Levi has a higher ranking than Judah (3:12-17). Sensitivity to the sanctity of the Temple is also expressed in 1:10; 49:21.

26 The Garden of Eden is described as a Temple in Jub 8:19. Adam acts as a priest offering incense in 3:27. Eden should not be defiled, as it were a sanctuary in 3:12. For a new ideal Temple with the New Creation, see 1:27, 29; 4:25-26. See Van Ruiten 1999. For his conclusion that God dwells only in Eden and the future Temple see *ibid.,* 218.

even goes as far as insisting that all individuals involved in an inter-
marriage should be excluded from the Temple cult, to diminish their
contaminating effect on the sacred: "there will be no receiving from
him of fruit (namely, first fruits), sacrifices, offerings, fat, or the aroma
of pleasing fragrance," and therefore they would not even be able to
atone for their sins.[27] It seems that the author believes that both the
contemporaneous moral sins of the rival group, and the practice of
intermarriage by some other Jews threatened to desecrate the Temple
cult.

A final indication of Jubilees' discontent with the relative negli-
gence of Jewish law is its meticulous penal code. Jubilees demands
capital punishment for a long list of transgressions: Sabbath violation
(Jub 2:26-27; *contra* CD 12:3-6); murder (and an eye for eye punishment
for physical injury 4:22); women discovered in fornication should be
put to death by burning (20:4); individuals who wed their daughter or
sister to a gentile should be stoned (30:9); in case of intercourse with
one's mother-in-law or daughter-in-law, both partners should be burnt
(41:26); one who performs intercourse with his father's wife should be
stoned (33:13). Through these strict punishments for biblical prohibi-
tions, Jubilees sought to strengthen Israel's moral conduct and sexual
purity.

The evidence surveyed thus far shows that the author of Jubilees
was sensitive to three different realms of tension: cosmic tension be-
tween God and the holy angels against the wicked angels (Mastema,
the evil sprits and the demons); ethnic tension between Israel and the
gentiles, obliging Jews to separate themselves completely from the gen-
tiles; and internal social tension within Israel that is related to four dis-
puted issues: association with gentiles (and especially intermarriage),
moral behavior, sexual behavior, and halakhic controversies (especially
concerning the calendar). The exact relationship between these four
disputed issues is unclear. In any event, the Jubilees author did not
view the opponents as a single homogenous group that committed all
these transgressions. Jubilees is probably tackling at least two different
fronts. The accusations regarding intermarriage, for example, were not
related to the calendar-related or halakhic debates, and probably refer
to different Jewish parties.

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27   Ravid 2002, 82-83 views Jub 30:15-16 as directed against the Zadokite high priest-
     hood.

2 The Alternative: Atonement and Holiness for All Israel

Jubilees is not limited to a critique of contemporaneous Judaism, but also offers an alternative religious system based on atonement and maintaining Israel's holiness before God. The author repeatedly refers to repentance (mainly through prayer) and atonement.[28] For example, Abraham blessed Jacob: "may He purify you from all filthy pollution so that you may be pardoned for all the guilt of your sins of ignorance" (Jub 22:14). Thus, quite similar to the notion in the Community Rule, the author of Jubilees maintains that even righteous ones sin, and atonement has a purifying effect.[29]

This quest for atonement is also attested in the sacrificial law. Noah's sacrifices upon leaving the ark were aimed to atone for all the sins of earth (6:1-4). But in contrast to the plain text of Num 28-29 (and rabbinic halakhah), Jub 7:4 orders (similar to the Temple Scroll) that the he-goat (s'eir) for atonement should be sacrificed first, in the sacrificial rite of the beginning of the year (the first day of first month), to ensure atonement at the onset of the sacrificial procedure.[30]

Jubilees placed a special emphasis on Israel's holiness, or its being a "holy seed."[31] The people of Israel are even as holy as the angels in heaven (Jub 15:27). Only Israel and the holy angels observe the Sabbath and maintain holiness (2:17-18, 21). The Sabbath sanctifies those who observe it (2:28), and is a "great sign" (2:17) of the covenant between God and His people (2:19; strict Sabbath laws are detailed is in Jub 2 and 50). Due to their holiness, the people of Israel must take care to avoid defilement (Jub 33:20).

However, according to Jubilees, Israel's great spiritual potential is not realized in the present. The nation's proximity to God will be fully realized only in the future, in the eschatological period, when all the transgressions criticized by the author will be eliminated. This will be an age of purity (Jub 4:26) when God "will create a holy spirit" for the people of Israel and will purify them forever (1:23). The Book of Jubi-

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28   Jub 1:23-24; 5:17-18; 16:22; 23:26-31; 34:8; 41:23-24. In 6:1-4 the atoning force of sacrifice is underlined. Note that Jubilees also specifies those sins for which one cannot repent or atone: marriage with gentiles and fornication with one's father's wife (30:10; 33:13).

29   See Chapter 2. For the significance of atonement in Qumran and other introversionist sects, see Chapter 1.

30   Temple Scroll 14:10-11 (the first day of the year); 23:11 (the wood festival); Yadin 1977, 1.74-75, 116-117; 2.44. For the comparison with the Temple Scroll, see Vanderkam 1989b, 229.

31   Jub 2:19, 23, 31-33; 15:27, 32; 16:17-18; 18:19; 19:16-19, 21-24; 21:24-25; 22:12-24; 24:10; 25; 27:23; 31:14.

lees ends with a description of this ideal age: "The jubilees will pass by until Israel is pure of every sexual evil, impurity, contamination, sin and error. Then they will live confidently in the entire land. They will no longer have any Satan or any evil person. The land will be pure from that time until eternity" (50:5). In this age, a new eternal Temple will stand in Jerusalem, as God promised, "I will build my Temple among them and live with them."[32]

The climax of this eschatological age is not only an eternal Temple but also a New Creation.[33] In Jub 4:26, God's angel promises that "Mt. Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for the sanctification of the earth. For this reason the earth will be sanctified from all sins and from its uncleanness into the history of eternity." Interestingly, the appearance of a new eternal Temple on the day of creation is also attested to in the Temple Scroll.[34] Quite similar to the general worldview of the Temple Scroll, Jub 4:26 interweaves purity, atonement and sanctity with the ideal Temple. Jubilees does not discuss the date of the predicted eschaton. Perhaps the author believed that complete salvation was not imminent. When one compares Jubilees to the extensive eschatological predictions in 1 Enoch and the Qumranic documents, one gains the impression that imminent or precise eschatological expectations were not among the priorities of Jubilees' author.

As we have seen in the apocalypses of Enoch and the War Scroll, alongside a description of an ideal and eternal state of affairs, eschatological expectations frequently also include an account of the preceding strife and distress. This pattern is almost absent in Jubilees. The eschatological age is the great Day of Judgment of the wicked angels (Jub 5:10). Until the great Day of Judgment, all generations will grow old quickly (23:11), and their relatively shortened lifespan (23:9-13) is the only punishment for the wicked ones, from the days of Noah onwards. As apparent from the apocalypse of Jub 23, the author does not assign a special fate to his opponents who marry gentiles or observe the lunar calendar.

This lack of predicted punishment for the wicked Israelites may seem surprising in light of Jubilees' polemics and tension with contemporary society.[35] How can one explain this anomaly? I do not think that

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32 Jub. 1:17. Compare 1 En 91:13.

33 Jub 1:27, 29; 5:12. Cf. also the fragmentary reference to "the creation until the [new] creation" in 4Q225 Pseudo-Jubilees[a] 1 7.

34 Temple Scroll 29:9-10 (Qimron 1996, 44).

35 See Kugel 1994. Lifespan actually severs as a barometer for righteousness and obedience to God in Jub 23. In the age of distress and punishment, a child will look like an

the reason lies in the peaceful atmosphere of the period of Jubilees' composition. Rather, I suggest that, essentially, the author did not seek a confrontation with other Jews or desire their suffering, but wished them to accept his ideology. He writes in hope that all Jews would be united in their adherence of his nationalistic agenda.[36] If Jubilees was indeed written in the early Maccabean period of cultural and military conflicts with the Jewish Hellenizers and the Seleucids, the author, having such a nationalistic agenda, probably viewed any additional internal discord within the Jewish nation as detrimental.

The fact that Jubilees does not distinguish between just and evil Jews in the eschaton attests to its lack of a sectarian stance. The author did not seek future rewards for his followers, but viewed all Israel as a unity. He did not wish to struggle with his opponents but believed that they would ultimately accept his worldview of separation from the gentiles and observance of the 364-day calendar, and attain the status of holy people. Simply put, Jubilees' eschatology is not sectarian. Jubilees consistently avoids dividing Israel into groups and addresses the Jewish nation as a whole. This inclusive social stance suits Jubilees' concept of the holiness of all the people of Israel.

3 Jubilees – A Reform Movement

Although Jubilees does not adhere to sectarian social seclusion from the outside society, we have already seen that Jubilees addresses cosmic and social tension that correspond to a general sectarian worldview. Its attitude towards the Israelites who transgress the laws is antagonistic, which is another sectarian characteristic. Admittedly, these are very general social traits, but it is extremely difficult to examine Jubilees' ideology any further since it is not a clear ideological treatise as is the Damascus Document. Jubilees is a retelling of the Torah which masks the author's worldview in order to make the narrative appear more authoritative, mainstream or orthodox view of Judaism. The use of this genre obviously obscures the social character of the movement that stands behind Jubilees. And yet, in one instance, the author removes

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old person whereas the "young ones" will live longer in the End of Days (23: 24, 28-29).

36 Davenport 1971, 72 noted that "The eschatology of the discourse is nationalistic in that Israel alone eventually will survive and be triumphed in the world, while the Gentiles will be judged for the way they have harassed and bothered the People of God."

the disguise from God's angel to reveal some information on his group and its social formation.

In Jub 23:11-31, the angel's speech interrupts the biblical narrative, commenting on the short lifespan of Abraham and the following generations. As was noted above, a shortened lifespan is the punishment shared by all the generations after the flood (23:9, 11). In this comment, the angel refers to "that evil generation" (23:15), apparently the transgressing Jewish society in the days of the author:

> During that generation the children will find fault with their fathers and elders because of sin and injustice, because of what they say and the great evils that they commit, and because of their abandoning the covenant which the Lord had made between them and himself so that they should observe and perform all his commands, ordinances, and all his laws without deviating to the left or right. For all have acted wickedly; every mouth speaks what is sinful. Everything that they do is impure and something detestable; all their ways are (characterized by) contamination and corruption. The earth will indeed be destroyed because of all that they do....One group will struggle with another – the young with the old, the old with the young; the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great; and the needy with the ruler – regarding the law and the covenant. For they have forgotten commandment, covenant, festival, month, Sabbath, jubilee, and every verdict. They will stand up with swords and warfare in order to bring them back to the way; but they will not be brought back until much blood is shed on the earth by each group.... All of them will elevate themselves for (the purpose of) cheating and through wealth so that one takes everything that belongs to another... They will defile the holy of holies with the impure corruption of their contamination. There will be a great punishment from the Lord for the actions of that generation. He will deliver them to the sword, judgment, captivity, plundering and devouring. He will arouse against them the sinful nations who will have no mercy or kindness for them and who will show partiality to no one, whether old, young, or anyone at all, because they are evil and strong so that they are more evil than all mankind. They will cause chaos in Israel and sin against Jacob. Much blood will be shed on earth and there will be no one who gathers up (corpses) or who buries (them).... In those days the children will begin to study the laws, to seek out commands, and to return to the right way... They will complete and live their entire lifetimes peacefully and joyfully. There will be neither a Satan nor any evil one who will destroy, for their entire lifetime will be times of blessing and healing (Jub 16-23, 26, 29).

A close analysis of this intriguing passage, called the "Jubilees apocalypse," may reveal the identity of the movement behind Jubilees and its relationship with the surrounding society. In this passage, the tension between the author's movements and its rivals is obvious. In sociological terms, Jubilees reflects a reform movement. The author's group is presented as a young movement that emerged in opposition to the previous consensus. Such a social contrast between old and young is

known in the sociology of knowledge as "the problem of generations."
According to Karl Manheim, a generation is not a "concrete group" but
a social class. "Generational status" is constituted not only by chrono-
logical simultaneity (age), but also by "the same historical space – the
same historical life community," and "participation in the common
destiny" of the historical and social unit. Its formation may lead to
withdrawal from the surrounding culture. I therefore conclude that the
young individuals who opposed the representatives of the former sta-
tus quo in Jubilees represent a "generational unit" – an ideological
group that shares a common experience and way of life.[37]

The main controversy in Jub 23 concerns "the law and the cove-
nant." It pertains to observance of the laws of the Torah ("command-
ment, ordinance and every verdict") and particularly the calendar
("festival, month, Sabbath, jubilee"), as well as to moral issues ("injus-
tice, cheating and wealth"). The "elders" have become associated with
impurity, contamination, detestation and corruption and are even ac-
cused of "defiling the holy of holies with the impure corruption of their
contamination" (Jub 23:21b). Hints of these accusations are scattered
throughout Jubilees, as was shown above, but here they are listed more
fully and directed towards a specific group. One issue, however, is
missing in this list of transgressions: the association with gentiles, and
particularly intermarriage.

It seems that the conflict with the "elders" originated from halakhic
debates and was expanded to a moral debate. Hence, although Jubilees
seems to reflect the Maccabean period, the "elders" cannot be identified
with the Jewish Hellenizers. Another good reason to resist such identi-
fication is that the group of elders is not portrayed as a new reform
movement that betrayed Jewish heritage (as the Jewish Hellenizers are
viewed in 1 and 2 Mac and Daniel), but as an elite group within the
traditional mainstream.[38] Nevertheless, the struggle involves violence.

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37 Manheim 1952, 276-320. Obviously, not every age-group creates new collective
    impulses and original formative principles. Such a scenario derives from accelerated
    social change, when continuous adaptation of traditional patterns of experience oc-
    curs (ibid., 309-310). In Jub 23 one finds a resistance to the traditional authority of the
    wise old men, arguing that they forsook all their original knowledge (13:11; cf. Kugel
    1994, 335-336, following CD 10:7-10).
38 These points have already been noted by Kister 1986, 6-9. The traditional historical
    interpretation since Charles (elaborated in Davenport 1971, 41-43) is that Jubilees
    23:20-21 reflects the Hasidim's opposition to the Jewish Hellenizers (e.g., those who
    have escaped in vs. 21 allude to Alcimus and his followers, the Hasidim, a verse that
    Davenport viewed as a later interpolation).

Interestingly, all these markers are also common to the blind sheep of the Animal Apocalypse in 1 En 90, discussed in Chapter 5. [39]

This conflict is interrupted by a divine punishment – the sword of the gentiles – for the entire Jewish nation, without discriminating between younger members and elders. In the most distressing period, when many die and there is "chaos in Israel and sin against Jacob" (perhaps referring to the chaos and sins cause by the Jewish Hellenizers?), the young ones will rise and flourish. They will "study the laws, seek out commands, and return to right way," that is, to the true observation of the Torah. It seems that the young ones will achieve a consensus since the evil angels will lose their power due to their efforts. Jubilees also adds that human lifespan will increase and all will be like children, completing their lives peacefully and joyfully. God will reward his righteous ones with peace and praise, and punish their enemies. There are also hints of an afterlife (Jub 23:27-29, 30-31).

The Jubilees movement ("the young ones") is devoted to the laws and the search for the true way to observe and study the Torah, and engages in debates with others who are satisfied with the contemporaneous state of Torah observance. This recalls the lambs of the Animal Apocalypse, representing another reform movement which criticizes the Temple cult. Its victory is envisioned only after a collective age of punishment for the entire nation, probably caused by the transgressions and iniquities of the elders. The dramatic descriptions of sword, captivity, plundering and death caused by the cruel nations probably allude to the decrees of Antiochus IV and the consequent Maccabean revolt. Interestingly, Jubilees portrays the young ones as emerging before that age of great distress and foresees their triumph thereafter. The author apparently does not know how long the war with the nations will last and what its consequences will be;[40] he is unaware of Hasmonean independence that caused disappointment to religious movements such as Jubilees'.

Throughout the apocalypse, the Jubilees author views his movement as the true Israel, but does not claim that the elders will be cut off from the nation. No matter how sinful the elders may be, the author does not regard them as doomed. He even implies that they will ultimately accept the teaching of the young ones. Thus, according to the author, the unity of the Jewish people is preserved even in punishment

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39   Kister 1986, 6-7. Kister also thought that "the evil generation" (Jub 23:14) is identical to the "perverse generation" in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 93:9).

40   Admittedly, the author may have intentionally avoided any mention of the Maccabees and their military and diplomatic achievements. Cf. the lack appreciation to the Maccabees in Daniel 11:34.

and reward. The us-and-them division does exist, but it is relatively limited and overshadowed by a basic sense of interdependence. Just as the misdeeds of the elders trigger the punishment of the entire nation, including the younger members, the enlightenment of the latter also affects the larger society by bringing eternal salvation. Thus, the author of Jubilees does not see his group as separated from the rest of Israel, but rather as religious pioneering movement that initially faces opposition. Although traces of the discourse of separation can be found in Jubilees (impurity, sin, etc.), there is no call for social separation but a strong sense of national reconciliation set against the gentiles. Indeed, as many scholars have noticed, Jubilees does not express a sectarian worldview and is therefore not a sectarian document.[41]

Although this lack of separation proves that Jubilees movement was not a sect in the strict sense of the term, the text expresses multiple points of criticism directed against contemporaneous society which indicate considerable social tension. In addition, Jubilees resonates a heightened awareness of the evil forces that operate in the world and draw humans in general and the Israelites in particular to sin and transgression. Such a worldview underlies any sectarian ideology, and is a fundamental element in introversionist and revolutionist sects.

I therefore conclude that Jubilees reflects a sect in its early formation period, before its general ideology was translated into social action. When the author of Jub 23 discovers that "the elders" are not willing to accept the message of the "young ones," despite the risk of a grave divine punishment, the group will probably turn to another, more extreme solution – separation. The seeds of the perception of mainstream society as corrupt and sinful have already been sown in Jubilees:[42] it is only a matter of time and disappointment before the group branches off into a complete sectarian enclave.

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41 For Jubilees as not reflecting any significant break with the larger national body, but an aim to return to the 'normative' position which it represents, see Wintermute, 1985, 44, 48. For Jubilees' audience as the Jewish nation as a whole and its aim to lead to the conversion of Israel to the law, see Davies 1987, 117; Boccaccini 1998, 97-98. VanderKam (1977, 281) concluded that "Jub.'s concern is still for the entire nation of Israel, and its author and his party are still part of the national community which centered on the Temple in Jerusalem." He also regards the command that the Passover should be celebrated not "in their cities" but in the Temple (Jub 49:21) as an indication for no withdrawal form the Temple (*ibid.*, 281-282). Kister (1986, I [English abstract]), however, defined the group behind Jub 23 as "separatist, isolationist sect, similar to the Qumran sect."

42 Jubilees terminology and ideology concerning impurity, sexual relations and wealth still require closer observation in comparison to the documents of the Qumran sects. I suspect that although many affinities do exist, Jubilees' idioms of impurity and sin are relatively limited and undeveloped.

4 Jubilees, the Temple Scroll, MMT, and the Origins of the Qumran Sects

The analysis of Jubilees' worldview as a sectarian ideology in its early stage of development, and its social characterization as a reform movement, enable us to compare it with other documents from Qumran, particularly with the Temple Scroll and MMT. This may lead to some clarification regarding the origins of the Qumran sects on both phenomenological and chronological grounds.[43]

But first, it is necessary to examine Jubilees' relationship to the Enochic traditions. Jubilees author was familiar with the Book of Watchers, was influenced by its cosmic dualism of just and evil angels, and borrowed the Enochic tradition on angels of God who mated with women and sired giants.[44] Jubilees also refers to the Astronomical Book (Jub 4:17-18) and adopts its 364-day calendar. It is even possible that the author is also familiar with Enoch's apocalypses or Epistle, since Jub 4:18-19 refers to Enoch's documentation of history and visions of future until the Day of Judgment.[45] Jubilees therefore depends on several Enochic traditions.

The authors of the Damascus Documents were probably familiar with Jubilees, and refer specifically to "the Book of Jubilees."[46] There are also several general theological affinities between Jubilees and the Community Rule, the Damascus Document, and the Hodayot: immortality of the soul,[47] the concept of holy and evil spirits and the struggle

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43 According to VanderKam (2001, 143) the author of Jubilees should be seen as a member of the Essenes (assuming that the Qumran community was a branch of the Essenes), or, if the book preceded the establishment of the Essene party, as belonging to the tradition that flowed into the Essene movement. See also VanderKam 1977, 282-283. Werman 2004 claims for a Qumranic-sectarian provenance of Jubilees. In her view, Jubilees addresses the people outside the Qumran movement. Werman plays down the lack of separation, arguing that the anticipated punishment of Jubilees' adversaries suffices to conclude that it reflects a sectarian ideology (ibid., 51, 53). She also claims that Jub 23 attests to early Qumranic phases. Davenport 1971, among others, suggested that several passages were inserted to Jubilees by the Qumranites.

44 Jub 4:22; 5:1-11; 7:21-27; 10:1-14.

45 Jub 4:19. For Jubilees' dependence on 1 Enoch, see VanderKam 1978. VanderKam accounted for additional links between Jubilees and the Epistle of Enoch (e.g., Jub 7:29 and 1 En 103:7-8) and pointed to the inclusion of other Enochic sources in Jubilees, such as Enoch as a halakhic dispenser in Jub 7:38-39; 21:10.

46 CD 16:2-4. It is also plausible that the assertions concerning the shortened lifespan of humanity due to its unfaithfulness in CD 10:8-10 echoe Jub 23:11.

47 Jub 23:30-31. For Qumran, see 1QHᵃ 9[3]:21-23; Licht 1957, 83-84, 199; Puech 1993, 366-75. Belief in the heavenly transcendence of the soul may also be reflected in the expression "all glory of man" (see Chapter 11).

between them.[48] Furthermore, the belief in predestination in the In-struction of the Two Spirits corresponds to Jubilees' conception that the future is written on the heavenly tablets.[49] Jubilees' 364-day calendar resembles the Qumranic calendar.[50] The Qumran sectarians chose not to follow Jubilees' prohibition to use the moon in such calculations, and instead followed Enoch's Astronomical Book harmonizing solar and lunar sequences with each other.[51]

Jubilees is concerned with the sacrificial cult and calls for strict ob-servance of moral impurity, similar to the Temple Scroll and MMT (which also follow the 364-day calendar). Several sacrificial laws are shared by Jubilees the Temple Scroll or MMT,[52] all of which may be associated with the concept of dynamic holiness as defined in Chapter 3. Jubilees and the Temple Scroll share several essential rules concern-ing the festivals: Jub 32:6 implies that Jacob celebrated the days of Mil-luim when he inaugurated Levi to priesthood;[53] Jubilees seem to share Temple Scroll's celebration of the festival of Weeks (first fruits of

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48   Jub 10:11; 18:9; 48:2-3, 12-19. A similar struggle is attested in the Instruction of the Two Spirits recounting a struggle between the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness (1QS 3:18-26; 4:1-2; cf. CD 5:17-19). Similarities between angelology in Jubi-lees and Qumran, e.g., the War Rule and the Hodayot, were noted by Dimant 1994, 110-118. For these general theological similarities, see also VanderKam 1977, 260-280.

49   For the heavenly tablets, see e.g., 1:29; 23:32.

50   For the general resemblance between the two calendars, see, e.g., Vanderkam 1989b. This consensus was first disputed by Ravid 2003. Ravid has shown that many of the liturgical characteristics of the Qumranic calendar are unattested in Jubilees, but did not prove that there were actual contradictions between the two.

51   Glessmer 1999, 244-255. 4Q252 1 i 8-10 also rectifies Jub 5:27 error in claiming that the 150 days in Gen 8:3 constituted five months (Glessmer 1999, 258-259).

52   VanderKam 1989b. Schiffman (1985) and Wise (1990, 93-99, who concluded that Jubilees and the Temple Scroll developed from a common source) emphasized the differences between Jubilees and the Temple Scroll, but several of their conclusions seem to me over-reaching since they are based on Jubilees' laconic or unclear dis-course. Since Jubilees is not a manual of rules (its aim is limited to legitimizing its specific worldview), one should not expect to find a detailed or precise treatment of sacrificial laws (see VanderKam 1989b, 226-229). Schiffman showed that, in several cases (e.g. the sacrifices of Succot in 32:4), Jubilees does not even follow the exact de-tails of Scripture and consequently is inconsistent with the Temple Scroll on several points. For the close affinity between Jubilees and the Temple Scroll, see also Boccac-cini 1998, 99-101 and bibliography.

53   For the inauguration of Levi in Jubilees, see Schffman 1985, 223-224. Note, however, that this occurred around the festival of Succot, whereas in the Temple Scroll and the Qumranic calendar the days of *Milluim* are celebrated in the beginning of Nissan. In-auguration ceremonies in the seventh month appear in 1 Kings 8:65 and 1 Ezra 3:1-6.

wheat) on the 15th of the third month,[54] as well as the festivals of the first fruits of new wine and oil.[55] Moreover, similar to the Temple Scroll, Jub 7:4 orders that a he-goat (s'eir) for atonement should be sca-rified first, in contrast to the plain text of Num 28-29 and rabbinic ha-lakhah.[56]

There are also similarities regarding laws pertaining to priestly of-ferings. According to Jub 32:15 and MMT, the animal tithe is given to the priests, whereas according to the rabbis, the owners are the recipi-ents.[57] Like the Temple Scroll and MMT, Jub 7:36 orders that the fruits of the fourth year should be given to God's servants (namely, the priests), whereas the rabbis argued that they should be eaten by their owners.[58] Like the Temple Scroll, Jub 49:16, 20 calls to eat the Passover sacrifice in the Temple, whereas according to the rabbis it may be eaten anywhere in the city of Jerusalem.[59] Both Jubilees and the Temple Scroll command to bring the second tithe to the Temple every year.[60]

Furthermore, Jubilees' stress on the impurity of the gentiles is asso-ciated with specific cultic laws in MMT concerning the refusal to accept sacrifices from gentiles, the exclusion of Ammonites and Moabites from the Temple, and perhaps also the prohibitions on bringing gentiles' offering/tithe of wheat and grain to the Temple (since they are defiled), and intermarriage of priests with gentile women (see Chapter 2).

A quite striking correspondence between Jubilees and the Temple Scroll is related to the eschatological Temple which will replace the monumental Temple described in the scroll. In the Temple Scroll 29:8-

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54 Jub 15:1; 16:13; Temple Scroll 18:10-16 (the rabbis celebrated it on the 6th of that month).

55 Temple Scroll 19:11-14; 21:12-16. Admittedly, Jub 7:36 mentions only the offerings of the first wine and oil (Schiffman 1985a, 227). Both the Temple Scroll and Jubilees in-terpret these offerings as permission to eat the new crop (a view which is not fol-lowed by the rabbis; cf. also Jub 32:11-14; Temple Scroll 43:3-11; Yadin 1977, 1.92-93). However, note that Jubilees also fails to mention the harvest of the Omer, and there-fore its treatment of the festivals is not systematic. VanderKam 1989b 225, believes that the Jubilees author is aware of these first-fruits holidays.

56 See Chapter 3.

57 MMT B 63-64; m. *zebaḥim* 5:8.

58 MMT B 62-63; Temple Scroll 60:3-4; 4QDᵃ 2 ii 6; m. *ma'aser sheni* 5:1-5; Sifrei Numbers *ba-midbar* 6 (ed. Horovits 6); j. *peah* 7:6 (20b-20c). Jubilees, however, adds further re-strictions concerning sacrificing of the fruit and refraining from eating the plant in the fifth year.

59 Temple Scroll 17:8-9; m. *zebaḥim* 5.8. A similar restriction in Jub 7:36; 32:14 applies to the fruits of the fourth year and the second tithe, also against the view of the rabbis (m. *zebaḥim ibid.*). For the different approaches to the sanctity of the Temple and Je-rusalem, see Henshke 1997.

60 Jub 32:10-11: Temple Scroll 43:1-17; Yadin 1977, 1.92-94. cf. Wise 1990, 92-93.

10, God promises: "I shall sanctify my [Te]mple with my glory, for I shall make my glory reside over it until the day of creation, when I shall create my Temple, establishing it for myself for all days, according to the covenant which I made with Jacob in Bethel." The concept of the new ideal Temple at the age of the New Creation is also mentioned in Jub 4:26, and the eschatological Temple and the new creation are mentioned separately in several places.[61]

The relevance of the covenant in Bethel in relation to the eternal Temple of the Temple Scroll is puzzling, but is elucidated in light of Jub 32 as the site of Levi's inauguration to priesthood by Jacob.[62] Hence, this tradition is much clearer and more elaborated in Jubilees than the abridged account in the Temple Scroll, and it seems that the Temple Scroll is dependent on Jubilees on this point. In all other respects, the halakhic similarities between the two compositions indicate that they were written in the same general period, by the same general social movement, although the differences in literary genre prevent the determination of a more precise relationship.

Comparing Jubilees with the homiletic section of MMT leads to even more striking findings. Unlike the Temple Scroll, Section C of MMT discusses moral impurity and alludes to the contemporaneous socio-political situation. The polemic here corresponds to Jubilees 23. As shown in Chapter 2, in the homiletic section of MMT, the authors argue "we have separated ourselves from the multitude of the people [and from all their impurity]" (MMT C 7–8). This impurity is probably moral, since the fragmentary continuation of this passage related to moral sins: "and concerning ... [the malice] and the treachery ... and fornication [some] places were destroyed".... "no] treachery or deceit or evil can be found in our hand" (MMT C 4–6, 8–9). Similar accusations are ascribed to the "evil generation" in Jub 23:14: (moral) impurity and contamination, sexual impurity (which parallels MMT's fornication) and detestable actions (which parallel MMT's malice, treachery and deceit). Further on, similar accusations are attributed to "the elders" in Jubilees: "they have acted wickedly... everything they do is impure... all their ways are contamination" (Jub 23:17) "cheating

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61   Eschatological Temple: Jub 1:17; New Creation 1:27, 29; 5:12.
62   In his vision, Jacob is handed seven tablets (Jub 32:31), presumably containing sacrificial laws that may be identified with the Temple Scroll's reference to Jacob's covenant. Jacob was commanded not to build an eternal Temple in Bethel (*ibid.*, 32). This implies that, although the priestly cult officially originated in Bethel (note that there was a major sanctuary in Bethel during the First and early Second Temple period, see Schwartz 1985), Jerusalem is holier.

through wealth...they will defile the holy of holies with the impure corruption of their contamination" (Jub 23:21).

The notion of moral impurity, grounded in the Hebrew Bible, is therefore shared by both MMT and the entire Book of Jubilees (although in the latter, its main focus is the impurity of the gentiles). In both Jubilees and MMT, moral impurity becomes the major issue, related to an inner conflict within the Jewish society. Moreover, the specific accusations in MMT C and Jub 23 are almost identical. Interestingly, in both cases there is also no mention of cooperation with the gentiles, although, such cooperation could have explain this type of conflict in the Maccabean period (since the Hellenized Jews and perhaps even the Hasidim collaborated with the Seleucids).

Another possible parallel between the two texts is the physical threat to Jewish society: MMT refers to "[some] places were destroyed," probably relating to a punishment following the sins of "[the malice] and the treachery ... and fornication" (C 4-6). Jub 23:22-25 describes the dire consequences of the transgressions and impure ways (sword, judgment and captivity) of the "elders." The common association of the biblical motif of sin and punishment as a consequence of similar moral impurities seems to be more than a coincidence.

Last but not least, both MMT and Jubilees contain eschatological expectations. The authors of MMT declare: "And we are aware that part of the blessings and curses have occurred that are written in the b[ook of Mos]es. And this is the End of Days, when they will return in Israel to the L[aw...]and not turn bac[k] and the wicked will act wickedly..." (MMT C 20-22). Jub 23:26-31 envisions that, the "children" will take over after the punishment from the nations, return to the right way of the laws and commands, and an age of great peace, praise and happiness will arrive. In both cases there is a hope for a religious reform that leads to salvation. MMT's biblical concept of curses and blessings probably refers to previous wars of destruction during the Maccabean revolt, and to the swift transition to the messianic age, echoing the sudden shift from disaster to deliverance in Jubilees.

Admittedly, the sense of salvation in MMT is more imminent. The "end of days" is not merely a matter of expectation, it is a fact. This difference can be explained, not only in light of MMT's special rhetorical aim to persuade the addressee to act according to the authors' beliefs, but is also understandable if we assume that several years elapsed between the composition of Jubilees and MMT, in view of the relative political relief that followed a series of clashes between the Seleucids and the Maccabees headed by Jonathan, which ended in 158 BCE. During this interval, messianic expectations had intensified and perhaps

fostered by a period of relative political relief, where clashes between the Seleucids and the Maccabees headed by Jonathan ceased after 158 BCE.[63]

I have pointed to all the possible affinities between Jubilees and the Temple Scroll and MMT. Together, they are a clear indication that these three fascinating documents belong to the same circle, and may reflect different stages in the ideological development of a single movement. Now, after having studied MMT, the Temple Scroll and Jubilees separately, and after tracing the religious worldview and social ideology of each document (in Chapters 2 and 3), it is impossible to resist the temptation to date each composition, and suggest how the Qumran sects developed. This, of course, should be regarded as a tentative attempt, derived from the scholarly addiction to dating every document that comes to light.

Although the text of MMT is very fragmentary, I believe that it is more than possible to state that the MMT group emerged from the group behind Jubilees 23 for the reason discussed above. Placing the Temple Scroll in this sequence, however, is much more difficult. The Temple Scroll contains a more detailed and developed sacrificial and cultic system than Jubilees, possibly as a result of the distinct foci of these documents: while the Temple Scroll rewrites biblical laws, Jubilees chooses to rewrite the biblical narrative (note that the main concern of Genesis and the beginning of Exodus is indeed the formation of the Israelite people as set against their gentile environment).

It is also possible that Jubilees reflects the initial endeavor to initiate a religious reform, while the Temple Scroll reflects a slightly later phase, with some shifts of emphasis, and no mention of relations with the gentiles. The stress generated by increasing internal cultic debates may reflect the reduced military and political conflicts with the Seleucids and neighboring gentile cities in the 150's BCE. Apparently this was a period of religious void or chaos in Jerusalem: the Maccabees were deprived of public power and the status of the Jewish Hellenizers in Jerusalem was unclear.[64] For these reasons, it seems to me that the Temple Scroll (perhaps only the section that deals with Temple and sacrifices) should be placed somewhere between Jubilees and MMT. This also corresponds with the fact that certain laws in MMT are introduced in an abridged form and can be understood only in light their

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63   1 Mac 9:70-73.

64   Josephus claims that in 159-152 BCE there was no nominated high priest in Jerusalem. See *Ant.* 20.237. Cf. *Ant.* 13:46; Eshel 2004, 50-51 and bibliography.

more detailed presentation in the Temple Scroll, suggesting that MMT is somewhat dependent on the Temple Scroll.

The preceding analysis seems to indicate that the Jubilees movement first originated during the troubled period of 175-161 BCE, and was prompted by the impact of contacts with the gentiles. Jubilees sought to realize Israel's holiness and correct observance of the laws of the Torah; it argued in support of a 364-day calendar, stricter sacrificial laws, and total social and cultural separation from the gentiles, building on the concept that sin defiles, hence any contact with the corrupted gentiles is contagious and desecrates Israel holiness.[65] Jub 23 indicates that the concept of moral impurity was projected upon mainstream Jewish circles that rejected the 364-day calendar and the sacrificial laws, based on the argument that not only their cultic transgressions but also their immoral behavior are contaminating in general and pollute the Temple in particular (for the latter point, see Jub 23:22). Thus, the call for a national religious reform developed into an ideological dispute and social conflict.

However, the complete separation of the movement and its formation into a sect were not immediate. If MMT does reflect a certain development of Jubilees' movement a few years later, MMT attests to a reform movement that separated itself from only part of the Jewish society ("the multitude of the people"), but did not view self-seclusion as a strategy. The MMT group still tried to carry out a religious reform. In the interval between Jubilees and MMT, or perhaps simultaneously with Jubilees, this movement (or a certain current within it) developed the detailed cultic program of the Temple Scroll.[66]

Similar to the Temple Scroll and MMT studied in Chapter 3, Jubilees teaches us how sects evolve. First to evolve was a new perspective on the religious aims of Jewish society as a whole, accompanied by a call for more demanding criteria of cultic and moral obligations, and support for cultural detachment from certain "contaminating" threats that endangered the nation's sacred designation. This "ultra-dynamic" worldview had higher spiritual aspirations but was also much more sensitive to counter-cultural forces. When its sufficiently enthusiastic and ideologically committed followers encountered rejection or outright opposition on part of social institutions or religious elites, the

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65 Klawans 2001, 46 concludes that "there is nothing particularly sectarian about the attitudes expressed in Jubilees towards impurity and sin."

66 Some of the other laws of the Temple Scroll, such as "the law of the king," may have been composed later. For a theory regarding the gradual composition of the Temple Scroll, see Wise 1990. Wise views the cultic laws as contemporary with Jubilees and dates the entire scroll to 150 BCE.

reformers evolved into a sectarian movement which practiced social separation. The fox became a hedgehog.

The comparison of Jubilees with the Temple Scroll and MMT, and tracing the origins of the Qumran movement, lead us to the issue of dating. Scholars have made many efforts to date the composition of the scrolls and the emergence of the "Qumran community," usually basing their argument on flimsy evidence.[67] I suggest that the present study of Jubilees may contribute to the general dating of the emergence of the Qumran movement, that is, the date of MMT. This is because I believe that Jubilees reflects the background and origins of the Qumran movement, and since there are specific clues – opposition to nudity and covering circumcision – for dating Jubilees to ca. 175-161 BCE.

Admittedly, dating Jubilees is quite complicated, since it is a composition which rewrites Scripture and conceals direct allusions to its past or contemporaneous reality. Nonetheless, I have pointed to some indications which reveal the historical matrix that the author addressed. The polemic against the negligence of circumcision points to the age of assimilation with the gentiles, or the oppression of Jewish religious life by the Seleucids. The opposition to nudity may also point to the conflict with the Jewish Hellenizers which may have performed unclothed in the gymnasium. Above all, the atmosphere of a stark cultural conflict with the gentiles is consistent with the Maccabean struggle against the Seleucids, the Hellenistic cities and the Jewish Hellenizers. Scholars have also attempted to identify geographical hints of the Maccabean wars in Jubilees that may date *terminus post quem* to 161 BCE.[68]

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67 See the survey of research in the Introduction. These theories were based on the presumed chronology of the archaeological evidence in kh. Qumran (which is now recognized as mistaken), paleography, and the identification of the wicked priest (on which, see Chapter 2). VanderKam (1977, 282-284) dates Jubilees before 140 BCE, based on his conclusion that it is a pre-Qumranic composition, and basing the dating of "the Qumran community" on the identification of the Wicked Priest with Jonathan or Simon (152-135 BCE). I would add that since Jubilees does not allude to the Hasmonean rule, it is likely that it predates it, namely, before 152 BCE.

68 VanderKam 1977, 217-229 follows Charles' suggestion in viewing the descriptions of Jacob's wars with the seven Amorite Kings in Jub 34:2-9 as an allusion to sites located between Jerusalem and Shechem, most of which are mentioned in 1 Mac in relation to Judas Maccabeus' wars with the Seleucids. Vanderkam (*ibid.*, 230-238) also concluded that Jacob's war (headed by Judah son of Jacob) with Esau and his sons and the Edomites (Jub 37:9-38:14) echoes Judas Maccabeus' wars in Idumea in 163 BCE, since the list of enemies is very similar in both cases and they both mention Hebron. He concluded that Jubilees was written after 163-161 BCE. Schwartz (1985) concluded that the emphasis of Jub 31 on Jacob's construction of a Temple in Bethel echoes Judas Maccabaeus's retreat to Gophna near Bethel in 163-161 BCE. For the

All this suffices to conclude that Jubilees was composed between ca. 175 and 161 BCE. This leads to the plausible (albeit not definite) conclusion that the cultic laws of Temple Scroll reflect the late 160's or early 150's, and MMT was not written before the 150's, and probably not before the late 150's. This result corresponds to the dating of MMT to about 152 BCE by Qimron and Eshel, accepted in Chapter 2.

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difficulties in tracing hints of Maccabean history from a narrative framework, see Doran 1989.

Chapter 7

The Essenes:
An Outgrowth of the Qumran Movement?

1 The Essenes as Introversionist Sect

Our knowledge about the Essenes is largely based on the relatively detailed descriptions by Philo and Josephus, who were fascinated by the Essenes' religious devotion and extraordinary way of life. In the present chapter, I analyze the ideology of the Essenes and their cultural boundaries from a sectarian perspective, and then compare the Essenes to the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, stressing the differences between them. The sectarian characteristics of Essene ideology are somewhat undeveloped in Philo and Josephus, for two reasons. First, they both describe the Essene way of life based on observation from outside, without access to first-hand documents. Second, in presenting the Essenes as an intriguing (Josephus) or utopian (Philo) version of Judaism from the perspective of their Hellenistic or Roman audience, these authors toned down the Essenes' antagonism towards the rest of the Jews, as well as the gentile world.[1]

In order to uncover the Essene sectarian way of life and their introversionist ideology, it is necessary to employ the categories of social tension introduced by Stark-Bainbridge: antagonism, separation and difference.[2] The only hint of Essene sectarian antagonism is the requirement of converts to take an oath "to hate the unjust and fight the battle of the just,"[3] implying that hatred of outsiders may be more than a mere theoretical idea. However, the remaining behavioral sectarian markers, including strong boundaries which attest to an ideology of

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1   Rajak 1994, 157-158. On the Hellenistic character of Josephus' account in War 2:119-161, and the question of his more general dependence on Philo, see Rajak 1994; Mason forthcoming. See also Beall 1988, 130. For the admirable tone and the apologetic tendencies of Philo and Josephus, see Bilde 1998, 62-64.

2   The Essenes also fit many elements of Wilson's definition of a sect, as specified in Chapter 1.

3   War 2:139. This oath recalls 1QS 1:9-11, which refers to hating the Sons of Darkness and God's revenge (cf. also *ibid.*, 9:21-23). See also *ibid.*, 8:7-8 ("render the wicked their retribution").

almost a complete separation from the world, and numerous practices of withdrawal from the surrounding society, indicate that the Essences were an introversionist sect (notably, Josephus and Philo do not emphasize the Essene revolutionist tendencies).

The Essenes spurned marriage and sexuality, and sought to protect themselves against women's wantonness.[4] They maintain communal ownership of property,[5] and adhered to voluntary frugality.[6] The Essences did not participate in the Temple cult, at least not in its conventional form. According to Philo, they did not offer animal sacrifices at all. Josephus asserts that they sent only votive offerings to the Temple since they were barred from the Temple and performed their sacrifices "by themselves," employing a different ritual of purification.[7]

Essene converts underwent a probationary period of three years (in the first year, they did not participate in community meetings) and were admitted only after assuming an extensive set of pledges.[8] Philo states that "they attached particular importance to religious purity" and Josephus adds that they did not use oil since it was considered defiling and rather purified themselves in a bath before communal meals.[9] These purity boundaries probably led to social separation from

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4   Philo, *Hypothetica* (*apud*. Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* VIII 11, herein *Hyp.*) 11:14-16; War 2:120; *Ant.* 18:21. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* V, 73 (in Stern 1976, 470, 472) is the only source which explicitly states the total exclusion of women, arguing that "it [the Essene "tribe"] has no women and has renounced all sexual desire." Nonetheless, the explanations provided by Philo and Josephus for Essene celibacy (discussed in Chapter 9) make clear that these historians regarded the Essenes as celibates who restricted their contact with women. Stegemann 1992, 126-130 and Boccaccini 1998, 38-46 tried to dismiss the accounts of Essene disdain toward marriage (Stegemann argued that this attitude derives from the inauthentic Jewish-Hellenistic apologia of Philo or Josephus!), basing their arguments on a very literary interpretation of the sources. Admittedly, in *Ant.* 18:21 Josephus does not state that there were no women at all among the Essenes but only that they do not bring wives or married women (*gametas*) to the community. Stegemann (1992, 126) and Boccaccini (1998, 44) therefore concluded that the Essenes did marry but their wives were not admitted as full members and did not participate in prayers, meals and assemblies.

5   *Hyp.* 10:11; *Quod Omnis Probus liber sit* ("Every Good Man is Free", herein *Quod.*) 86; War 2:122; *Ant.*18:20. Pliny (*Natural History* V, 73) argues that they have "no money."

6   *Quod.* 77, 84. Compare *Hyp.* 11:7; War 2:120, 126, 130. Viewing the Essenes as ascetics in the full sense of this term would be an exaggeration: they did not seek money or pleasure, and led a simple life, but did not torment themselves by fasting or dwelling in caves, like later monks.

7   *Quod.* 75; *Ant.* 18:19 with A. Baumgarten 1994b. See also the discussion below.

8   War 2:137-142. Compare to the discussion on gradual admission as an introversionist marker in Chapter 8.

9   *Quod.* 84a; War 2:123, 129.

the outside society, designed to prevent physical contact with non-
Essenes. The Essenes dressed in white robes (which were probably
regarded as a common property) as a marker of their identity.[10]

Several points attest to the Essene conception of difference relative
to the outside world. Their moral behavior is emphasized by Josephus
who states that "they strive towards righteousness," and they control
their anger and tempers. He also mentions court trials and expulsion.[11]
Both Philo and Josephus are impressed by their camaraderie: They
show their "love of men" by their benevolence endeavors, equality and
"spirit of fellowship," as well as hospitality towards other Essenes, and
concern for of the sick and the elderly.[12]

Three peculiar practices can be related to the sectarians' aspiration
to spiritualism, or their quest for a higher degree of sanctity:[13] every
day at sunrise they "offer prayers...that have been handed down by
their forefathers," which probably implies a set of relatively fixed
texts;[14] they abstain for oaths,[15] probably stressing the hazardous use of
the name of God, an act that might be sacrilegious if taken falsely or
even superfluously.[16]

Finally, the Essenes also select distant places where they dig a
trench using their personal shovel or mattock (*'axinarion*), and cover

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10   War 2:123, 137 (for common dress, see *Quod.* 86; *Hyp.*11:12). For the Essene dress
     code and communal identity in general, see A. Baumgarten 1997c. Distinctive dress
     as a means of segregation is characteristic of Mennonites, Hutterites and early Quak-
     ers (Wilson 1959, 11). Baumgarten also discusses Essene food and occupations as
     means to ensure an enclave culture. To use anthropological terminology, I would
     say that the Essenes expressed resistance to the surrounding society through their
     material culture.

11   *Ant.* 18:18, 20; *War* 2:135, 143, 145. Cf. also his emphasis on their discipline in *War*
     2:126, 132-134. In War 2:145 blasphemy is punishable by death (compare CD 12:2-3).

12   *Quod.* 84 (cf. 79); *ibid.*, 85 (also in War 2:124-125); *Hyp.* 11:13, respectively. See also
     War 2:119 regarding their mutual affection.

13   In Philo's view, their main aim is piety (*Quod.* 83), whereas Josephus defines it as
     sanctity (*War* 2:119). Some scholars suggested that the name "Essenes" is derived
     from a Hebrew or Syriac root *ḥsd* (pious) but the actual meaning of their Greek re-
     mains unclear. See Kampen 1986; Beal 1998, 35-36. Compare the sectarian tendency
     to spiritualism in Chapter 11.

14   *War* 2:128. For the innovation of fixed and daily prayer among the Qumranites,
     Essenes and Therapeutes, see Regev 2005c.

15   *Quod.* 84 (cf. Philo's own views against vowing in *Decalogue* 84-94); Josephus (*War*
     2:135; cf. *Ant.* 15:371) mentions that they avoid swearing because their statements are
     reliable. Note, however, the oaths taken during the admission procedure (*War* 2:139-
     142). Similar reluctance is attested to in: Ps 24:4; Eccl 9:2; Ben Sira 23:9; Matt 5:33-37;
     m. *shevu 'ot* 3:8 (on superfluous oath).

16   For the problem of false oaths invoking the divine name, see: Ex 20:4; Lev 5:4, 22;
     19:12; Milgrom 1976b.

themselves with their clothes while defecating. Afterwards, they cover
the hole and wash themselves.[17] As A. Baumgarten noted, the fact that
this shovel was given to every candidate underlines the significance of
this daily practice and probably also its symbolism: if all Essenes car-
ried this shovel while traveling or working, it presumably became a
noticeable marker of Essene identity.[18] The rationale of this odd prac-
tice, according to Josephus, was to prevent the odor from offending
"the rays of the deity." However odd, this practice is hardly an Essene
innovation. In Deut 23:15, the Israelites are commanded to the dig with
such a shovel (*yated*) and cover their excretions in order to maintain the
sanctity of their warfare camp, since God walks about in their midst.[19]
It seems that the Essenes adopted this special command for their own
communities, insisting that God's special presence among them re-
quires such constant vigilance of bodily purity and sanctity.

The accounts of the Essenes in Philo's *Hypothetica* and *Quod omnis
probus liber sit* and Josephus' *War* and *Antiquities* are far from uniform,
and allude that the Essenes were not a single monolithic group. Since
there were "more than four thousand" Essenes[20] over many colonies,
this is not unconceivable. In fact, there were probably many additional
and smaller variations between the numerous Essene communities that
only insiders could have sensed and therefore were not noted by Pliny,
Philo or Josephus.

Despite certain shifts of emphasis and differences between different
groups that these authors label as "Essenes," there is a solid, common
core and many similarities. One detail which is repeated in all of these
four descriptions by Philo and Josephus (as well as in Pliny's sketchy
note) concerns common property ownership. Other major themes
found in most of the texts include their withdrawal from women and
family life (mentioned in all but *Quod omnis probus liber sit*), a deliberate
lack of slaves (mentioned in all but *War*), and their voluntary frugality
(mentioned in all but the relatively short description in *Antiquities*).[21]

Interesting differences between these four descriptions are notice-
able in relation to the economic sources of the Essenes and their geo-
graphical distribution. Close attention to detail reveals slight differ-

17   *War* 2:148-149. The practice is also implied in *War* 5:145. See Yadin 1975 and A.
     Baumagrten 1996, 19 n. 28.
18   A. Baumgarten 1996, 12, following *War* 2:137.
19   Bokser 1985, 280-285. For other ancient Jewish views on defecation as polluting, see
     A. Baumgarten 1996, 12 and 16-17 nn. 15-16.
20   *Quod.* 76; *Ant.* 18:20.
21   For a more detailed comparison of the correspondence and differences between
     these accounts, see Bilde 1998.

ences in the rigidity of the group's economic boundaries. In *Quod.* (76, 78), Philo states that the Essenes live in the villages and avoid the cities because of the urban iniquities. They make their living from agriculture and crafts, but do not engage in commerce. All property is common since "they put all earned wages into a common stock." This complete form of common property reflects a far-reaching socio-economical separation which includes strict restrictions on socialization with outsiders.

However, in *Hypothetica* (11:1, 8-10) Philo notes that the Essenes live in cities and villages – hence urban life was not regarded as a taboo – in great societies of many members, probably referring to colonies. They work in agriculture, cattle-breeding or bee-keeping, while others work in handicrafts "in order to gain their livelihood." The money earned is brought to a common treasury. Philo thus implies that members earned their money outside the community and brought their salary to the congregation. It seems that a different system of property management was in place here, since it is difficult to maintain a self-sufficient economy in a city without some degree of participation in the urban market.

In *War* (2:124), Josephus describes the Essenes as large urban communities living "in every city." He also mentions that there is no buying and selling among them, since they exchange objects among themselves.[22] This implies a certain degree of private ownership of property, and in any case, it is reasonable to assume that they worked outside the community and gave their salaries (or part of them) to the treasury.[23] If the accuracy and authenticity of these accounts are accepted, Essene common property appears to have had different forms in different Essene communities (rural and urban, members with and without external occupations). Varieties probably derived from local ideology or economic and environmental conditions.

Another much more crucial difference between the different Essene groups is their renouncement of marriage and sex life, according to

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22 *War* 2:127. For similar practice in CD, see J. Baumgarten 1983. Josephus immediately contradicts himself when he adds that "they are freely permitted to take anything of their brothers without making any return." Perhaps he confused two different economic lifestyles. Another possibility is that exchange was practiced between different communities but not between individuals. Josephus mentions "the Essene Gate" in Jerusalem (*War* 5:145) as well as several Essenes who became involved in the political life in the city (*Ant.* 13:311; 15:373; 17:346-348; *War* 2:562-567; see below).

23 In *War* 2:129, Josephus asserts that members are sent by their overseers to engage in their various crafts, each in which he is proficient. This centralized division of labor may be more consistent with the completely communal lifestyle of the Essene colony, compared to earnings wages by working outside the community, in the city, for example.

Philo, Josephus and Pliny, in contrast to Josephus' assertion in *War* that a certain Essene "order" did marry, under certain conditions.[24] These latter Essenes obviously maintained a lower level of tension with the world.[25] It is also interesting to note that some scholars consider Philo's Therapeutes, whose male and female members lived together in celibacy, as an Essene branch.[26] These differences notwithstanding, the characteristics common to all or most Essenes will be now compared with those of the Qumran sects.

2 Differences between the Essenes and the Qumran Sects

Many features of Essene life can be found in different texts from Qumran, mostly in the Community Rule, with greater or lesser degrees of similarity: common property, tension in relation to the Temple, morality, self-restrain, companionship, gradual admission, purity and avoidance of oil, prayer and limitation on the discharge of excretions. These parallels have been discussed extensively by Qumran scholars, and led many to conclude that the accounts of the Essenes by Josephus and Philo actually referred to the "Qumran community," and therefore the scrolls should be identified as Essene documents.[27] A few scholars,

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24 Compare *Hyp.* 11:14-17, *War* 2:120-121, Pliny, *Natural History* 5:73, with *War* 2:160-161.

25 A. Baumgarten 1994a, 131-132.

26 Philo admiringly describes the Therapeutes in much detail in his *De vita contemplativa* ("The Contemplative Life"). The Therapeutes renounce private possessions (13) and family life (18) but comprise both men and women who maintain a separation between the sexes (32-33, 69), abstain from the cities (19-20), live in simplicity, self-control, and even asceticism (34-38). Their hierarchy is determined by age (30, 67), they do not own slaves (70), and they abstain from wine and meat (73-74). Their major concern is spiritualism (11-12), prayers (27, 66, 80, 89), and the study of the Holy Scriptures (25, 28, 75, 89). Vermes concluded that they are an Egyptian version of Essenes (Schürer-Vermes-Millar 1979, 591-597; for the similarities with Philo's account on the Essenes, cf. Bilde 1998, 45-46), although Philo distinguished between the two (*vita contemplative* 1). In terms of boundaries of separation, the Therapeutes resemble the most stringent Essenes, but they seem to place more emphasis on rituals, spiritualism and the inclusion of women. For the view that these are two distinct movements, see Taylor and Davies 1998.

27 E.g. Schürer-Vermes-Millar 1979, 583-585; Vermes 1994, 114-115; Sanders 1992, 341-379. The most detailed study is Beall 1988. Beall (*ibid.*, 124-129) counted twenty-six definite parallels between Josephus and the scrolls (admitting that some are too general to support identification), twenty-one probable parallels, ten unparalleled statement in Josephus, and six apparent discrepancies. See also Stegemann 1992, 108-138.

however, argued that this consensus highlights the points of resemblance yet disregards seemingly small, but significant, differences that point to the conclusion that the Essenes and "the Qumran community" were two distinct groups.[28]

There are two major reasons which justify an in-depth examination of the differences between the Essenes and the Qumran sects. First, as I already mentioned in the Introduction, a comparison begin with similarities but must stress differences and make sense out of them. Second, since the Essenes as well as the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant are all introversionist sects, they share features, such as common property, gradual acceptance into the sect, and expulsion, that are found in many other such sects, as shown in Chapters 8 and 10. Pointing to differences in rules and practices highlights the specific choices which the Essenes and the Qumran sects made in developing their own brand of sectarianism. I begin with one significant difference between the Essenes and the Damascus Covenant and proceed to several relatively "minor" differences pertaining to social organization and social structure, oaths, slaves, the procedure of accepting new members and discharge of excretion. The most significant difference, Essene celibacy as opposed to Qumranic marriage and family life, is addressed in the following section.

While the Essenes and the *yaḥad* maintained common ownership of their property, the members of the Damascus Covenant maintained private property. This is an extremely significant difference which undermines the identification of the Damascus Covenant with the Essenes, notwithstanding several other practices that are common to the Essenes and the Damascus Document.[29]

Josephus' Essenes differ from both the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant in their social structure and types of leadership. The Essene overseers (*epimelētai*) care for the needs of entire community. They have

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28   A. Baumgarten 1994a; Talmon 1995, 11-14, 17-18; Goodman 1995; Mason forthcoming. García-Martínez and Trebolle Barrera 1995, 79-96 noticed some of the differences but still regarded the Qumranites as part of the broader Essene movement. Goodman suggests that there could have been more sects that were not mentioned by Josephus, and the Qumranites might have been one of them. A. Baumgarten (1994a, 135) concluded that "those shared points which would seem to put it ["Qumran"] in the Essene camp are quite general,...while those aspects which divide it from the Essenes, placing it at either higher or lower level of tension, are of essence of what we know as sectarianism." In contrast to these scholars, I do not regard "Qumran" as a monolithic group, and I distinguish between the *yaḥad*, the Damascus Covenant and the dwellers of kh. Qumran.

29   Prohibitions on moving vessels on the Sabbath, preparations during the Sabbath and performing intercourse with a pregnant woman. See J. Baumgarten 1992a, 504-505.

complete authority in directing the members' work (War 2:123, 129,
134). Josephus also refers to Elders, who are the leaders of the Essene
group (War 2:146). The role of the Essene elders resembles the total
authority of overseers and certain priests in the Damascus Document.[30]
Nonetheless, there is only a single occurrence of 'elders' in the Damas-
cus Document (CD 9:4). Elders are mentioned only once in the Com-
munity Rule[31] where they are lower in hierarchy than priests, and have
no special authority within the *yaḥad*, which, unlike the Essenes, had a
democratic and semi-egalitarian social structure with no governing
individual leader. Josephus' assertion that the Essenes obey their elders
and the majority (War 2:146) appears to reflect a combination of CD's
governing overseers and priests and the *yaḥad* 's assembly of the *rabbim*
("many").

   Essene abstinence from taking oaths is not attested to in the scrolls,
which specifies regulations for taking oaths before judges to affirm lost
property (CD 9:8-12), and mentions vows as a normative and even fre-
quent practice.[32] Essene rejection of slavery is not consistent with evi-
dence from the Damascus Covenant, since CD 11:12 prohibits "press-
ing" one's servant or maidservant (to work) on the Sabbath." However,
there is no mentioned of servants in the *Community Rule*. Presumably,
neither the *yaḥad* nor the Essenes used servants since they both main-
tained common property and aimed at socio-economic equality. Inter-
estingly, a recently discovered ostraca from kh. Qumran mentions the
delivery of a slave named Ḥisdai from Ḥolon, and may attest to the
dwellers' readiness to accept slaves as property.[33]

   In two cases, what appears to be a parallel between Josephus' Esse-
nes and the scrolls actually conceals a discrepancy. In their gradual
admission of novices into the sect, the Essenes excluded novices from
the "purer water for purification" (which obviously refers to ritual
baths) for one year before the novices proved their temperance in a
probation period. During the subsequent two years, novices are ex-

30   CD 9:13-15; 13:15-16; 14:12-17.
31   1QS 6:8. Beall (1988, 47 with bibliography) argued that this is a point of resemblance.
32   CD 16:1-7. For the Essenes, see *Quod.* 84; War 2:135; cf. *Ant.* 15:371. On oaths in the
     Damascus Document, see Schiffman, 1993, 204-211, 220-227. Beall 1988, 69-70 draws
     upon the silence of the Community Rule in relation to oaths other than those of join-
     ing converts, for creating a false parallelism with Philo and Josephus, while resolv-
     ing the evidence from the Damascus Document's different stages of development.
33   For the Essenes, see *Hyp.* 11:4; *Quod.* 79; *Ant.* 18.21. For CD 11:12, see Schiffman 1993,
     125-126. For the ostraca, see Cross and Eshel 1997. The conclusion that the dwellers
     in kh. Qumran accepted slaves as property is reasonable even if one rejects the read-
     ing of *yaḥad* in line 5, a reading according to which the ostraca attest to the admission
     of a new member and his property into the *yaḥad*.

cluded from partaking in the common meals.[34] This parallels 1QS 6:13-23, where converts into the *yahad* are excluded from "the purity of the many" in the first year, and from "the drink/liquids of the many" in the second, which probably also mean purification rituals and common meals. The Essene probation period was longer, and furthermore, their inclusion in communal practices progressed in an inverse order: new Essenes converts were first permitted to participate in ritual baths, and only at a later stage in communal meals, in contrast to the order of inclusion in the *yahad*.[35] More generally, the Community Rule and the Damascus Document also mention a much more lenient admission process compared to the Essenes, which merely requires an oath, with no probation period.[36]

The Essenes dig a hole with their personal shovels to bury excretions, whereas the *Temple Scroll* and the *War Rule* order the building of permanent latrines. There is no evidence in the scrolls for an implement similar to the shovel that every Essene received when he entered the sect and carried with him wherever he went.[37] As A. Baumgarten noted, the different practices represent different perceptions of the body.

Each of these differences in practices and taboos may be explained by the incomplete information held by Josephus or Philo, as outsiders, by their individual biases, their gentile audience, or the differences between individual local communities in different places and different periods of time.[38] However, it is difficult to explain away discrepancies concerning *all* these different issues related to taboos and social structure, which are the essence of the sectarian way of life.

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34   *War* 2:137-138. Beall 1988, 73-74 translates *sumbiōsis* "common meals," whereas Thackeray [LCL edition, 377] translates "the meeting of the community."

35   Beall 1988, 74-75 emphasized the general parallelism of gradual acceptance, but understated the differences.

36   1QS 5:7-10; CD 15:6-10. The vow of the Essene novice is part of the lengthy admission process. Licht 1965a, 146-147 noted that Essene novice takes an oath at the completion of the admission into the group, whereas converts to the *yahad* did so in the first stage of their admission process. Cf. *War* 2:139-142; 1QS 6:14-15; Beall 1988, 77.

37   A. Baumgarten 1996. Note that the Temple Scroll and the War Rule rules are utopian documents. One may question wheher the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant actually followed them.

38   Dupont-Sommer, 1962, 66-67; Strugnell 1958; Vermes 1994, 115-117. Cf. also Schiffman 1983, 163; 1993, 249.

3   Essene Celibacy vs. Family Life in the *yaḥad*

Since the very beginning of Qumran scholarship, most scholars be-
lieved that the *yaḥad* were celibate. However, this assumption was
based on the general identification of "the Qumran community"
(namely, the *yaḥad*) with the celibate Essenes, and more specifically, on
the fact that the Community Rule makes no mention of women or chil-
dren.[39] Scholars argued that the marriage laws and children mentioned
in the Damascus Document represented the other "order" of married
Essenes, mentioned by Josephus.[40] The few scholars who rejected this
thesis either did not discuss it in detail, [41] or relied mostly on the ar-
chaeological evidence in kh. Qumran, mainly the burial of women and
children. However, this archaeological argument is somewhat irrele-
vant since recent studies have shown that kh. Qumran was inhabited
several decades after the composition of the *yaḥad*'s Community Rule,
implying that the *yaḥad* preceded the occupation of kh. Qumran by at
least two generations.[42]

In recent years, scholars have become increasingly uncomfortable
with the absence of any explicit mention of celibacy in the scrolls.
Scholars have offered different suggestions to reconcile this absence
with the conventional view of the *yaḥad* celibacy: identifying hints for

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39   E.g., Beal 1988, 39-41; Sanders 1992, 344; Hempel 1996, 266-274; Vermes 2000, 583-
584; VanderKam and Flint 2002, 250. Cf. also Davies 1987, 83-84. For the beginning of
this consensus as early as in April 1948, see Schuller 1999, 117. In the late 1940's,
when R. de Vaux began excavating the site in kh. Qumran, he pre-supposed that no
women had lived there and interpreted the remains of the cemeteries in light of this
hypothesis, even when he excavated skeletal remains of women (De Vaux 1973, 128-
129). For a review and interpretation of the archeological findings, see Magness 2002,
168-179, 186-187.

40   J. Baumgarten 1990; Qimron 1992.

41   See, most recently, A. Baumgarten 2004, 179. Schiffman 1944, 143 believes that "there
simply is no evidence that the sectarians of Qumran were celibate," but did not
really contest the consensus concerning the *yaḥad*'s celibacy. See also Schiffman 1992,
228; Cansdale 1997, 65-66. Note that Schiffman also rejects the overall identification
of Qumran with Essenes (1994, 81, 89). Schiffman found traces for the lack of celi-
bacy in Qumran in the utopian laws pertaining to women and marriage in the Rule
of Congregation and the Temple Scroll. See also Talmon 1993, 9-10. Schuller 1997,
121-122, 141-142 leaves the question unresolved.

42   For rejecting the celibate theory on the basis of the skeletal remains, see Elder 1994;
A. Baumgarten 2004, 179-185. The female skeletal remains are indeed significant, al-
though their number is rather scant (cf. Zias 2000 who tries to understate not only
the numbers, but also their significance). Magness 2001, 63-66 dated the "sectarian"
phase to the late Hasmonean period, ca. 75 CE. 1QS is dated by paleography around
100 BCE but it is evidently a later copy based on earlier sources attested to in Cave 4.
See Metso 1997, 14, 143-155.

the *yaḥad*'s celibacy in the Damascus Document;[43] suggesting different forms of partial celibacy, either at old age,[44] as a consequence of the legal limitations of ritual purity, divorce after marriage, or difficulty to find a suitable spouse.[45] A few even denied the straightforward evidence of Essene celibacy.[46] I would, however, like to suggest several solid arguments against the common view that the *yaḥad* were celibates. Most of my arguments turn on methodological issues, in addition to one argument based on a text which may attest to the presence of women and children in the *yaḥad*.[47]

Some scholars have understood Pliny's comment on the Essenes who live with no women above Ein Gedi, as reference to their settlement on a site identified with kh. Qumran, hence as external evidence of the celibacy of "the Qumran Community."[48] However, Pliny may have been referring to another site in the region. In any event, Pliny's description may be less than accurate as we can see from his mention of the Essenes as a small group settled exclusively in the Dead Sea region, while it is clear from Josephus that Essenes resided in Jerusalem and other cities.[49]

My main argument against the view that the *yaḥad* were celibates is that the silence of the Community Rule concerning woman and children does not suffice to conclude that the *yaḥad* adhered to celibacy. Given the many references to marriage laws and other orders related to

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43 J. Baumgarten 1990 and Qimron 1992 interpreted CD 7:3-7 as a reference to marriage and procreation as optional rather than self-evident nature, since it is introduced by the word *ve-ʾim* ("and if"). For a critique of their interpretation see Wassen 2005, 124-127.

44 J. Baumgarten 1990.

45 Crawford 2002.

46 Stegemann 1993, 193-198; Boccaccini 1998, 38-46.

47 For a review of these recent views and further elaboration of the following arguments, see Regev forthcoming a.

48 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* V, 73 (in Stern 1976, 470, 472). Cf. the discussion and scholarship in Magness 2002, 140-142, 145.

49 A. Baumgarten 2004, 177-179 rejected Pliny's identification of the inhabitants near the Dead Sea with the Essenes since Pliny had no personal acquaintance with the Essenes, and thus could not have paid attention to 'small' differences. It seems that it was Pliny's interest in the Dead Sea flora (particularly in Ein Gedi, on which he comments "second only to Jerusalem in the fertility of its land and its groves of palm trees") that led him to mention the Essenes above Ein Gedi, (note his emphasis on their palm trees). Moreover, Pliny is guilty of geographical errors and was not personally acquainted with the land of Judaea. See Stern 1976, 465-466; Mason forthcoming. Those who accept Pliny's assertion would have to explain why several female skeletal remains were found on the site where he claims that the Essenes lived "with no women" (cf. A. Baumgarten 2004, 179-185 and bibliography).

sexual relations in the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Con-
gregation (discussed in Chapter 9), celibate life can by no means be
regarded as self-evident only because women and marriage are un-
mentioned in the Community Rule.[50]

Furthermore, it is inconceivable that a sect which went to such
pains to scrupulously specify its social restrictions and organizational
orders, failed to address such a fundamental religious taboo and social
boundary marker. How could the authors of the Community Rule fail
to mention, even in passing, the renunciation of marriage life and the
exclusion of women, when their celibacy was the main characteristic
that set them apart from all other Jews? Is it possible that transgressions
and taboos such as speaking angrily one's fellow or bearing a grudge
were more important to the sect than regulations relating to celibacy?[51]

That celibacy was a too crucial a matter to remain unmentioned is
highlighted by a comparison to the significance of celibacy in Shaker
documents and the Shaker belief system. As Chapter 9 demonstrates,
celibacy was the most extraordinary and distinguishable religious and
social characteristic of the Shakers, as well as the most meaningful and
crucial aspect of their own religious ideology and self-identity. Shaker
laws specifically mention the prohibition of all private unions between
the two sexes.[52] I believe that this would be more or less the case for
any other celibate group, since the transformation of gender relations
constitutes a fundamental boundary that separates the sect from the
outside world.

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50   Note that the writings of the *yaḥad* contain metaphors which pertain to family life
     that may imply the practice of marriage. In the Instruction of the Two Spirits (1QS
     4:7), one of the characteristics of the righteous is "fruitful offspring" *(perut zerah)*. In
     the Hodayot, the members of the author's group repent and "their seed *(zar'am)* [can
     be] in your presence always." See 1QHᵃ 4[17]:14. Cf. the translation of Holm Nielsen
     1960, 243. Grarcía Martínez and Tigchelaar translated "their prosperity," eliminating
     the relevance of this phrase for the Essene-celibate theory, already implied by Licht
     1957, 208. According to Licht's reconstruction, the *yaḥad* is mentioned in line 13 *(ibid.,*
     207).

51   Albert Baumgarten has recently reached the very same conclusion: "...there is not a
     single Qumran text that says explicitly that the community was entirely male and
     celibate. Various passages can be interpreted to support that conclusion, as can oth-
     ers to support the opposite determination...How could a group that troubled to spell
     out explicitly so much of its rules and regulations leave such a significant sacrifice of
     identity to implication...Would anyone have thought that Qumran was an exclu-
     sively male celibate community...if not for the supposed connection with the Esse-
     nes?" (A. Baumgarten 2004, 179). Note that a decade earlier, Baumgarten believed
     that the Qumranites were celibate (A. Baumgarten 1994a, 131-133).

52   Johnson 1967, 49-50; *idem*, 1971, 152-153.

The question remains, however, why is there no mention of marriage, women and children in the *yaḥad*'s Community Rule, especially in view of the extensive treatment of this issue in the Damascus Document and the affinity between the two groups? I think that the answer lies in the genre and function of the Community Rule. Unlike the Damascus Document, it does not aim to prescribe its members' lifestyle, but focuses on the admission of novices, the sessions of the assembly of the *rabbim*, and a list of transgressions and penalties. Unlike the Damascus Document, it does not deal with laws pertaining to the Sabbath, vows, agriculture or skin disease. It is also much shorter than the Geniza manuscript of the Damascus Document. The fact that column 6 of the Community Rule discusses the admission of new members from outside society may lead us to believe that the *yaḥad* was not based on natural reproduction (namely, none of the members were born in the sect). However, admission from outside society does not exclude natural procreation, and it is also possible that such recruitment was crucial in the earlier phase of the *yaḥad*, when column 6 was composed.[53]

Comparison with two documents of the same genre illustrates that manuals of rules and disciplinary orders tend to have minimal references to women or marriage, with no implication of a distinct gender ideology. The Didache, or the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, is a Jewish-Christian document composed around 110-120 CE. It contains regulations concerning moral conduct (honesty, mercy, giving alms, confessions of sins, mutual reproof), baptism, fasting, prayer, the Eucharist, Sunday worship, leadership (apostles, prophets, bishops and deacons), as well as theological instructions concerning the forthcoming End of Days.[54] The only indication that the Didache actually addresses married people is the references to the prohibition of abortion and the education of sons and daughters.[55]

The Scharnschlager Order, related to a pre-Hutterite group lead by Leupold Scharnschlager (Moravia, ca. 1540), combines rules and theological admonitions. It deals with communal assemblies, selection of leadership, the order of speech in relation to the announcement of revelations, orders in relation to rituals, admonishment of transgressing members, the sharing of goods, while no mention is made of gender relations. Actually, the only internal indications that the group con-

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53 On the relatively early date of 1QS 6, see Murphy O'Connor 1969; Metso 1997. Married couples and families could have joined the sect in this strict admission process, as in the cases of families that joined Hutterite colonies (Peters 1965, 179-180).

54 For the Didache, see Niederwimmer 1998.

55 Didache 2.2; 4.9, respectively.

sisted of both men and women are two laconic references to "brother and sister."[56]

These texts illustrate that gender relations may not have been considered within the scope of such manuals of discipline and collections of rules. I suggest that the specific genre of a collection of rules and theological doctrines does not necessarily aim to contain all the relevant regulations, but mainly concerns subjects unique to the group, those which distinguish it from the surrounding society, such as communal organization, modes of leadership, rituals and moral conducts.

In 1982, Maurice Baillet published 4Q502 which he called "Rituel de marriage."[57] The document opens with a fragment which contained the phrases "man and his wife," "to reproduce offspring," "a daughter of truth," and "his wife," in addition to many references to young and old women. Joseph Baumgarten reevaluated the contents of 4Q502. Since 4Q502 emphasizes the participation of old and young women in a certain ritual along with old and young men, Baumgarten could not avoid the conclusion that this document reflects the full membership of women in the community (which he identified with the *yaḥad*). However, he argued that the many references to men and women do not preclude the possibility that male and female community members were celibate.[58] In his view, 4Q502 reflects a ritual in which married couples declared their commitment to celibate life. His interpretation was based on his attribution of 4Q502 to the Essenes, which he believed were one and the same with the Qumran sectarians. However, this does not correspond with the descriptions of the Essenes as male celibates "with no women," since these Essenes would hardly let women participate in their rituals, while the married Essenes would not practice such a ritual of renunciation of marriage altogether!

A reexamination of the fragmented contents of 4Q502 denies any hint of celibacy or unconventional gender relations. Baumgarten paid special attention to the old men and women mentioned in fragments 19, 24, and 34, but apparently neglected the fact that young men and women are also mentioned in relation to this ritual: "lads and virgins,

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56 For document of the Scharnschlager Order, see Packull, 1995, 303-313 (brother or sister are mentioned on pp. 307, 311). For Hutterite marriage and family life, see Chapter 9.

57 Baillet 1982, 81-105

58 J. Baumgarten 1983b. See also his attempt to equate 4Q502 with the rituals of the elderly celibate Therapeutae men and women *ibid.*, 130-133. Satlow 1998 suggested that 4Q502 is related to a New Year festival. His proposal, that the reference to "Man and his wife" etc. in fragments 1-3 is merely a retelling of the creation story, seems to me unconvincing (cf. the discussion of these fragments below).

young men and young women" (fragment 19); "sons and daughters" (frag. 14); "young men" (frag. 9); "to sisters" (frag. 96). These young men and maidens seem to be too young for marriage, rather than celibate adults.[59] While it is possible that these adolescent males and females were converts to the group who took a vow of celibacy, rather than offspring of reproducing adult community members, 4Q502 also allude to reproduction, marriage and young children: "to reproduce" (frag. 1) "toddlers" (frags. 28 and 311), "the girl's father" (frag. 108) "his wife in fruit of the womb" (frag. 309). It is reasonable to conclude that they were the offspring of the adult men and women, as the reference to the "sons and daughters" in fragment 19 implies.

Another serious difficulty concerning J. Baumgarten's interpretation is the reference to marriage in fragments 1-3: "[the man] and his wife... to reproduce offspring... to be hol[y...] for him, daughter of truth and wal[ks...] his wife wh[o...] for her intelligence and knowledge in the midst of."[60] It is therefore much more plausible that the passage describes the bond between husband and wife than the renunciation of marriage or the admission of a married couple to the group as two distinctive celibate persons.

4Q502 therefore cannot reflect a ceremony in which married couples renounced marriage life. Rather, I suggest, it may represent a ritual of admission of a married couple into the sect, since it alludes to a certain joining, legal commitment, atonement, an occasion of happiness and contain many public blessings.[61]

The presence of women and children in 4Q502 can support the claim that the *yahad* were not celibate only if 4Q502 can indeed be attributed to the *yahad* (and not, for example, to the Damascus Covenant). This is a difficult question which necessitates a philological examina-

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59   Note that 1QSa 1:9-11 orders that the minimum age of marriage for men was twenty.

60   Here the woman's noble character is emphasized and she is referred to as "his wife" (ra'ayato, literally, his female friend), a term which usually describes the intimacy and friendship between the married couple. This seems to be the only occurrence of this word in the scrolls. In the Hebrew Bible it occurs only in the Song of Songs (e.g., 5:2).

61   Fragments 1-3 begin with *kehosifkhem* "when you add..." (compare the meaning of *lehosif* "to enroll the *yahad*" in 1QS 6:14) "the law of God." It concludes with "*yahad* to be *a'vonat* (sins?) that...*el* and atoning...for the sons of justi[ce...] on this day... to ... Aaron." This may serve as a suitable setting for the joining of the husband and wife into the sect. The texts may mean that the husband and his wife join "the sons of justice" in order to follow God's rule and attain atonement. The public liturgy of blessings and "speak and say" (frags. 8-10 lines 3, 8, 13; frag. 19 line 6) are similar to those in the annual entry into the Covenant in 1QS 1:18-2:18. The references to "time of happiness" and "a feast for our happiness" (frags. 7-10, lines 5 and 10) may also refer to this annual occasion.

tion. J. Baumgarten viewed 4Q502 as a document of the *yahad*, probably because the word *yahad* appear several times in the text.[62] Qimron, on the other hand, doubted this conclusion since in his opinion "the word *yahad* [in 4Q502]...is not an appellation of the community".[63] It is therefore necessary to examine the use of the word *yahad* in the 4Q502.

The term *yahad* appears in the scrolls as both a noun (the name of the group) and an adverb ("together"). The noun occurs fifty five times in the Community Rule, about ten times in the Pesharim, several times in the Hodayot, and also in a fragment of the Hodayot from Cave 4, all of which are therefore related to the *yahad* sect.[64] In these texts there are also numerous occurrences of the adverb *yahad*.

In 4Q502, there are four certain occurrences of the word *yahad*.[65] In fragment 7, no context was preserved. In fragment 2, the text reads "]*yahad* to be to", which parallels 1QS 5:2 "to be together/*yahad* in Torah,"[66] and therefore *may* represent the name of the group and consequently attest to the provenance of 4Q502. In two other references, *yahad* is an adverb: "with together (*yahad*) with all of us" (frag. 19) and "together (*yahad*) in... Israel" (frag. 21). The question is whether this use of *yahad* as an adverb indicates that the texts was written by or related to the *yahad* group in any manner.

The adverb *yahad* appears in 4Q502 about four times. Outside the Community Rule, the Hodayot and the Pesharim and the War Rule (which should probably be attributed to the *yahad* sect), this adverb occurs four times or more in only three documents, whose relation with the *yahad* sect is uncertain: the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifices* (7 times), 4Q*Instuction* (times) and 4Q525*Beatitudes* (6 times). However, the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifices* and 4Q*Instuction* are much longer texts than 4Q502, and were also preserved in several copies, hence the proportion be-

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62 Thus, for example, he maintained that "we now know from 4Q502 that women, too, were evaluated with regard to the moral traits required for participation in the religious life of the *yahad*" (J. Baumgarten 1983b, 16).

63 Qimron, 1992, 288.

64 The lexical data in this section are based on Abegg, Bowley, and Cook 2003, 307-309, with some modifications in distinguishing between nouns and adverbs. For the Hodayot and the War Rule, see 1QH^a 18[10]:34; 1QH^a 19[11]:14; 4Q427 7ii9. The Pesharim include 1QpHab, 4Q161-174, 4Q177, 4Q181. Licht 1957, 45-49 attributed the Hodayot to the *yahad*. Note also the terminological relationship between the Community Rule and the War Rule, in the tables in Yadin 1955, 228-243.

65 Additional uncertain occurrences appear in frags. 4, 70, and 105+106. Baillet also restored the word *yahad* in fragments 22 and 35 (Baillet 1982, 88, 90).

66 See also "all be together/*yahad*" (1QS 2:24); "And when these have become a *yahad* in Israel" (1QS 8:12).

tween the number of occurrences of the adverb *yaḥad* in relation to the preserved text is much higher in 4Q502.

I therefore suggest that, considering the very fragmented nature of 4Q502 and its relatively small amount of preserved text, the number of the occurrences of the adverb *yaḥad* is extremely high and is similar only to 4Q525*Beatitudes* (whose provenance is indeed unclear). The extensive use of the adverb *yaḥad* in such a short text may therefore indicate on the relation of 4Q502 to the *yaḥad* group, as in the Hodayot and the Pesharim.

Further support to the attribution of 4Q502 to the *yaḥad* is the fact that fragment 16 is a citation of 1QS 4:4-6, a description of the spirit of truth from the so-called the Instruction of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13-4:26). The fragment discusses the way of justice and may be related to the merits of the participants in the ritual. In general, literary dependency is not a sign of social identity. That is, when one ancient source cites another this does not necessarily mean that they both related to the same group. However, if indeed this is the only direct citation of one Qumranic document in another, it seems to me that the close relationship between 4Q502 and the Community Rule is more than probable. Following this citation as well as the several references to the word *yaḥad* in different contexts, I think that it is very plausible that 4Q502 was composed by members of *yaḥad* of the Community Rule or perhaps by members of a later offshoot of this *yaḥad* who adopted this label. This increases the plausibility that the *yaḥad* were not celibates but rather maintained normal gender relations and family life.

4 Essene Public Prophecies as Socio-Political Action

Another, rather curious, difference between the Essenes and the Qumran sects pertains to the Essenes' political involvement in the Herodian period, which stands in contrast to the Qumranic withdrawal from the surrounding world. Josephus notes that several Essene figures professed to predict the future, were well-versed in the holy books, the words of the prophets, and various forms of purification.[67] Judas the Essene predicted that Antigonus the Hasmonean would be killed at

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67 *War* 2:159. Cf. also *Ant.* 15:379. For the general identification of these prophecies with the Pesharim, see Beall 1988, 110-111. However, the Pesharim are not really prophetic, and are mainly concerned with the End of Days rather than precise political events (Gray 1993, 105-107). Purification and studying holy books or Scripture is attributed elsewhere to the Essenes and are also characteristic of the *yaḥad* (Gray 1993, 83-92).

Strato's Tower.[68] When Herod was young, Menahem predicted that he would be king of the Jews, and when Herod ruled, Menahem predicted that he would reign for twenty or thirty more years, but refused to specify the precise length of his reign.[69] Simon interpreted Archelaus' dream correctly, and predicted that his reign would soon come to an end.[70] Citing these examples, Josephus emphasizes the accurateness of the Essene prophecies.

The outstanding social aspect of these predictions is their public performance and political involvement. Judas may have announced his prediction only to his fellow Essenes[71] (and its accuracy later became famous), but he acted in the vicinity of the Temple. Menahem, however, initiated direct contact with Herod. His prophecy combines elements of criticism and moral exhortation of justice and piety and reflects a certain degree of cooperation with the king. Simon also cooperated with the Herodian regime, since he was probably summoned by Archelaus, among other mantics,[72] although his interpretation actually implies a resistance to Archelaus' rule.

Such intervention in political life is unexpected in a segregated sect that refrains from contact with the world. Why should prophets who were members of an introversionist sect care about domestic politics, in view of their over-rising belief that they all live in the age of wickedness? And even if they did care, what was the point in communicating with those rulers personally?

Understanding the political power of prophecy in antiquity may clarify this point. Predictions that were regarded credible had incredible influence on the governing authorities and probably also on the masses, and were apparently considered to have the power to change future events. For example, when Jesus son of Hannania mourned the destruction of Jerusalem as early as 62 CE, he was arrested and flogged by the Romans governor Albinus,[73] perhaps because the foreseen destructions were interpreted as a signal to revolt against the Romans. There are many cases illustrating the concern of Roman authorities, rulers and emperors over such prophecies.[74]

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68   *War* 1:78-80.
69   *Ant.* 15:371-379.
70   *War* 2:312-313; *Ant.* 17:345-348.
71   In *Ant.* 13:311-313 Josephus adds that he was accompanied by friends who were learning how to prophesize from him.
72   Gray 1993, 104-105.
73   *War* 6:300-309; Gray 1993, 158-163.
74   Anderson 1994. For the manner in which Roman governors and rulers regarded prophesies and oracles concerning the fall of Rome as a real threat, see MacMullen

I therefore suggest that the Essense made their prophecies public in order to gain political recognition (as apparent by Herod's dismissal of the Essene oath of loyalty to his rule[75]), and perhaps also social power. Through their public prophesies, the Essenes attracted the attention of rulers and the public, and when their predications were confirmed, their pious and holy reputation was enhanced. Under such circumstances, people would view the Essenes' power of prophecy as a result of their special social seclusion and quest for spiritualism.[76] Possibly, an increasing number of Jews would be drawn to the Essenes and convert to the sect.

Essene involvement in Judean society, or the involvement of at least certain outstanding Essene figures, is also supported by additional evidence. During the Great Revolt against the Romans, John the Essene was appointed as the general of Thmana, Lydda, Joppa and Emmaus by the public assembly (headed by the Jerusalem elite) on the Temple Mount.[77] It is not necessary to explain his appointment as a turn in the Essene social or political stance due to the events of the Great Revolt. The fact that John was elected by the assembly may attest to a certain social esteem he enjoyed within the Jerusalem leadership during the years preceding the revolt.

5 The Essenes as an Extension of the Qumran Movement

It is now apparent that the Essenes cannot be identified with the *yaḥad* or the Damascus Covenant. But who were they? Albert Baumgarten, Martin Goodman and Steve Mason believe that they were a separate sect that had no relation to the Qumran movement.[78] Theoretically, it is not inconceivable that more than one contemporary introversionist sectarian movement existed within Second Temple society (as in fact occurred in 16th century central Europe, 17th century England and 19th century United States). If this interpretation is accepted, the more general common characteristics they share merely mark their introversion-

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1966, 128-162. By a way of analogy, the social power embodied in an accurate prophesy can be equated with the that of the magical shaman.

75   *Ant.* 15:371-372.

76   As Gray (1993, 99-100, 105, 111) noted, Josephus believed that the Essenes' ability to predict the future derived, in part, from their virtuousness character. See *Ant.* 15:373, 379; 17:354.

77   *War* 2:562-568. In *War* 3:12 John is listed among the three leaders of the expedition attacking Ascalon.

78   A. Baumgarten 1994a; Goodman 1995; Mason forthcoming.

ist character: emphasis on moral behavior, common property, and re-
stricting connections with the outside world. But still, it is less probable
that the Essenes and the Qumranites developed independently in such
proximity, in the same period. It is more reasonable that these two
groups had some historical ties, quite like the genealogic relationship
between the different Anabaptists sects.

In fact, although the Qumran branches and the Essenes are not
identical, they shared many general characteristics as well as several
specific features. There are several striking parallels between the Esse-
nes and the *yaḥad* or the Damascus Covenant in relation to very specific
legal practices: prohibitions on moving vessels on the Sabbath, on
preparations in the course of the Sabbath, and on intercourse with a
pregnant woman;[79] the role of the priests in the preparation of bread
and the priestly prayer/blessing before the meal.[80] Above, I have al-
ready discussed certain similarities related to the admission of novices
and the discharge of excretion.

These similarities cannot be accidental and attest to a certain de-
pendency or a common root. The acute question therefore concerns the
relationship between the two.[81] Several suggestions have been brought
forward to resolve the relationship between the Essenes and the Qum-
ran movement, while maintaining consistency with the evidence. These
proposals were all influenced by the portrait of the Essenes as a large
movement of at least four thousand members, and the assumption that
the Essenes were a movement larger then the Qumranites.

Furthermore, as shown in Chapters 5 and 6, the Qumran sects
probably developed from the groups represented in 1 Enoch and Jubi-
lees, which did not maintain a sectarian ideology of separation, but
were reform movements seeking public influence. Therefore, any the-
ory proposed to explain the relationship between the Essenes and the
Qumran sects must account for the Qumranites' correspondence with
the worldview of Enoch and Jubilees on the one hand, and the Qum-
ranic similarities with the Essene taboos and rituals, on the other hand.

One quite general solution is to regard the Qumranites as a certain
type of Essenes, such as were not described by Philo and Josephus. This
view pre-supposes the contemporaneous existence of several Essene
sub-groups, one of which was represented by the scrolls.[82] This theory,

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79   All these are found in the Damascus Document. See J. Baumgarten 1992a, 504-505 for
       references and bibliography.
80   *War* 2:131; 1QS 6:4-5.
81   See Davies 1990, esp. 168.
82   Sanders 1992, 345; Kister 1986, 9; Boccaccini 1998, 46-49. Boccaccini (*ibid*. 31-46),
       concluded that the Qumranites were strict Essenes who (in contrast to the Essenes

however, cannot explain why the Essenes were celibates while the Qumran sects adhered to family life, or why the Damascus Covenant maintained private ownership of property as opposed to the Essene communalism. Nor does this theory address the historical relationship between the Essenes and the Qumran sects.

García-Martínez (in his so-called Groningen hypothesis) and Davies suggested that Qumran represents a later split within the original Essene movement, although their theories contain no discussion of the similarities and differences between the Essenes and the Qumranites and fail to explain the social mechanism through which the Essenes were transformed into the *yaḥad* or the Damascus Covenant. In their view, the Essenes were an apocalyptic movement that may be traced back to the end of the third or the beginning of the second century BCE, when some of its members left to follow the Teacher of Righteousness. This is a more complex reconstruction, but provides no foundation for identifying the original group as "Essenes."[83]

Gabriel Boccaccini advanced the theory that the Essenes continued the Enochic movement and that the Qumran sects split from the Enochic Essenes.[84] Boccaccini's theory that the Essenes continued the Enochic movement has no support in 1 Enoch and Jubilees: none of the

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described by Philo or Josephus) adhered to common property and celibacy. I have found Boccaccini's exceptional analysis of Philo and Josephus unconvincing. Moreover, his discussion of Qumran is based on archaeological remains and not on the scrolls.

83   García-Martínez and van der Woude 1990, 537-538. Dating the Essenes to the third century BCE and labeling them as apocalyptic movement is without foundation. García Martínez and Trebolle Barrera 1995, 87-91 argue that the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers seceded from the original group and established themselves in Qumran due to a controversy surrounding the calendar, festivals and cultic laws according to the Teacher's revelations. They find Essene markers in 1 Enoch and Jubilees, such as predestination, "interpretation," communion with angels, and the eschatological Temple, but these are either too general or unmentioned in the descriptions of the Essenes to offer convincing evidence that allows us to identify this original group with the Essenes. In fact, their presumption that the Teacher departed from the Essenes due to disputes related to halakhah and calendar issues (*ibid.*, 92-96) is refuted by the contents of Jubilees (if one follows the common view that Jubilees preceded the Qumran sects). Davies 1992, 121-125 viewed the *yaḥad* as a splinter group of the Essenes, and suggested that the Essenes were already formed in late 3rd-early 2nd centuries BCE (*ibid.*, 124; cf. Davies 1987, 107-134; 1996, 61-78), although he fails to present adequate grounds for such dating.

84   Boccaccini 1998. Cf. Beckwith 1981; Davies 1987, 107-134; Collins 1997; Boccaccini 2005.

distinctive Essene characteristics are found in these documents and thus Enoch and Jubilees cannot be related in any way to the Essenes. [85]

Chapters 5-6 demonstrate that the Qumran sects probably evolved from the reform movements reflected in 1 Enoch and Jubilees, which were not sects at all. The Qumranites' "parent group" was therefore not sectarian, and therefore cannot be identified as the Essenes. Another significant reason why the Essenes cannot antedate the *yahad* or the Damascus Covenant of the late second century BCE, is the fact that the scrolls are much more ancient than the testimony of Philo and Josephus, who described the Essene way of life in the middle or late first century CE. Any attempt to reverse this chronological sequence must be supported by weighty evidence, which these theories fail to offer.

I suggest that the Essenes were a later development of the Qumran movement.[86] The Essenes are related to the Qumran sects since, with the exception of celibacy and public prophecies, it is possible to trace most of the major components of their lifestyle to either the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant. I regard the Essenes as a later development not only due to fact that the scrolls are more ancient than descriptions of the Essenes, but because the Essenes appear to be a more complex social phenomenon in comparison to either Qumran branch. Such social or religious complexity seems to result from a process of evolution over several generations, and the adoption of new modes of behavior that are incorporated into older practices.[87]

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85 Boccaccini 1998, 178 argues that "Mainstream Enochic literature offers a much better setting for the ideology of mainstream Essene movement...than the sectarian literature of Qumran". Boccaccini (*ibid.*, 165-185) points to general conceptions common to Enoch and Josephus' Essenes (sacred books, angels, healing, providence, and immortality of the soul), and sensitivity to the pitfalls of sexuality and wealth shared by the Essenes and the Epistle of Enoch and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. However, these can only attest to some influence, certainly not to identity or direct continuity. Boccaccini also understates the close behavioral affinities (boundaries of separation and rituals) between the Qumranites and the Essenes, all of which are unattested in the Enochic corpus.

86 This possibility was mentioned recently by A. Baumgarten (2004, 189): "we should not argue that such disagreements...reflect discrepancies that arose over time". "As the Qumran group had a complicated past... perhaps it had some sort of "genealogical" connection with the Essenes" (Baumgarten refers in a footnote to the Groningen Hypothesis). "Perhaps one group was an offshoot of the other, or perhaps they had some common ancestor."

87 Transformations in religious practices and social boundaries may also result, although indirectly, from external social changes, such as the fall of Hasmonean state and the rise of the Herodian regime or Roman province.

Essene practices reflects a more complex ideology since they combine a stringent introversionist tendency to maintain boundaries concerning marriage, commerce, new members and other issues, with a certain aspiration for political power through public prophecies (it is possible that the group's political involvement began only in the Herodian period, but it did supplement rather than replace the group's social separation during this period). It is hard to imagine that the *yahad*, which stressed its total social segregation and hatred towards the outside society (see Chapter 2), had similar political interests.

Another indication of Essene social and religious complexity in comparison to the Qumran sects is the fact that the Essenes exhibited a combination of features, some of which can be traced exclusively to the *yahad*, while others can be traced exclusively to the Damascus Covenant. That several of these features contradicted each other, as we understand from a comparison of the accounts of the Essenes in Josephus and Philo, indicates that the Essenes did not develop a coherent innovative system of beliefs and values in an isolated environment *ab initio*. Essentially, the Essenes had the sufficient sophistication to "pick and choose" from among the available concurrent and historic selection of ideological, social, ritual and organizational attributes of preceding groups, the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant. This probably results from the Essenes' development from both Qumranic groups simultaneously.

As already mentioned above, in *Quod*. Philo notes that the Essenes live in the villages and avoid the cities because of urban iniquities (although in *Hypothetica* he argues that they live in cities and villages) while Josephus' Essenes live in the cities. The *yahad* is usually regarded as spatially secluded (in the desert?), while the members of the Damascus Covenant also live in towns or cities.[88]

Philo's statement that the Essenes "serve God not with sacrifices of animal, but by resolving to the sanctity of their minds" seems to suit the *yahad*'s conception of prayer and morality (and also communal punishments in 4QD) as (temporal) substitutes for the sacrificial rites.[89] Josephus says that the Essenes were barred from the Temple and performed their sacrifices "by themselves." This corresponds only partially with the condemnation of the Temple as afflicted with moral impurity in Pesher Habakkuk and CD as well as with the *yahad*'s substitutes.

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88 Cities or towns ('*ir*) are mentioned in CD 10:21 and 11:5-6 in relation to the limited walking distance on Sabbath. CD 12:19 refers to the "rule for the assembly of the cities of Israel" namely, to the communities who dwell in the cities. On the *yahad*, cf. the discussion of the desert motif in Chapter 1.

89 *Quod*. 75; 1QS 9:4-5; 4QDᵃ 11// 4QDᵉ 7 I.

Josephus also adds that the Essenes nonetheless sent offerings to the Temple, which parallels a passage in CD 11:18-20 ordering that offerings to the Temple should be sent only by a (morally) pure messenger.[90]

Here, Philo's Essenes are more similar to the *yaḥad* whereas Josephus' Essenes have more in common with the Damascus Covenant. However, one cannot distinguish between two Essene branches which parallel the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant: unlike all the Essenes, the Covenant did not maintain common property, and in contrast to most of the Essenes, both the Covenant and the *yaḥad* were not celibate. Rather, I think that the correspondence of practices between the Essenes, on one hand, and both the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, on the other hand, derives from the development of the Essenes from both of these Qumran sects.

In any event, the Essenes were very similar to Qumran sects, especially to the *yaḥad*, but yet, quite different: They took upon themselves addition exceptional obligations, such as the renouncing of marriage and sexuality, and abstaining from taking oaths. They were an extremely introversionist sect, but yet performed casual sallies into political life. They were probably much more successful and numerous than either the *yaḥad* or the Damascus Covenant. This last fact is indeed very surprising. Why would four thousand Jews choose to withdraw from social life and abstain from most of pleasures and material benefits of life, most of them renouncing family and sexuality?

Although the Essenes pushed Jewish sectarianism to its edge, in the renunciation of sexuality and family life, their fundamentalism led to flourishing rather than extinction. Similar success had befallen the celibate Shakers in the middle of the nineteen century.[91] Comparisons with the Shaker as well as other introversionist sects may thus shed some light on Qumranic and Essene practices and beliefs. The following chapters are devoted to such comparisons.

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90 *Ant.* 18:19. For the interpretation of this problematic passage, see A. Baumgarten 1994b. Baumgarten suggests that the "sacrifices" that the Essenes performed "for themselves" were the burning of the Red Heifer, due to their stress on ritual purity. Josephus does not explain why they were barred from the Temple. On the attitude towards the Temple in *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, see Chapter 2.

91 For the Shaker flourishing, see in Chapter 1. The Essene prosperity seems to contradict Redekop's (1974) theory that sect which challenges strongly the values of the society would face more difficulties and even extinction.

Part III

A Comparative Study of Sectarianism: The Qumran Sects and the Anabaptists, Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish, Puritans, Quakers and Shakers

Chapter 8
Comparing Sectarian Rituals and Organizational Patterns

1 Introduction

We know quite a lot about the daily life, rituals and the organization of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. But which features are typical of sectarian organizations and which are unique to Qumran? More importantly, what are the social aims and cultural meanings of these practices? The socio-anthropological study of sectarianism has not, to my knowledge, made any attempt to study sectarian practices as a basis for a theory of everyday sectarian behavior and administration.

To answer these questions, one cannot merely apply to a general social theory, but one must compare the Qumran sects to other sects' rituals and patterns of organization. Such a comparison may also indicate whether the Qumran sects conform to practices and organizational patterns followed by other introversionist sects. A comparison with other introversionist sects also occasionally fills the gaps of knowledge regarding the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant by using available details known from other sects, when the related context and circumstances of the ritual or the organizational pattern are similar. The following comparison also stresses the differences between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, which are distinct in relation to admission to the sect, social hierarchy and organization.

The comparison with other introversionist sects is therefore necessary to show that many rituals, practices and patterns of organization in Qumran are sectarian by definition, namely, other sects tend to do the same. This is not a pure parallelism. The recognition that a certain ritual has affinities in other introversionist sects illuminates the social role of a ritual and its underlying ideology, that is, why it is performed and how is it related to the sectarian introversionist ideology. Parallelism is therefore a key to explanation. It shows us that groups and people of the same social category tend to follow similar patterns of behavior. When we relate modes of behavior to explicit ideas and social

matrixes, we can understand how the rituals, means of social structure, and other features shape sectarian life and perpetuate its ideology.

After discussing the methodology of socio-historical comparisons in the Introduction, and introducing the Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish, Puritans, Quakers and Shakers in Chapter 1, I would like to reiterate that I am not comparing sects in the general sense of the term, but comparing introversionist sects that share the same social stance. In the present chapter, I compare the rituals and organization of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant with those of these early-modern introversionist sects with specific reference to social boundaries, admission of new members, rite of passage into adulthood, sanctions and punishments, rituals of confession, community institutions, social structure and hierarchy, subdivision and branching, and finally, the relationship between different segments of the sect. As I have already explained in the Introduction, it is possible that similar isolated parallels to non-sectarian communities, such as in utopian communities, the Kibbutz, or other voluntary associations, exist with regard to specific issues. However, a comparison to other introversionist sects, which is based on shared socio-cultural worldview, provides numerous correlations which also have social and anthropological implications.

This chapter focuses on social boundaries, the most obvious feature of sectarianism in general and introversionist sects in particular, and illustrates the different and complex mechanisms of social boundaries that sects employ to separate themselves from the outside world. In addition, sects also use mechanisms to define and maintain internal boundaries that separate between different hierarchies within the group or between different segments (stricter and lenient) of the same movement. The complexity of sectarian boundary marking illustrated below attests to the sophistication of sectarian societies, and also illuminates how specific social mechanisms conform to and serve religious ideologies.

2   Admission into the Sect

One of the most important characteristics of a group is the manner in which it selects its members. Sectarian societies tend to carefully screen converts in order to prevent later defections or disobedience. According to the Community Rule, the *yaḥad* demanded a complicated process of admission that lasted more than two years: (1) Examination of the candidate for membership by a sectarian official. This stage may have included a physical and astrological examination of the candidate's body

to determine whether the candidate is a Son of Light/Truth or Son of Darkness/Evil.[1] The candidate then declared his intention "to enter into the covenant so that he can revert to the truth and shun all injustice."[2] (2) Approval of his candidacy by the community's assembly. (3) One year of conditional membership during which the candidate was not permitted to touch "purities," probably solid food. (4) An additional examination by the assembly. (5) A second year of probationary membership, during which he was still prohibited from coming in contact with "liquids," probably drinks and ritual baths.[3]

Several parallels to the *yaḥad's* screening process can be found among the Shakers. In their earliest days, the Shakers conducted physical examinations of candidates, including touching. They then recited the Shaker's doctrine, e.g., the millennial dispensation, to the candidate. Candidates who were deemed ready were introduced to more esoteric doctrines, such as the need to confess to the leaders, the condemnation of marriage as sinful, and the idea of progression through degrees of punishments.[4] New converts were required to leave behind the pollution of the outside world by confessing their sins.[5] In the probationary period, Shaker novices continued to work outside but were permitted to worship with the other novices and elders.[6] They were also permitted to retain their property in their probation period, quite like the candidates to the *yaḥad.*[7]

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1   A physical inspection of one's legs and hair to detect criteria for being a Son of Light or Darkness is attested to in 4Q4Q186 *Cryptic* (Allegro 1968, 88-91). See Licht 1965b; Alexander 1986, 342-347, 364-366. This text also introduces a method of astrological calculations (Schmidt 1998).

2   1QS 6:15.

3   1QS 6:14-23. In contrast, the Damascus Covenant as well as another rule in the *yaḥad's* Community Rule, only demanded that the candidate vows loyalty to the covenant's law following an examination by the sect's overseer: "to revert to the law of Moses with a whole heart and a whole soul", as was revealed to the sect. See CD 15:5-13; 1QS 5:7-9.

4   Stein 1992, 16. The only similar rigorous screening process in early Christianity is attested to in the *Apostolic Tradition* (attributed to a third century Roman church). See Finn 1989.

5   Johnson 1967, 37; Stein 1992, 96.

6   Mckelvie Whitworth 1975, 25.

7   1QS 6:17-20. Shaker candidates (junior class) were permitted to retain their property as long as they thought proper, or could choose to dedicate their property, in part or in entirety, and "consecrate" it forever to the Society (Evans 1858, 48-49). Note that the *yaḥad* were more cautious: in the first year of probation, candidates' property remained separate, was "signed over" to the sect in the second probationary year, and fully joined to the property of the *yaḥad* only when the process of admission was completed. This may be explained by the *yaḥad's* sensitivity to the moral impurity of

Hence, in both sects, the admission of new members was selective and gradual, although the *yaḥad's* was more rigorous, since novices were not fully integrated into religious life in the first two years. The Essene process of admission was even more rigorous and lasted three years. In the first year novices were excluded from the "purer water for purification", and during the next two years they were restricted from the common meals.[8]

A gradual, but less selective admission is practiced by the Amish and Hutterites. The Amish require a period of time before taking new members into full fellowship.[9] The admission into the Hutterites is similar to the *yaḥad's* economic process of admission (the Hutterites also share common property): a novice in the *yaḥad* community retained his own property in his first year of probation. When he was accepted to the second and final year, the sect's overseer assumed authority over his property and production. After this second year, if he was finally accepted, his property and production were finally integrated into the community's assets.[10] As for the Hutterites, a convert who seeks admission into the Hutterite Brethren (quite a rare occasion, since the Hutterite are not missionaries) has to live in the community as a candidate for one year or longer, in order to study their doctrine. During this period, his property remains his own. After that stage, if the congregation agrees that he qualifies, the candidate is accepted and his property is transferred to the community.[11] Here too the parallelism is not complete, since the *yaḥad* was more selective and cautious in introducing foreign property, which was considered sinful and polluting.[12]

The similarities in the admission processes of the *yaḥad*, the Essenes and the Shakers, Amish and Hutterites show that gradual admission is

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wealth (see Chapters 2 and 10). Junior class Shaker members were required to sign a contract stipulating the gratuitous nature of their contributions or exchange, goods and services. They received food, lodging, clothing and medical care from the Shaker Family, and assurance that they would be cared for in their old age. They did not receive a salary. Should the junior member leave the Family, only those goods inscribed on the inventory would be returned to him. See Desroche 1971, 190-191.

8   War 2:137-138. See Chapter 7.

9   Hostetler 1968, 61.

10   1QS 6:17-23. A possible case of transferring an estate and a slave of a new member to the *yaḥad* is attested to in ostraca recently discovered in Kh. Qumran. See Cross and Eshel 1997.

11   Peters 1965, 179-180. For the lack of missionary motivation see *ibid.*, 78.

12   1QS 5:15-20.

typical of introversionist sects.[13] In view of these examples, however, the openness of the Damascus Covenant (and the more lenient law in the Community Rule 5) in accepting new members without a thorough examination or probation period is quite exceptional. One may suspect that this trend was motivated by a missionary tendency.[14] Indeed, the Damascus Covenant was much less introversionist than the *yaḥad*, Shakers, and Hutterites in at least one other important aspect: it did not maintain communal property ownership, which is also possibly consistent with a relatively greater openness towards the world.

The process of gradual admission is not merely an administrative matter. It represents a belief system based on separation. Admission represented the crossing of an important social boundary that divided the sect from the outside world. The purpose of the two-year period required by the *yaḥad*, was not to transform the candidate from a potential son of darkness to a son of light. As the Instruction of the Two Spirits indicates, an individual's character was predestinated by God. The gradual admission was necessary in order to demonstrate the convert's true nature. The dualistic framework of viewing non-members simultaneously as potential candidates and as suspected sons of darkness who endanger the community is also typical of the early Anabaptists and the later Bruderhof (who joined the Hutterites).[15]

The Community Rule, however, does not explain how the *yaḥad* confirms that a candidate is a person of truth and righteousness. The criteria for acceptance in three of the five phases are, succinctly put, to "test him about his spirit (literally: intelligence) and about his deeds". Candidates were considered impure and unworthy of full membership "unless they turn away from one's wickedness."[16]

The Separatist Puritans also coped with this problem, and their solution may shed light on the procedure used by the *yaḥad*. Like the *yaḥad* (in the Instruction of the Two Spirits and the Hodayot), the Puritans believed that true faith is a divine grace, namely, that true believers are chosen by God. The Puritans therefore accepted only those who were saved. They regarded saved individuals according to the manner in which they demonstrated receiving saving faiths through their lives,

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13 The Puritans sometimes required novices to be examined and confess publicly before the elders (Winthrop 1996, 56, 61). For admission into the Puritan church by inspection, see Morgan 1999, 69-71. On the principle of novitiate as a sectarian characteristic, see Weber 1948, 303-322, esp. 317.

14 On the missionary character of the Damascus Covenant, see Murphy O'Connor 1974; Davies 1983.

15 Goertz 1996, 13-15, 40, 90; Oved 1996, 29.

16 1QS 6:14, 17, 18; 5:14, respectively.

beliefs and religious experiences. A declaration explicitly rejecting the fellowship of the Anglican Church also served as a measure of commitment.[17]

We have seen similar mechanisms of testing one's spirit and deeds, as well as a similar vow of loyalty in the Community Rule. The fact that other sects acted similarly simply adds more weight to the available evidence and encourages us to uncover its social significance. The parallels from other sects teach us that there was no external, clear-cut criterion of worthiness for candidates. Only continuous observation of the candidate's behavior and manners would reveal whether he conformed to the sect's requirements. The candidate was therefore closely observed by the full members, and under intensive social pressure to conform.

3   Passage to Adulthood

According to the Damascus Document and other Qumran texts, affiliated persons participated in a certain initiation rite at the age of twenty, in order to become full members. The initiation process, known as "passing among those who are mustered (*pekudim*)," also entailed payment of one half shekel as atonement for one's soul.[18] There is no explicit description of the rite, but it probably was performed at the annual communion covenant ceremony (on which, see below), allowing young members to take their first vow of loyalty as other members renewed their commitment to the group. Although the scrolls contain very little information on the rationale or origin of this ceremony, similar initiation rites practiced by all Anabaptist sects may shed some light on these issues.

The initiation ceremony of baptism on confession of faith was one of the causes for the Anabaptists' departure from Protestantism in the

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17   Morgan 1963, 34-37. In certain communities, confession was also required, see below. While some Puritans decided that a demonstration of saving faith was not necessary, others placed increasing importance on this element, and inquired into the religious experience of prospective members. Later, in the New England congregations, saving grace became a requirement for admission. See Morgan 1963, 35-47, 54, 73, 93. I think that this debate reflects the difficulty to define criteria for judging candidates' spiritual propriety or readiness.

18   For the minimum age of twenty for "passing among those who are mustered," see CD 9:23-10:2 (minimal age for testimony); 1QSa 1:9-11 (minimal age for sexual relations and matrimony that is anticipated in the messianic age). According to CD 15:16-17, juveniles cannot enter the covenant. For the half-shekel payment, see 4Q159 Ordinances[a] frags. 1 II + 9, 6-7; Temple Scroll 39:8-11; Liver 1961.

Reform revolution, as attested to in their name – Anabaptists.[19] The
Hutterite initiation rite for young members (19-26 years old) is per-
formed through baptism, at their request. Baptism is usually performed
once a year on Palm Sunday or Pentecost. Candidates are baptized only
with the consent of the entire colony, after an instruction period in
which they demonstrate obedience and commitment, and are examined
scrupulously. The sermon of baptism concerns repentance, rebirth and
the discipline of the church, and the ceremony includes a vow of com-
plete commitment to the Lord.[20] Only after baptism can the young
Hutterites participate in daily rituals. To become full congregation
members, Amish who reach adulthood are also baptized (baptism
includes confession), after several weeks of instruction on the rules of
the church by the ministers. Baptism is performed only once a year,
preceding the full communion service.[21]

In the Old Order Mennonite colony, when a young person feels and
understands the need to become a church member, he or she is as-
signed a sponsor who reports to the *Lehrdinest* (bishop and ministers)
on the youth's readiness for membership. The youth receives instruc-
tion by the minister on his or her confession of faith, and is publicly
examined in the presence of the congregation, and only then is bap-
tized.[22] The Puritans also demanded an age of consent from their mem-
bers and were reluctant to baptize infants, since only those who had
God's saving graced were permitted to join them.[23]

A similar idea underlies the initiation rites upon adulthood: mem-
bership is a spiritual merit that is not conferred automatically. Al-
though the sect truly hopes that all youngsters will become members,
youngsters must be prepared for this religious vocation and examined.
A special rite is necessary in order to elevate them to a degree of sancti-
fication. The evidence reviewed above elucidates that the concept of
initiation upon adulthood, and a demand for self-preparation and con-
sciousness for religious commitment are characteristic of introversionist

19   Hostetler 1968, 49, 51-52.
20   Hostetler, 1974, 235-237, 337-338.
21   Hostetler 1968, 51-58, 113. For the confession, see Nolt 1992, 53. In certain Old Order
     Amish communities, youngsters are currently freed from normal restrictions for a
     period of two or three year around the age of eighteen, in order to experience the
     outside world. At the end of this period, most choose to live as Amish. cf. Kraybill
     2001, 184-186. Thus, the Amish who are born into the movement reaffirm the mem-
     bership by choice.
22   Redekop 1969, 58. Usually the young person applies for church membership when
     he is ready to marry, the impetus being the requirement that a person must be a
     member of the Church before the marriage ceremony can be performed.
23   Morgan 1963, 46-47, 125-138.

sects, and, at the very least, are associated with the sectarian ideology of spirituality and sanctification.[24] Admission upon adulthood is also one of the markers of separation from the surrounding religious community.

Certain similarities are also evident in the Qumranic and Hutterian or Amish initiation rites. Both the Qumran sectarians and the Amish seem to associate the final initiation rite with the annual (or semi-annual) communion ceremony in which all members participated. The content of the Hutterian ceremony of initiation to adulthood resembles the communion ceremony of the *yahad*:[25] the commitment refers to repentance, atonement, discipline concerning the groups' orders, as well as to its purity restrictions. However, although the Qumranites immersed very often (see Chapter 2), there is no evidence that the Qumranic communion included ritual baptism. The procedure and content of Qumranic admission to adulthood are unknown, but due to general similarities noted above, they may have included some of the components found in the Hutterian parallel.

4 Sanctions and Punishments: Exclusion from Meetings and Rituals

Daily life in a sect takes place within a framework of discipline. Members are committed to a certain ideology and social behavior, yet not all are equally able or ready for such a demanding commitment. For such individuals, deviance or disobedience is inevitable. Transgression endangers the cohesion of the sect, and the manner in which it responds to internal threats testifies to its social structure and religious belief system. The detailed penal codes of the Community Rule and the Damascus Document have been discussed in Chapter 2. A comparison with sanctions and punishments of other sects may clarify their social function and illuminate their uniqueness.

The penal codes of the Community Rule and the Damascus Document list three types of punishments: (1) Members were expelled if they informed outsiders about the sect, voiced complaints about its teaching,

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24 See Wilson's characterization of a sect in Chapter 1. For baptism as a symbol of spiritual rebirth or initiation and for the Anabaptist schism concerning adult baptism, see Meslin 1987; Dyck 1987a. For Anabaptist documents on the spiritual theology of baptism, see Williams and Mergal 1957. Opposition to infant baptism was also characteristic of some Puritans, including Increase Mather (Middlekauff 1971, 121-124).

25 1QS 1:16-3:12.

or betrayed the sect. (2) Membership was curtailed, and members were excluded from participation in meetings or communal meals. This was the penalty for lying about financial issues or gossiping about other members. (3) Members' food supply was rationed by one fourth for a period extending between several days, to a year or two. This was the most common type of punishment and was used for improper behavior at council meetings, answering one's fellow with stubbornness, addressing him impatiently, or bearing a grudge. Penalties also included various combinations of the second and third punishment classes, which were applied in cases such as a member who fell asleep in the assembly of the *rabbim*, or "one whose spirit swerves from the authority of the *yaḥad* by dealing treacherously with the truth and by walking in the stubbornness of his heart, if he returns (i.e. repents)."[26]

Other sectarian movements employ punishments which are similar to the first and second Qumran punishment classes, and mention similar offences. Exclusion from full participation in the sect's rituals and activities as a punishment for immoral behavior is characteristic of the Shakers, and, under certain circumstances, the Hutterites and Amish. According to the Shakers' "Millennial Laws" (1821), believers who engage in "tattling, tale-bearing and backbiting" are excluded from worship until their confession. Those who take part in a "conversation which tends to excite lustful sensations... stand behind all" in the worship of God until their confession. The same applies to members who insult, irritate or express anger towards other members.[27]

Excommunication, avoidance or shunning (*Meidung*, on which see also further below) are most extreme sanctions applied by the Mennonites, Hutterites and Amish. Shunning was one of the main sanctions among the early Mennonites, but is very rare among modern Hutterites.[28] In the event of continuous transgressions, Hutterites excommunicate the member, which means that the transgressor, while not expelled, is not permitted to eat with others or participate in work or the

26   1QS 7:18-21.
27   Johnson 1967, 46. On the force of evil that threatened to contaminate the Believers, and the efforts to maintain purity inside the society, see Stein 1992, 96. The same phenomenon in Qumran is discussed in Chapter 2.
28   The centrality of shunning and its practical aspect is discussed in the writings of Menno Simons, such as "On the Ban: Questions and Answers" (Williams and Mergal 1957, 263-271). On the rarity of expulsion from the Hutterite colony, see Peters. 160. Note, however, that the Hutterian constitution reserves the right to expel members (*ibid.*, 200). For excommunication in the early Hutterite movement and the Bruderhof, see Rideman 1970, 131-132; Oved 1996, 135-136. Indeed, excommunication was practiced by the medieval Catholic Church, but was sometimes found ineffective and discontinued by the popes (Southern 1970, 20-21, 134-135).

colony's daily life. Adolescent members who commit transgressions are physically punished or publicly shamed by the Hutterite ministers or the colony's council, but they are not deprived of food or work.[29] In case of a serious misdemeanor, the delinquent may be required to appear before the congregation at the end of the church service and express contrition.[30]

Amish members who are known to be guilty of minor offences, yet fail to confess, are punished by "getting set back from communion," meaning that they are not permitted to participate in the communion ceremony.[31] A more severe transgression leads to a six-week period of excommunication, during which the offender meets with the minister for admonition during the church service. The offender enters after everyone else has been seated, and is barred from the meal which follows the Amish ceremony. At the end of the excommunication period, the offender kneels and recites his confession at the Members' Meeting.[32] Shunning (Meidung) is the Amish equivalent to the Qumranic expulsion. Expelled Amish members feel helpless and unable to cope with the isolation from their friends and relatives, and typically would either repent or leave the community.[33]

Several parallels from other sects may teach us more about the consequences of excommunication or expulsion. Members' transgressions are treated as a threat to the integrity of the sect's social boundary of separation from the outside world, by causing a breach through which the world threatens to affect the sect. Therefore such sanctions are not merely means of securing discipline and social cohesiveness. They are designed to preserve the foundation of introversionist sectarianism, namely, the social boundary of separation from the outside world.[34] The excommunicated person may even be unable to join another community of the same movement,[35] and therefore excommunication effectively traps the transgressor between the sect and the world. Expelled members may even continue to feel committed to the doctrine of hostil-

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29   Hostetler 1974, 289-290.

30   Peters 1965, 158.

31   Hostetler 1968, 120-121. For Amish shunning, see below.

32   Kraybill 2001, 133-134.

33   For the practice of shunning and its history, see Hostetler 1968, 29-32, 62-65, 241-244, 306-307. For Amish sanctions, confession to the church, excommunication (shunning) and expulsion, see ibid., 14.

34   The Old Order Mennonites believe that God would punish them for failing to remain pure from the effects of the world (Redekop, 1969, 30). Cf. the idea of collective responsibility concerning sin and punishment discussed in Chapter 2.

35   Redekop 1969, 110-111. Excommunication may even require that a wife avoid any contact with her husband or vice versa (ibid., 68-69).

ity towards the world. As Josephus noted, an expelled Essene "often comes to a most miserable end. For, being bound by their oaths and usages, he is not at liberty to partake of other men's food, and so falls to eating grass and wastes away and dies of starvation. This has led them in compassion to receive many back in the last stage of exhaustion, deeming that torments which have brought them to the verge of death are a sufficient penalty for their misdoings."[36]

The social ties of friendship and common destiny that have lasted for years are not easily terminated when a member is expelled, and especially when the excommunicated person is in need of material assistance and spiritual support. There is further evidence for attempted communication between excommunicated members and sect members. The Community Rule orders that one who fraternizes with an excommunicated member (who betrayed the *yaḥad* after at least ten years of membership) with regard to his purity or goods, will be also be expelled.[37] This attraction of banished members to the sect from which they were expelled highlights the dual function of excommunication as both a spiritual and a social sanction.[38]

Interestingly, there is no equivalent in other sects for the Qumranic punishment of food reduction.[39] What compelled the *yaḥad* (and perhaps also the *rabbim* phase of the Damascus Covenant) to create and frequently employ this odd punishment of "minor torture"? Why were their members willing to endure such odd penalties each time they strayed slightly from the ideal behavior to which they were committed?

I suggest that the use of this peculiar sanction to punish minor offences is related to the strict Qumranic moral code and the aim of eliminating the slightest sin. The Qumran sectarians, more than other sects, viewed their moral system as the most fundamental basis of their existence, and pursued morality and obedience incessantly: the penal codes of the Community Rule as well as the fragments of the Damascus Document from Cave 4 are very detailed, covering almost every possi-

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36   *War* 2.143-144, noted by A. Baumgarten 1997a, 55 n. 58, who also discussed the
     problem of rebuilding the bridge to the world once burnt.
37   1QS 7:22-25. Cf. 1QS 8:23-24.
38   Cf. Hill 1964, 365-370, 377-381. Members' dependency on the sect, even when they
     do not fully share its convictions, is demonstrated by cases in which Old Order Men-
     nonites seek more freedom and technological progress and transgress the colony rul-
     ings, but nevertheless remain in the sect since no other social or religious setting
     suits their general endorsement of the Mennonite teachings. See Redekop 1969, 46-
     55.
39   Food rationing was also practiced in Benedictine monasteries. In Christian Monasti-
     cism, however, starvation was valued for its purgatory function of physical pain (cf.
     Asad 1993b), which seems to me irrelevant to the Qumran sects.

ble moral and social transgression. The need to separate themselves from the moral defilement of the outside society was the reason for the Qumran sectarians' withdrawal from the world (i.e. the Hasmonean state), as seen in Chapter 2. Their move from the Temple was made possible by their beliefs that justice and righteous behavior atone for sin and treachery, and could substitute for the corrupt sacrifices in the Jerusalem Temple. It is possible that they used the reduction of food penalty as a "penal liturgy,"[40] as a substitute for the ritualistic function of atoning sacrifices. They typically atoned for their sins publicly, to demonstrate both repentance and re-assert their commitment to the sect.

5 Public Confessions

Confession was required of the members of the Damascus Covenant. They were required to confess their sins against the "ordinance of the covenant," and justify divine punishment of all transgressing Jews who failed to confess and repent.[41] The contents of this confession may imply that it applied to converts who joined the sect (interestingly, it is presented as the ordinance established by the Teacher of Righteousness). Members also confessed regularly at the annual communion ritual of renewing the covenant.[42] Confession formulas appear in the official prayer of the *yaḥad*,[43] as well as in other prayers such as the daily *Words of Luminaries*.[44] Similar practices were also legalized and ritualized among the Shakers and Amish, as well as some of the Puritans.[45]

In their confession, Shaker converts described their past life and sins in great detail. Frequently, confessions were judged insincere or insufficient and were repeated. Confession was believed to expiate sins and purify the convert, and at the same time symbolized his or her rejection of the world and its temptations. The act of confession mortified the convert and promoted humility and submissiveness, qualities

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40   For "penal liturgy" and its social function see Foucault 1977.
41   CD 20:27-32.
42   1QS 1:24-2:1.
43   1QS 11:9-10.
44   4Q504 *DibHam*ᵃ frags. 1-2 II, 15; V 19-20; VI 1-10; frag. 4, 6-7; frags. 5 II + 3 I 5-6; 4Q506 *DibHam*ᵇ frags. 131-132, 14 (Baillet 1982, 140, 146, 147-148, 154, 157, 172).
45   For the Puritan Separatists in Frankfurt, see Morgan 1963, 40. For the demand of repentance from those who joined the Boston Puritans (1679), see *ibid.*, 147.

that Shaker leaders believed essential for believers.[46] Confessions were also performed by transgressing Shakers before assembling for worship. Reproach was a public event and concealment of transgressions was prohibited.[47] I suggest that converts' confessions in the Damascus Document may have had similar spiritual functions.

Amish members confess either on their own initiative or as a procedure of punishing (the latter's function is quite similar to the admonitions discussed below). According to Amish legislation, "church confession is to be made, if practical, where transgression was made. If not, a written request of forgiveness should be made to said church. All manifest sins to be openly confessed before church before being allowed to commune."[48] There are several different levels of Amish confession, depending on the severity of the offense: voluntary confession (before the deacon or minister), mandatory and public confession (of several levels: sitting, kneeling, and kneeling confession including a ban, performed at the Members' Meeting), the strictest leading to a six-week exclusion from congregational meals and fellowship.[49] The Amish, as other Anabaptists, also confess during the ritual of baptism.[50]

I conclude that confession was more than a practice of private repentance in Qumran, as well as among the Shakers and Amish. In the early modern sects, the significance of confession did not merely derive from Christian tradition. The parallels among several introversionist sects highlight the role of confession as a public ritual of social importance that was derived from a special socio-religious ideology and atmosphere. The requirement to confess derives from the basic sectarian aim to repent and atone for the inherently sinful nature of the world and man (discussed in Chapter 1). These movements are motivated to adhere to such strict moral codes not only in response to the call for personal repentance and atonement in the Hebrew Bible or the New Testament, but by an appreciation of the interdependence and mutual responsibility of sect members and a belief that a single transgression can bring down divine, and possibly fatal, punishment on the entire sect.

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46   Shakers 1888, 18; Mckelvie Whitworth 1975, 18. Ann Lee proclaimed that the first offering that God seeks from a sinner is a full confession of and abandonment of all sins forever (Shakers 1888, 13-14, 31).

47   Johnson 1971, 148; 1967, 45-56.

48   "Ordung of a Christian Church" of Amish Church of Pike Country Ohio (1950), cited in Hostetler 1968, 61.

49   Kraybill 1989, 111-114; 2001, 131-133.

50   Nolt 1992, 53. For rituals of public confession (e.g., for insufficient faith in baptism) among the Massachusetts Puritans, see Winthrop 1996, 56, 162; Hambrick-Stowe 1982, 26-27 32.

6 Admonishing Transgressing Members

The *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant established a specific procedure for admonishing transgressors. In the course of the reprimand, other member(s) drew the transgressor's attention to his deed in the presence of witnesses, and cautioned him that he would be punished if he repeated such an act. If one witness testified to the initial commission of a crime and a second witness subsequently testified to a repeated offense, the two testimonies were joined together and sufficed to bring the delinquent to trial.[51]

Scholars have argued that this legal procedure evolved from an exegesis of Lev 19:17-18 that cautions against bearing a sin.[52] However, the evidence from the regulations of other sects indicates that public reprimands are also practiced by other introversionist sects. I therefore conclude that these admonitions were a means to relinquish sins and facilitate adherence to the sects' typically demanding moral code.[53]

A Shaker member who discovers a violation of "the law of Christ or anything contrary to the known doctrine of the gospel… is bound to make it known to the Ministry" or the Elders. Shaker "Laws and Orders" (1860) adds that if members fail to reveal the matter of sin and transgression to the Elders, "they (i.e. the Elders) participate in the guilt and condemnation thereof."[54] According to the Hutterite *Chronicle*, the Anabaptist Ordnung (1529) ordered that when a brother or sister do wrong openly, their behavior should be corrected publicly, before the church, with loving admonition.[55] Public condemnation was also practiced in Old Order Mennonite colonies.[56]

The Community Rule implies that any complaint should be made public in the presence of the accused member without bearing a grudge, and "whoever feels animosity towards his fellow not according to the law (that is, while failing to admonish him properly) will be pun-

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51 1QS 5:25-26; 6:1; CD 9:2-8 (cf. 7:2-3); Schiffman 1983, 89-109; 1993, 185-203.
52 Kugel 1987, 52-55; Shemesh 1997a, 149-155.
53 For admonition as a sectarian institute, see A. Baumgarten, 1997a, 110-112. He noted that it evolved due to a lack of means of enforcement, such as characterize established, hierarchical societies.
54 Johnson 1967, 46-47; 1971, 148. In contrast to Qumranic regulations, Shaker laws prohibit the disclosure of the identity of the complaining member who discovered the transgression.
55 Hutterian Brethern 1987, 78.
56 Redekop 1969, 112.

ished for six months."[57] This also appears to be one of the moral foundations of admonition in other sects as well, and is explicitly stated in the rules of the Bruderhof.[58]

At first glance, the desire to eliminate hostility between members, and the actual admonition process appear to be no more than an adoption of Lev 19:17-18 or Matt 18:15-16. However, this practice was not adopted by other Jews, but was highlighted by the Anabaptists sects and the Shakers. Admonition by fellow members (rather than by Christian clergy) is also quite unique to these sects. The fact that the Qumranites, Anabaptists and Shakers were able to follow a biblical literary tradition should not blur the significant relationship between the admonition ritual and the introversionist way of life. Admonition was adopted by sects that aimed for atonement, morality and strict obedience (such as public ritual of confession). I therefore regard the religious motivation and the pursuit of repentance and atonement as the most important factor that contributed to the development of this practice.

7   The Annual Communion Ceremony

The *yahad*'s Community Rule opens with a description of the annual ritual of "passage into the covenant" in which members renewed their vow of commitment to the sect.[59] It also included blessings for the members, as well as harsh condemnations of those who lived in the evil of the outside world, and those who violated their vow. A similar ritual was probably regulated by the Damascus Covenant.[60] This ceremony was modeled after the biblical covenant ceremony in Deut 27:11-26 and Josh 8:30-35.[61] But the biblical model was not the reason that this communal institution was created. Juxtaposition with the Amish communion shows that such a ceremony is necessary to maintain and reinforce the unity of the sectarian community.

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57   1QS 7:8. My translation follows the interpretation of Licht 1965a, 163. Cf. also CD 14:22. García Martínez and Tigchelaar translate *bemishpat* "for no cause" instead of "according to the law."

58   Oved 1996, 31.

59   1QS 1:16-3:12.

60   4QD[a] frag. 11: 16-19 reads: "all [those who dwell in] the camps will assemble in the third month and will curse whoever tends to the right [or to the left of the law]". Cf. Milik 1972, 135-136.

61   See the commentary of Licht , 1965a, 51-80.

The Amish parallel to the annual "passage into the covenant" is a semiannual communion that includes associated ceremonies which symbolize the unity of the district's members. All members take part in a preparatory service in which the ministers discuss forbidden or discouraged practices. Each member is personally called to express agreement with these orders. The ceremony is an opportunity to confess faults and settle differences among members. Members who have been excommunicated are sometimes re-accepted into the fellowship at this service by kneeling and acknowledging their faults and receiving the right hand of fellowship. The communion ceremony is the most important forum for evaluating personal behavior, establishing consensus, and bringing deviating members into the folds of conformity.[62]

The close affinities between the Qumranite and Amish rituals emphasize their social functions: renewal and reinforcement of members' commitment to the sect's ideas as well as enhanced cohesion and solidarity. Moreover, since they share common features (such as confessions), the Qumran ritual may have included other practical aspects of the Amish communion service: members may have declared their individual commitment to the sect, and may have been evaluated by the community or its overseers.[63]

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62   Hostetler 1968, 119-121; Kraybill 2001, 125-128. Several of these characteristics are present but less emphasized in the Puirtan covenant–renewal ceremony. See Hambrick-Stowe 1982, 126-132. The Shaker semi-annual pilgrimage to "Sinai" (a mount near the Shaker center at Hancock) included fasting, confession and silent prayer (Andrews 1963, 162).

63   There are other parallels between the Qumranites and the other sects in relation to community institutions and related practices which may be interesting although not significant from a socio-cultural perspective. The most important routine institution of the *yaḥad* and the Shakers is the regular meetings (or, in the case of the *yaḥad*, assemblies), where all collective decisions are made. Shaker members were obligated to attend meetings. This duty seems to parallel *yaḥad*'s "assembly of the many." See Johnson 1971, 149-150; Evans, 1858, 39. For fixed hours for the meetings, see Stein 1992, 46. For the Qumranic "assembly of the *rabbim*," see Chapter 4. Compare also the ceremony of the preaching service of the Amish congregation every second Sunday (Hostetler 1968, 102-103). Interestingly, both the *yaḥad* and the Shakers explicitly prohibited sleeping during meetings. See 1QS 7:10; Johnson 1971, 149, 164. See also the Puritan prohibition on falling asleep during the sermons (Miller and Johnson 1963, 348-350).

8   Leadership, Administration and Hierarchy

Sects have been stereotyped as monolithic social bodies that attempt to achieve uniformity and homogeneity through de-individualization.[64] A comparison of patterns of leadership, administration and social hierarchy in several introversionist sects, however, demonstrates the diversity of social structures, and indicates the essential role played by individual religious achievements in some sects. Sectarian leadership and organization may be charismatic or egalitarian, authoritative or relatively democratic, and involve different types of social hierarchy.[65]

We have already reviewed several differences between the social structures of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant in Chapter 4. The following comparisons illustrate their social distinctiveness and the operation of their social systems, and leads to additional suggestions regarding the functions of hierarchy in these groups.

In their early days, the Shakers were led by the charismatic Ann Lee and, in the following generation, by James Whittaker, Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright. Subsequently, each Shaker Family (i.e. local congregation) was headed by a group of Elders, heads of the spiritual administration, and deacons, who were responsible for matters of "temporal businesses," namely, economics and administration. These officials lived separately from the rest of the believers. The Elders' permission was necessary for leaving Family dwellings for any purpose, as well as for telling the rules of the Family to members of other Families. The Shakers' highest religious and judicial authority was the leading Ministry, which could amend any rule. The Ministry was comprised of three or more leaders (both males and females) of the New Lebanon central colony who appointed the Elders and the deacons in the other families. Members who wished to apply the Ministry were required to inform the Elders of their Family, since the Family mediated between individual believers and the Ministry. The Ministry also coordinated mutual visits of members of one Family with another, and occasionally also visited the Families by themselves.[66] The structured authority and

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64   E.g., Coser 1974, 112.
65   W. Stark 1967, 115-120, overstated the "anti-authoritarianism" or egalitarian pattern. Coser 1974, 112-113 overstressed the authoritarian pattern under charismatic leaders. On hierarchy within sectarian societies, see Douglas and Wildavski 1982, 102-125. They maintain that the Hutterites are hierarchical whereas the Amish are egalitarian.
66   Johnson 1971, 145, 148; Andrews 1963, 252-267, 274; Desroche 1971, 211-216; Stein 1992, 91. On Ann Lee and the other main leaders, see Evans 1858; Stein 1992, 18-24, 49-56.

the distinction between spiritual and temporal responsibilities were firmly established throughout Shaker history.[67]

Quite like the Shakers, the leadership and administration of the Damascus Covenant was strictly hierarchic. The Damascus Document pertains to officials called an "overseer" (*mevaker*) or "the priest" who were responsible for both spiritual and administrative matters. In the Damascus Covenant, judges were responsible for judicial and economic affairs.[68] The Damascus Document also refers to a central "overseer of all the camps."[69] It is also probable that the judges of the movement were also selected from the geographically disperse communities to serve in the movement's general court. The Damascus Document and the Pesharim allude to the sect's founder and earliest leader, the Teacher of Righteousness. The Teacher had revelations in which he interpreted biblical prophecies, and "opened the eyes" of the sect's first generation.[70]

Although this is not stressed in the Damascus Document, evidence from the Shaker suggests that the overseers and Elders enjoyed both administrative authority and spiritual superiority. The Shakers believed that "It is the right and the duty of the Ministry to hold the Keys of the Heavenly Kingdom... and to let nothing pass the doors of the House of God."[71] Moreover, when the sectarian officials of the Damascus Covenant or the Shakers required converts to confess in their presence, the officials stood in a special position representing their spiritual superiority. Shaker Elders expressed this belief outspokenly when they questioned the confessing convert or member: "Are you perfect? Do you live without sin?" The Elders continued: "The power of God, revealed in this day, does enable souls to cease from sin; and we have received that power; we have actually left off committing sin, and we live in daily obedience to the will of God."[72]

It is possible that similar attitude was held by the overseers of the Damascus Covenant. Interestingly, the Shaker Elders and Ministry

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67   Stein 1992, 44-45.
68   For the different leaders and administrators, see Jastram 1997 and Chapter 4.
69   CD 14:8-17.
70   CD 1:9-12; 19:33-20:1; 20:27-33. For the Teacher's revelations, see Chapter 1.
71   Andrews 1963, 255. For the subordination of the believer to the leadership and the elder's role to resolve all religious doubts, see Shakers 1888, 154, 248, 281, 284. The members' spiritual dependence on the overseer is mentioned in CD 13:7-13 (see Chapter 4). Compare the Puritan idea of the civil magistrate as "prophesying in the Church," a student of the law of God, who meditates on it day and night and enjoys godly authority (Miller and Johnson 1963, 222, 235, 253-254).
72   Shakers 1888, 14.

were responsible for receiving, transmitting and interpreting revelations,[73] while the revelations of the *yaḥad* were revealed and interpreted by "the many" (*rabbim*) or by the Sons of Zadok the priests, and to the multitude of the men of their covenant.[74]

How did the hierarchical system of officials of the Damascus Covenant and the Shakers evolve? Who created the chain of authority and nominated the first Elders, overseers, priestly officials and deacons? In the case of the Shakers, it was Joseph Meacham who nominated many of these officials and defined their roles.[75] I suggest that when the Damascus Covenant emerged, some charismatic leaders (perhaps among some of who left the *yaḥad*, following my conclusion in Chapter 4 that the Covenant evolved out of the *yaḥad*) established its structure and nominated the first officials, who may have later appointed their successors.

Unlike the strictly hierarchical and structured leadership of the Damascus Covenant and the Shakers, other sects follow less hierarchic and more democratic pattern where a central authority, if exists, does not interfere in the affairs of the local community. Each Hutterite colony (*Bruderhof*) is administered by a council of seven (in which the head preacher is the dominant member) that makes all major religious and economic decisions. This council is elected by the colony's members.[76] Among the Mennonite Brethren, almost half of the male members serve in leadership positions, after being nominated by the believers in each congregation.[77]

The Amish have several community officials, elected by vote in Europe or by lot in America. The Bishop is the spiritual leadership of the local congregation: he preaches Sunday sermons; performs baptisms, marriages and ordinations; pronounces and revokes excommunication (the latter, at the advice of the congregation). The preacher assists the bishop and the full deacon assists in baptism, and sometimes in preaching. The deacon cares for the physical welfare of the congregation, collects members' donations, reads from the Bible during the Sun-

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73 Shakers 1888, 170. "...a believer must not examine for himself the propriety or impropriety of thing...there is no revelation expect through the ministration... we can know nothing of God but through the Elders, by obedience to them" (*ibid.*, 153-154). For an example of the risk of personal charisma which undermines the spiritual order and its institutionalization among the Amish, see Reschly 2000, 132-157.

74 4QS[b] IX 2-3//4QS[d] I 2 ("the many") 1QS 5:9 (sons of Zadok etc.). See Chapters 1 and 4. For the question of who controls the revelations, see A. Baumgarten 1997b.

75 Andrews 1963, 57-59. The leaders of the Oneida, for example, nominated their successors. See Oved 1988, 379-380.

76 Hostetler 1974, 162, 164.

77 Hamm 1987, 105-112.

day morning service, and assists the bishop in performing rituals.[78] Old
Order Mennonite ministers and overseers who take care of the official
church matters are elected by vote.[79] These sects are administered by
officials who are elected as representatives of the community's collec-
tive interests and objectives. The relatively non-authoritarian character
of the community's leadership was usually related to the absence of
external central government or leadership.

The *yaḥad* also followed a similar pattern: it was governed by the
democratic "assembly of the Many (*rabbim*)" comprised of all members,
although administered by certain officials or overseers.[80] This type of
administration resembles the organizational structure of the Hutterites,
the Amish and the Mennonites. The difference between the hierarchical
Damascus Covenant and the relatively egalitarian and democratic
yaḥad has been discussed in Chapter 4, but the present comparisons to
other sects highlight the social significance of these differences.

Indeed, it is quite exceptional to find two different branches of the
same sectarian movement that follow totally different social structural
and administrative patterns. These findings raise interesting questions
concerning how and why these structural differences developed, al-
though this can be answered only be the way of conjecture. In any
event, the comparisons to other sects support my conclusion that the
differences in their structure and organization indicate that the *yaḥad*
and the Damascus Covenant are totally independent and separate
groups.

The *yaḥad*'s mode of administration was not entirely egalitarian.
The *yaḥad* maintained a hierarchy of obedience based on religious
merit: new converts were examined by the priests and the lay mem-
bers, and subsequently recorded in the Rule in a certain order "accord-
ing to his spirit, insight and works in the Torah".[81] The same type of
religious or spiritual hierarchy applied to all members and determined
the order of speech in the communal assembly (1QS 6:8-10). Moreover,
members of lower ranks were required to obey higher ranking mem-
bers, for example, during communal work (1QS 6:2). Members were re-
evaluated on an annual basis, and their rankings were amended ac-
cording to their "perfection of ways" (1QS 5:23-24).

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78   Nolt 1992, 110-111; Hostetler 1968, 13, 86-90.
79   Redekop 1969, 64.
80   1QS 6:8-13. The atmosphere in these assemblies recalls Quaker meetings, which
      constituted a moral and spiritual reference point for members, and a means for
      members to validate the objectivity of their individual experience of God. Cf. Mack
      1992, 158.
81   1QS 6:18-22; cf. 1QS 5:20-21.

Interestingly, a hierarchy based on members' spirit and insight has parallels in another introversionist sect. A similar ranking system constitutes one of the most important positive sanctions in Shaker life. Individual Shaker members broadly indicate their standing in the overall hierarchy of the sect in terms of their spiritual stature and commitment to faith.[82] A person who strictly adhered to the norms of the group would likely win the approval of his elders, and be promoted in its hierarchy to occupy a prestigious and powerful position in the sect, and, most important, in the world to come.[83]

The Shaker parallel highlights the social significance of the spiritual hierarchy for individual *yaḥad* members, and its role in promoting group conformity and compliance. Indeed, the more egalitarian model of the Hutterites that apparently also encourages social cohesion, did not suit the *yaḥad*. Perhaps the *yaḥad's* members were too competitive in pursuing spiritual and legal adherence. It is possible that their pursuit of revelation in everyday activities as a means for decision management resulted with such spiritual hierarchy. This is because egalitarianism cannot be maintained when some individuals have "spiritual gifts" that affect the sect's conduct.[84]

Ranking of the members according to their spiritual merits is not the only illustration of status and hierarchy within the *yaḥad*. Priests sit first in the assembly, next are the elders and then the laity. There is a specific punishment for anyone who speaks angrily to a (distinguished) priest who is "enrolled in the book." Another rule which I find rather awkward (and perhaps reflects a later phase in sect development) grants priests exclusive authority in matters of adjudication and wealth "and their word will settle the lot of all the provision for the men of the *yaḥad*."[85] The Community Rule repeatedly mentions the priests separately from the other members who are called "Israel" or "the many" (*rabbim*).[86] Priestly authority was emphasized at a certain stage in the sect's development, when the *yaḥad* or the assembly were headed by the "Sons of Zadok the priests" (1QS 5:2-9). There is a spiritual difference between the priests and laity since lay members ("Israel") are "a

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82 Mckelvie Whitworth 1975, 26. Members' affiliation to a given society and Family (local congregation) membership additionally indicated their spatial location within the group.

83 Mckelvie Whitworth 1975, 30.

84 Similar situations are attested to among the Meetings of the English Quakers (Isichei 1967, 184-185). Similar to the *yaḥad*, revelations had a special role in the beginnings of the Shaker movement (see Chapter 1).

85 1QS 6:8-9; 7:2; 9:7, respectively.

86 1QS 5:2-3, 9-10, 21-22; 6:19; 8;1.

holy house" whereas the priests are "the foundation of holy of ho-
lies."[87]

One may find it surprising that even a quite egalitarian sect that
maintains communal property still maintains social inequalities. How-
ever, sociologists have already observed that sects (as well as other
religious utopias) that have often aimed to reduce material inequalities,
do not remove such inequalities entirely. In fact, sects and utopian
groups seldom seek equality in terms of status and power.[88] Even in the
absence of class consciousness, as in the case of the Old Order Mennon-
ite colony, clergy and older members enjoy higher status.[89]

8.1   Novices and Excluded Members as Sub-Communities

As a result of the *yaḥad*'s admission procedure and system of sanctions
and punishments, many members had partial membership status: ei-
ther they were unauthorized to touch the *yaḥad*'s "purity" (food) and
"liquids/drink," were excluded from the communal meals and proba-
bly also communal assemblies. How did the novice and transgressing
members who were barred from full membership, live within the *yaḥad*
in the daily organizational sense? The organization of the Shakers and
Puritans illustrates one solution to this situation, which leads me to
suggest that partial members lived alongside the main community in
sub-communities.

Shaker communities were comprised of three classes of members: a
senior class, a junior class (individuals in the process of becoming full
members who are permitted to retain their property or dedicate it to
the Society), and the novitiate class. Novitiates received faith and were
affiliated with the Society, but chose to live in their own families and
manage their own temporal concerns. They were considered brethren
and sisters in the Gospel, as long as they lived up to its requirements.
However, "they are required to bear in mind the necessity and impor-
tance of a spiritual increase." They received instruction and counsel,
applying for such as they felt the need, but did not come under the
control of the Society.[90]

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87   1QS 8:5-6. See also 1QS 8:8-9; 9:5-6. I leave aside the complex question of the spiritual
     role of the *maskil* ("the wise") who is mentioned in the Community Rule, the Damas-
     cus Covenant, and many other texts.
88   Stark and Bainbridge 1996, 163.
89   Redekop 1969, 94, 97-98.
90   Evans 1858, 45-50 (citation from p. 45).

The English Puritans established an arrangement known as the "halfway covenant." Individuals who were born and baptized in the Puritan church yet did not receive faith, could still retain their membership and have their own children baptized, by leading a life free of scandal, studying and professing the doctrines of Christianity, and making a voluntary submission to God and His church. This, however, was not a full membership, but a continuation of their juvenile membership: they were not members of the "full communion," and were not permitted to vote or participate in the Lord's Supper.[91]

Institutionalized partial membership can be a means of increasing the number of non-members who are nonetheless affiliated with the sect and may eventually become members. The fact that such affiliated individuals were willing to accept a subordinate status attests to the appeal of these sects. I am of course aware that the evidence from the scrolls is too scarce to argue that the *yaḥad* maintained similar subcommunities of candidates. Moreover, if the *yaḥad* comprised only one centralized congregation, it was a much smaller movement then the Shakers and the English Puritans, and had fewer candidates. Nevertheless, the Shaker and Puritan organizations enable us to see the social significance of the status of candidates and their relationship with sect. I therefore suggest that the *yaḥad*'s candidates lived together, as a subgroup along the main congregation. It is also possible that there was relatively large number of applicants or partial members who were never admitted to full membership.

9   Relationship between Colonies and Segmentation

A sect is typically characterized as a community with spatial characteristics as well as social density – a group of people that live together in a defined area. The following discussion, however, illustrates the complexity of sectarian organizational patterns and especially the tendency to maintain small, even intimate geographically dispersed communities. In Chapter 4, I have shown that both the Damascus Covenant and, in a certain sense, the *yaḥad* were organized in scattered communities. Some were very small communities containing at least ten to fifteen members, headed by one or three priests, and were known as local colonies (Councils), in the case of the *yaḥad*, or religious associations, in the case of the Damascus Covenant. In the camps phase of the Damascus Covenant, each association or community had its own local over-

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91   Morgan 1963, 130-139, referring to the Puritan synod in 1662.

seer who was a spiritual mentor and a figure with whom members consulted on matters of commerce, marriage, divorce and children's education. The Damascus Covenant had a general overseer "of all the camps" and a general court of judges, but the local communities of the Damascus Covenant were probably autonomous.

How were the local communities united into a coherent movement? Why did sect members maintain a decentralized organizational structure that posed a risk to their cohesion and perhaps to their social survival? The examination of organizational patterns of other sects may shed light on these questions.

Not all sectarian movements conform to the more familiar model of a centralized organization. The Amish live as a local community comprised of private households in geographic proximity to the "church district." A congregation ("district") consists of up to forty households, and Church hierarchy did not extend beyond the local congregation. The "church district" or congregation has both ceremonial and institutional functions and its limited size facilitates consensus.[92] Large settlements contain several church districts.[93] Households take turns hosting the preaching service. Each church district is self-governing under the leadership of the bishop, although in large settlements there are informal consultations among the different bishops as well as intensive informal contacts between the different districts and settlements.[94] The Amish have no formal regional or national organization, and church leaders held no regular conferences prior to 1892.[95]

For many years there were no formal ties between the three major branches ("Conferences") of Hutterites (Lehrerleut, Dariusleut and Saskatchewan). Legal limitations imposed by Canadian administrative authorities encouraged the formation of a unified association in 1950, the Hutterian Brethren Church, consisting of only Canadian colonies. The association deals exclusively with common legal issues and is not involved in the internal affairs of the local communities or Conferences, which each have a separate organization. At annual meetings, all the ministers of the three "Conferences" discuss common problems, and sometimes new regulations are legislated.[96]

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92   Hostetler 1968, 12-13, 132, 270-271; Nolt 1992, 110.
93   Hostetler 1968, 71.
94   Hostetler 1968, 86-90. There are, however, bi-annual bishops meeting of some seventy-five bishops across a settlement, as well as Regional Ministers' Meeting. There is also an informal executive committee of senior bishops who are selected based on age and tenure (Kraybill 2001, 99).
95   Nolt 1992, 110.
96   Peters 1965, 165-166. Cf. the Hutterite constitution, *ibid.*, 195-198.

Some Mennonite communities established a community organizational model, in which the members of the congregation were dispersed and not clustered within definable enclaves. Members of such communities interact more freely with non-Mennonite neighbors and the outside world. The non-religious aspects of their lives are under the jurisdiction of the local, regional and national governments, which inevitably diminished the congregation's moral control over members' secular life. Nonetheless, these Mennonite communities did develop a system of mutual aid, such as health and welfare services.[97] Mennonite Brethren convene conference sessions in which delegates from all churches participate. District organizations were founded in Canada and United States,[98] although church policy recognizes congregational autonomy. The local congregation is not always defined geographically but in terms of members of a specific, local church, especially in metropolitan areas.[99]

The Quaker Orthodox Friends had a sophisticated superstructure which combined egalitarianism and hierarchy and held meetings which were both institutions and events. A preliminary meeting served as an individual congregation. The monthly meeting, which was the basic organizational unit, admitted or excommunicated members, owned property and solemnized marriages. Quarterly meetings addressed doctrinal and organizational problems. Several quarterly meetings made up an annual, regional, meeting which was the ultimate authority and final court for the Quakers within its bounds.[100]

In Shaker colonies, the distance from the leadership in New Lebanon (New York) diminished the influence of its central ministry, and led to the establishment of secondary centers. Thus, western colonies were subordinated to both New Lebanon and the proximal Union Village.[101] The third phase of Shaker formation embraced a structured organization of Families, societies or villages (comprised of two Fami-

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97 Redekop 1989, 78-85. The flexibility of the Mennonite organization led to the evolution of the individualistic model, in which the person has virtually relinquished all identifying traits of membership in the movement and assimilated into the prevailing mainstream society, although still appreciating Mennonite heritage and beliefs and may attend Mennonite churches (*ibid.*, 86-87).
98 Hamm 1987, 57-58, 108-109.
99 Hamm 1987, 108.
100 Hamm 1992, xvi-xvii.
101 Stein 1992, 90.

lies), bishoprics (two villages) and the center in New Lebanon, which was the largest village (up to seven Families).[102]

These different examples of sectarian organization attest to the flexibility of sectarian governmental structure. In all cases (with the exception of the Shakers who maintained a central Ministry in New Lebanon and a structured hierarchy between colonies), local communities or colonies maintained autonomy. Yet, the different divisions sustained their conformity to the general movement, and institutions were established to ensure relative uniformity.

The camps of the Damascus Covenant seem to enjoy complete local autonomy on secular issues, and were subject to no central authority in the administration of their daily lives. Notwithstanding this, special cases of jurisdiction and internal tension came under the supervision of the "overseer of all camps." The judges dealt with special cases of jurisdiction and the distribution of charity. Nonetheless, as we have seen, the Damascus Covenant maintained a detailed and rigorous penal code.

At first glance, such a decentralized structure could be expected to undermine conformity of all members to the same set of sect regulations. However, I suggest that the very detailed penal codes were intentionally designated to establish and entrench jurisprudence that facilitates judicial proceedings in small-scale communities without the external intervention of the judges. These penal laws were enforced without the external intervention of "the overseer of all camps" or the judges, although these higher authorities most probably intervened in fatal or problematic cases.

The organizational patterns of the Hutterites and Amish confirm that the division of a sect into many small communities or colonies does not necessarily lead to divergence of practices and beliefs. Many local sectarian communities which are not interconnected or controlled by a supreme authority still share most of their common characteristics (although some differ in the rigidity of their social boundaries, see below). It seems that the ideology of these sects was sufficiently robust to

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102 Stein 1992, 133-134. In the early 19th century there were 18 Shaker Societies, each had at least 100 members. The central society in New Lebanon consisted of 8 Families and 600 members (note that in 1780 only a dozen Shakers emigrated from England to New York). See Evans 1858, 33-37. During the period of greatest prosperity, there were about 60 Families, corresponding to approximately 6000 members. See Desroche 1971, 188.

permit local autonomy and organizational freedom.[103] I suggest that the Damascus Covenant maintained a similar degree of internal cohesion. Furthermore, it is possible that the Community Rule reflects not one small monolithic group of the *yaḥad* but multiple independent *yaḥad* congregations, similar to the Hutterite communities.

9.1   Flexibility as Strength: Internal Subdivisions

Whether they are hierarchical or autonomous communes or voluntary associations, flourishing sectarian movements tend to maintain small-scale communities. The most distinguishable example is the "branching" of the Hutterite colony. Hutterite colonies form new colonies, called "cell colonies," when the population reaches 120-150 persons. This procedure accommodates the natural growth of colonies without relinquishing the manageable, intimate nature of small local groups, but it requires a frequent redistribution of capital and authority (average colony growth span is fourteen years).[104] A similar procedure is typical of the Amish, even though the Amish live in congregations of independent households rather than colonies. If an Amish congregation grows to the size where it can no longer meet comfortably in members' homes, it divides into two smaller groups.[105] It is not unconceivable, therefore, that when a Damascus Covenant community or "camp" reached a certain size, a voluntary and peaceful split occurred.

The social function of the Qumranic organizational pattern of very small, dispersed communities (Damascus Covenant "camps" and "Councils" of the *yaḥad*) allowed communities to retain internal solidarity and a manageable administration. Whereas large communities are more vulnerable to differences in opinions and quarrels, intimacy encourages companionship in faith and work. However, over time, the dynamics of periodic divisions of local communities and formation of new community composition introduced a necessary element of stimulation, dynamism and creativity. Indeed, people tend to appreciate the

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103 It should be recalled, however, that most of the Amish, the Quakers and especially the Mennonites split to different sub-movements, adhering to more assimilated lifestyles, reducing social boundaries (see Chapter 1).

104 Hostetler 1974, 185-190. For the technical procedure of the division and establishment of a new colony, see Peters 1965 116-118. It is interesting to note that the population in the communal center at kh. Qumran may be estimated at about 100-150 persons, since the dining room (locus 77) is 22m. long and 4.5m. broad (de Vaux 1973, 11-12).

105 Nolt 1992, 111.

uncommon. Furthermore, local, genealogical and ideological differ-
ences that are inevitable in a large movement increase the need for so-
cial diffusion. The core leadership or central community may or may
not direct these growing communities. The flexibility of these sects to
accommodate change provided an element of strength.

9.2 Segmentation and the Formation of the Qumran Sects: A Proposal

In light of the tendency towards segmentation or branching, I would
like to propose a tentative reconstruction of the legal formation of the
Qumran sects. The very existence of the regulations common to the
yahad and Damascus Covenant, such as converts' vows and the penal
code (in addition to their shared theological features) attests to a central
or common leadership. These rules were probably established in an
early period of the sect's development (similar to the process in other
sects), after the sect's charismatic leadership transformed into bureau-
cratic government. It is possible that the *yahad* originated in this stage.
The following phase included further elaboration of the regulations by
various local communities, reflected in the variations of the rules and
orders within the different sections of Community Rule or the Damas-
cus Document. It is possible that the Damascus Covenant developed in
this stage, inspired by the *yahad*.

9.3 Internal Boundary Maintenance within the Sect

Although the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant shared similar theol-
ogy and institutions, they maintained very different lifestyles. The
yahad was more rigorously separated from the outside world through
strict social boundaries that included communal ownership of prop-
erty. Furthermore, both groups differed in their size, structure and
organization. It is surprising that these two branches, which differed
enormously on issues of boundary maintenance, coexisted side by side
within a single larger movement. The relations among the Amish, Hut-
terite and Puritan branches may shed some light on how this tension
was resolved.

Pennsylvania Amish communities (originating from the single
group that arrived there in 1791) rank themselves in the order of their
assimilation into prevailing American culture, from "low" (retaining
the old traditions) to "high" churches. In most cases, each group re-
spects the customs and rights of the other without attempting to entice

converts from each other.[106] Thus, for example, the Amish-Mennonites would normally refrain from accepting a member who quarreled with an Old Amish Community.[107] However, even this tolerance had a limit. In certain circumstances, Amish societies employed the shunning (*Meidung*), which is the most coercive sanction that preserves the community's social control. If a man marries a girl from a "strict *Meidung* church" (which practices excommunication and avoidance of any Old Order member who breaks his baptismal vows and leaves the tradition-minded group) and the couple lives in his lenient *Meidung* church (usually Amish-Mennonite), she will be shunned for the rest of her life by her church of origin. Members are thus encouraged to remain in the church into which they are born and marry in the "clan."[108] The significance that the modern Old Order Amish attribute to the *Meidung* has a long historical background: the Amish departed from the Mennonites in the 1690's in the course of social avoidance from and excommunication of assimilated Mennonites ("half-Anabaptists") who rejoined the local state churches.[109]

Although the three Hutterite branches ("Conferences", including the Lehrerleut, Dariusleut and Saskatchewan) share common beliefs, they also differ in their degree of boundary maintenance, and members of the three branches rarely intermarry. The Saskatchewan is the most progressive Conference, both in their use of technology and their interactions with the outside world, while the Lehrerleut is the most traditional. The Saskatchewan branch itself split due to disagreements regarding degrees of separation/conformity vis-à-vis the outside world. The split resulted in division of colonies in a complicated and painful procedure that involved legal suits.[110]

In the early 17th century, the English Puritans were divided into Separatists and others (although in theory all Puritans accepted the Separatists' positions). The Separatists believed that their ideas should be believed and practiced, and separation maintained from all those who did otherwise. They screened out members who were unable to demonstrate, by their lives, beliefs and religious experiences, that they

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106 Hostetler 1968, 251-259.
107 Nolt 1992, 204.
108 Hostetler 1968, 242-243. For the social history of the *Meidung* and the related splits and unions within the American Amish, see Nolt 1992, 204-207.
109 Nolt 1992, 24-35.
110 Kraybill and Bowman 2001, 21 and 283-284 n. 3. See also the different degrees of separation from the world and a growing conformity with the outside world among the Old Order Mennonites in Redekop 1969, 123-155.

had received saving faiths. They also required members to declare their rejection of the Anglican Church.[111]

I believe that the comparative evidence from these introversionist sects illustrates how a sectarian movement can be divided into groups that maintain different degrees of openness to the outside world, and yet respect a common tradition and even regard themselves as members of a single movement. Apparently sectarian boundary maintenance is more complex and flexible than we usually tend to think, and it is impossible to predict which differences are tolerated and which lead to irreconcilable ruptures. The interrelationship between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant should be further evaluated in this respect.

10 Conclusions: Obedience is the Key for Salvation

The above comparison of the regulations of the Qumran sects with those of the Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish, Puritans, Quakers and Shakers demonstrates that certain types of behavior are characteristic of introversionist sects, despite substantial variations, especially in leadership and administration. There are typical procedures for joining the sect, admission to adulthood, annual or semi-annual ceremonial communions, sanctions and punishments, confessions, and organizational patterns, and especially the tendency to maintain small, intimate and manageable local communities. Certain differences between sectarian practices illuminate the social character of specific sects in relation to the organizational structure.

These comparisons allow me to show that many of the regulations and rituals of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, which seem so odd to the students of the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as to those who are interested in ancient Judaism or the origins of Christianity, are actually the result of the fascinating social phenomenon of introversionist sectarianism. The Qumranic parallels to the practices and organization of the early-modern Christian sects cannot be a matter of coincidence. Most of them are a result of the sectarian introversionist ideology. They stem not only from a certain interpretation of Scripture or external influence such as Hellenization, but especially from a particular and internal worldview: an endless fear of sin, the hope of redemption, the perceived need to maintain discipline and specific moral standards.

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111 Morgan 1963, 30-37. The Separatists' ideology was later called "Congregationalism" in New England.

The elements of the sectarian way of life discussed above promoted withdrawal from the outside world as well as in-group cohesion. Outside boundaries were strictly maintained, as evident from procedures concerning admission of new members and adolescents who reached adulthood. On the other hand, sanctions and punishments, hierarchical structuring, different types of organization (both authoritative and autonomous), as well as communion rituals strengthened commitment and moral standards of all members. For the members of the introversionist sects, separation and morality are the most important social traits, and sectarian regulations and social structures were designed to support a specific ideology or theology associated with spirituality, morality and revelation.[112]

Sectarians hold that belief alone is insufficient for salvation, and must be accompanied by certain rigorous adherence to social behavioral rules. I have pointed to several hitherto unnoticed sectarian practices, boundaries and organizational patterns. Based on comparisons with other, well documented, introversionist sectarian movements, it is now possible to extend the study of the practical aspects of sectarianism in Qumran, and understand more about their social behavior by focusing on specific choices between several possible sectarian options.

Comparative analysis also highlights the sociological differences between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, two groups which adopted different patterns of boundary maintenance. Such differences are typical when comparing very different sects, such as the Shakers and the Amish. In the case of Qumran they raise interesting questions about the relationship between the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. Some scholars maintain that the one preceded the other, while other scholars believe that membership in the Damascus Covenant constituted a probation period before admission into entering the *yaḥad*. Still others claim that the two were independent but inter-related sects. Another, quite skeptical view is that either or both were not actual sects but utopian ideologies that may or may not have been fully embodied in actual communities.[113]

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112 For self-conscious boundary maintenance and the pursuit of a high, sometimes totalitarian, degree of control over the members, see, e.g., Siegel 1970; Bennett 1977. However, sectarian social structure has its own limitations, and without spiritual renewal and religious creativity, the sect might suffer from decline and defections. See: Peter, Boldt, Whitaker and Roberts 1982.

113 For the theological differences between the Damascus Covenant and the *yaḥad* communities, and the view that the latter developed from the former, see Davies 2000. For the view that the two co-existed during the same historical period, see Cross 1995, 186. For the view that the members Damascus Covenant were considered novices in the *yaḥad*, see Schiffman 1983, 163; 1993, 250. For the *yaḥad* as a later develop-

Although this question may be approached from a textual perspective (see Chapter 4), these possibilities (excluding the latter) may find support in the sociological evidence of different sub-groups that maintain different scales of boundary maintaining within the same movement. Thus, for example, the flexible structure of other sects may provide support for a type of inter-related independence of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant. As two branches of a single social movement, the two sects may have maintained distinctive social boundaries and ways of life, yet shared the same aims and theology.

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ment of the Damascus Covenant and a general evaluation of the problem, cf. Metso 1999a, 196-197, 208-209; Hempel 1998, 90, 101, 122-123, 136, 138-139, 150. For the opinion that one or both may have been, at least partly, a result of utopian constructions, see Davies 1996, 151-161. My analysis in Chapter 4 points to the conclusion that the *yaḥad* preceded the Damascus Covenant and the two did not share any organizational connections.

Chapter 9

Gender and Sectarianism:
Between Celibacy and Intimacy

1 Introduction

Women's extraordinary place, or rather, their lack of place in Qumran
has attracted extensive scholarly discussions. On one hand, the *yaḥad*
were regarded as celibate by scholars who identified the *yaḥad* with the
Essenes. On the other hand, the Damascus Covenant clearly practice
marriage and family life, but imposed exceptional restrictions on mat-
rimony.[1] Despite the scholarly interest, gender relations and the status
of women in the Qumran sects have not been discussed from a social
perspective, or from the perspective of gender theory.

The present discussion analyzes gender relations and sexual prac-
tices in the *yaḥad*, the Damascus Covenant, and the Essenes (although I
do not think that the Essenes are identical with these two sects, they are
related to the Qumranic movement in some way). Each Qumranic pat-
tern of relations between the sexes is compared below to evidence from
other, mainly interoversionist sects. In general, four distinct patterns
can be identified: celibacy, restrictions on marriage and sexual rela-
tions, the active role of women, and marriage as a special spiritual ex-
perience.

Interestingly, gender relations are commonly conceived of as a
means of social boundary maintenance, and therefore, an object for
sectarian regulation or transformation. Sometimes, such restrictions or
transformations are designed to resolve the tension between the family
and the sect, or to enhance spiritual devotion by suppressing sexual
desires. In this manner, these patterns represent modes of gender rela-
tions in which sects diverge from the outside society, although sects
may vary in the extent to which these patterns are adopted.

My decision to devote a separate and detailed discussion to gender
relations does not derive from a desire to demonstrate the high or low
status of women in Qumran. The considerable evidence from the

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1   For surveys of the evidence and scholarship, see Schuller 1996; Crawford 2003;
    Wassen 2005.

scrolls, the mistaken consensus that the *yaḥad* were celibate only be-
cause the Essenes were such, and the numerous treatments of these
subjects in studies of other sects, have taught me the importance of
gender relations for understanding sectarianism in general, and the
Qumran sects in particular. The present discussion on Qumran does
not purport to offer insights on Jewish society in the Second Temple
period in general. Neither do I argue that the patterns of gender rela-
tions I have traced in Qumran and among the Essenes are exclusive to
sects (with the possible exception of celibacy). Such questions remain
for future discussions.

The following discussion of gender relation patterns in sectarian
settings is grounded in the premise that gender is not a stable category
but rather a socio-cultural construction, where men and women exist in
a class-like relationship. Reading the sectarian texts themselves, I intui-
tively found myself translating references to gender into ideas of sexu-
ality. Consequently I became aware of the fact that gender and sexual-
ity are not identical concepts.[2] Furthermore, I learned that ideas about
sexuality embody social norms that cannot be separated from other
cultural requirements, and that these ideas and norms are also means
of social power.[3]

1.1 Sect vs. Family

Sects have a tendency to transform family relations, and consequently
affect gender relations. The celibate Shakers, Ephrata and the Owenites
of New Harmony, as well as the Oneida who practiced a so-called
"complex family structure" in which there was no single and definite
marital or sexual relationship between man and woman,[4] are several
extreme examples from 19th century United States. Yaakov Oved identi-
fied a relationship between communal property ownership in these
sects and their attitude towards family life. But Oved also admits that
gender pattern transformation is not an inevitable consequence of a
communal lifestyle, since the Hutterites, the most successful sect which
still practices communal property ownership, did not alter conven-

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2   Jackson and Scott 2002, 15-21, 31-41, 48-59, 225-229.
3   E.g., Butler 1993.
4   For the celibacy of the Ephrata, and the Owenites of New Harmony as well as the
     gender system of the Oneida, see Oved 1988, 20, 26, 71, 169-171, 420-421. For a sur-
     vey of different types of transformation of family life and sexual relations, see Lauer
     and Lauer 1983.

tional family structure.[5] It is indeed true that radical transformations of family life and gender relations are more common in sects that also adopted an economic structure based on communal property owner-ship. However, it is inadequate to regard celibacy merely as a conse-quence of a radical shift from private to communal ownership. These are two different social and ideological realms that interact when a sect decides to subvert the existing social order.

Tension between the sect and the family is an inherent feature of sectarian life, and commitments to one's spouse and family may even-tually clash with one's loyalty to a given religious or ideological agenda.[6] One response is the desertion of one's family of origin, as re-flected in the following passage from the Hodayot: "For my father did not know me, and my mother abandoned me to You. Because You are the father of all the [son]s of truth."[7] There is, however, a deeper cogni-tive tension between the sectarian worldview and the family (and in certain cases, with sexuality): marriage and sex life are worldly and carnal, whereas sects sometimes aim to overcome these in order to ex-perience "the spirit."

Different sects have resolved this tension in different ways. The conventional family system may function as a means to reinforce group cohesion and hierarchical structure. Among the Amish, for example, the domination of the father ("housefather") is notable, and the empha-sis on family structure enhances rather than undermines group disci-

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5   Oved 1988, 411-426. The relationship between common property and alteration of "normal" family patterns, including the relative equality of women in public life, may be traced to Plato (*Republic*, Book 5), where the "guardians" of the constitution are released from family and private property. Links between communal property and the relative social equality of women were discussed by several thinkers in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, from Rousseu to Robert Owen. See Kolmerten 1990, 18-21.

6   For a classic presentation of this phenomenon, see Coser 1974, 106, 137-149, also discussing the Oneida and the Shakers. Cf. Mark 10:29-30; Matt 10:35-37; Luke 14:26.

7   1QH 15[9]:34-35. The problem seem to be implicit in a passage in the Damascus Document: "And if they reside in camps *in accordance with the rule* of the land, and take women and beget children, they shall walk *in accordance to with the law* and ac-*cording to the regulation of the teachings, according to the rule of the law*, as he said (Num 30:17) 'Between man and his wife, and between father and his son'" (CD 7:6-9; 19:2-5). The author emphasizes obedience to the laws and regulations four times, perhaps hinting that one's wife and children must not become one's priority at the expense of the sectarian way of life. Qimron 1992 saw this as evidence for an exceptional and conditional agreement to marriage, as opposed to the general rule of celibacy in the *yaḥad*. Cf. however, the criticism of Wassen 2005, 124-127. Another possible conflict between sectarian teachings and family life is discussed in CD 16:10-12, were the husband is instructed to annul his wife's vows when these vows contradict the sec-tarian "covenant."

pline. The Amish assert church control through, rather than over the family. Amish discipline reinforces the connections among individual, family, household and community by bonding all four elements in common patriarchal framework that perpetuates the traditional Anabaptist values of separation from, and nonconformity to the world.[8] Thus, in studying the relationship between sectarianism and gender, one should be aware of less radical alterations of gender relations in sectarian organizations, including the Qumran sects, and seek to trace the relationship between gender relations and the broader ideology and organization of a given sect.

2   Controlling Marriage and Sexuality

2.1   Choosing the Right Bride for the Sect

Several laws that restrict marriage life are found in the Damascus Document. Although there is no conclusive ideological or practical connection between them, they all demonstrate how the Damascus Covenant enhanced discipline within the sphere of the family. Furthermore, these restrictions may enable us to reconstruct the Covenanters' views on marriage life and sexual relations.

The Damascus Document limits members' freedom of choice in selecting a legitimate spouse. Such decisions require consultation with the overseer of one's camp: "And no one should make a deed of purchase or of sale without informing the overseer of the camp. He shall proceed in consultation lest they err. And likewise with regard to anyone who marries a woman it should be in consultation. And likewise, with regard to anyone who divorces."[9] This ruling seems to reflect the spiritual leader's far-reaching (but not absolute) supervision of the future development of his congregation. It seems that the overseer encouraged members to marry daughters of other Covenant members. Similar to the laws of endogamy noted by anthropologists, this rule is

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8   Reschly 2000, 68, 74-86.

9   CD 13:15-19; 4QDᵃ 9 iii 1-10. The *rabbim's* overseer also has a certain responsibility when a member wished to marry a girl "of whom there is a bad name in her maidenhood in her father's house," which required a skilled inspection by professional and reliable women (see Chapter 4). It is not clear whether this overseer supervised the general process of selecting a wife (in which his authority was similar to that of the camp's overseer in the text cited above) or perhaps merely the selection of the inspecting women, an interpretation which may better suit the syntax of the passage. See 4QDᵈ 9; 4QDᵉ 5 17-21; 4QDᶠ 3 10-16.

designed to ensure that the chosen woman does not lead the family astray from the traditional lifestyle.

Somewhat similar, but more rigorous restrictions, are typical to other introversionist sects. Among the Hutterites and Mennonites marriage with non-members is not allowed.[10] The 1837 Philadelphia discipline of the Amish, for example, contained stringent requirements for accepting marriage partners into the fellowship. Non-Amish partners were to be brought "into Christian discipline," meaning that they were required to submit to the authority of the Amish *Ordung*, and "promise before God and the brotherhood to fulfill the obligations of Christian marriage," in effect, conducting a second wedding in the church.[11] In these cases, the politics of gender is used to enhance community discipline and uniformity. From the individual's perspective, the Amish marriage ceremony is more than a personal ceremony; it reflects community values and discipline. Any digression from the Amish laws of matrimony results in the famous *Meidung* (shunning), discussed in Chapter 8. The Amish communal shunning is so conclusive that it even applies to the individual's spouse,[12] which demonstrates that the authority of the local congregation supersedes the mutual loyalty of the spouses.

When Quakers wished to marry, marriages were discussed in Men's and Women's Meetings, and "lay before the faithful there." The purpose of involving the Meetings was to avoid being "mixed with the world," "so that all things might be kept clean and pure and done in the righteousness to the glory of God."[13] Similar endogamy was encouraged among the pious Puritans as a practical way to ensure marriage to a proper spouse.[14]

In all these cases, the boundary separating the sectarians and the world outside the sect, is stronger than the marriage bonds.[15] Viewed in

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10 For the Hutterites, see Hutterian Brethern 1987, 236, 333-335 (following 1 Cor 7:12-17). In earlier times, the couples are matched by the leaders (Hostetler 1974, 237-238). For the Mennonites, see Redekop 1969, 43.

11 Reschly 2000, 71. Quite similar to the overseer's involvement in the Damascus Document, an Amish legislation from 1781 orders that a person who desires to marry first calls on the Lord for wisdom, then takes counsel with his parents, and when possible also with the ministers or elders. A deacon or minister conducts the marriage (Hostetler 1989, 117-118).

12 Hostetler 1989, 202.

13 Fox 1997, 519. For later restrictions, see Hamm 1992, 9.

14 Hunt 1983, 232.

15 Cf. A. Baumgarten 1994a, 203. Among the early Anabaptists, the elders, representing the will of God, used various arrangements to reduce the individual choice of a life partner to a formalized minimum courtship. Peter Rideman, the Hutterian leader,

this context, the social reasoning of the legislation in the Damascus Document becomes clearer. Not only does the leaders' relative control over marital relations preserve the stability of the sectarian community and its ideological uniqueness, but these laws also underline the role of marriage as an integral part of the social organization. Thus, marital laws enhanced sectarian boundary maintenance.

2.2   Sexual Restrictions – Turn Away from Fornication

Other important restrictions on marriage in the Damascus Document are developments of laws pertaining to gender and sexuality in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and therefore at times cannot be compared to the early modern Christian sects. Nonetheless, studying them will teach us more about the concepts of gender and sexuality in Qumran.

The Damascus Document prohibits marriage to a woman who has engaged in sexual intercourse outside of the marital context, whether she was a single woman who had sexual experiences while still residing with her parents (a "harlot") or a widow who had sexual intercourse after her husband's death.[16] A man should therefore marry only a virgin or a woman who had no experience of sexual intercourse after being widowed. According to Aaron Shemesh, this law pre-supposes that any sexual intercourse between a man and unmarried woman creates a marital bond, regardless of whether or not this was the couple's intent. Marrying a woman who had had sexual intercourse while in her father's home or while she was a widow (and Shemesh believes that the same applies when marrying a divorcee, on which see below), is therefore equal to marrying a woman who is already married.[17]

According to the Damascus Document, a woman who "has acquired a bad reputation while still in her father's home," namely, is suspected of having had sexual intercourse, must be physically exam-

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viewed such decisions as the execution of God's predestination concerning any marriage.

16   4QD[f] frag. 3, lines 10-12 and parallels. See the reconstructed text in J. Baumgarten 1996, 175-176.

17   Shemesh 1998, 245-249. Shemesh also noted that divorce itself was legitimate, since the vow of the divorcee is mentioned in the Temple Scroll 54:4-5, and the man who divorces his wife is probably mentioned (according to Qimron's reading) in CD 13:15-17. Shemesh (ibid., 247-248) asserts that the Damascus Document equates the congregation's restraints on marriage with the restrictions imposed on the priests, who were not allowed to marry harlots (interpreted in Qumran and by some of the rabbis as those who engage in intercourse outside the marital context) or divorcees (Lev 21:7).

ined by trustworthy women who attest to her virginity (determining whether or not the alleged sexual act was truly the girl's first one), and consequently, confirm her eligibility for marriage.[18] For the same reason, namely, avoiding an adulterous union, the Damascus Document also forbids the intended husband to consummate the marriage if he suspects his bride of premarital promiscuity.[19]

The rationale for these rules – the belief that sexual intercourse establishes a marital union – is grounded in biblical law and narrative. Hugenberger even suggests that sexual relations functioned as an oath-sign.[20] The exclusion of all non-marital sexual relations has significant implications for the social structure of the sectarians. By prohibiting sex with a partner other than one's husband or wife, there is less of a risk that extra-marital emotional ties develop and destabilize the instituted and regular marital strategies.[21]

These rules also have interesting bearings for the relationship between sexual intercourse and marriage. Here the idea of virginity is stressed (or rather, sexual relations are lawful only with a partner to whom one is committed by marriage) not only in order to suppress sexuality but also since sexual intercourse bears *cosmological significance as a holy communion* of man and women into one *being* (this thesis is supported by further evidence, see below).

One rule in the Damascus Document, however, ostensibly contrasts this perception by classifying sexual intercourse as the opposite of ritual purity and cultic sanctity. The Damascus Document states, "No-one should sleep with a woman in the City of the Temple, defiling the City of the Temple with their impurity." The prohibition on sexual intercourse in the realm of the Temple does not necessarily result from

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18   4QD^f fragment 3, lines 12-15 and parallels. See also 4Q159*Ordinance*^{a} frgs. 2-4; Shemesh 1998, 252-255. This law is a development of Deut 12:13-21. Following Deuteronomy, 4Q159*Ordinance*^{a} orders that if the girl is found guilty, she is stoned to death. The reason for the grave punishment in this text is, as Shemesh observed, since in the present sexual intercourse with her husband, the woman actually committed adultery, because she is already committed to her previous sexual partner (namely, she was already considered married).

19   4QD^f fragment 3, lines 8-9; Shemesh 1998, 255. Interestingly, the Puritans seem to hold a quite similar approach. In 1650, the English Puritans enforced sexual morality by legislating rules to suppress the detestable sins of incest, adultery and fornication, sometimes by sentencing the offenders to death. This may have been a consequence of their idealization of married love and domestic life. See Thomas 1978.

20   Exod 21:15-16; Deut 21:13; 22:28-29; 25:5; Hugenberger 1994, 248-279. Cf. 2 Sam 13:15-16. The rabbis view the consummation of marriage also by other means (m. *qiddushin* 1:1).

21   Cf. Goode 1959.

a certain premise about sex as ungodly occupation, but rather for a halakhic reason. Intercourse with a woman is regarded by some Jews as ritually defiling due to the impurity of semen. Similarly, the Temple Scroll interdicts a man who has had semen emission or sexual intercourse with his wife, from entering "the whole city of the Temple."[22] Thus, for the Temple Scroll and the Damascus Document sexual intercourse cannot be practiced where the sanctity of the Temple resides.

Elsewhere in the Damascus Document, a far more obvious suppression of sexual freedom is prescribed: "And one who comes near to fornicate (*liznot*) with his wife contrary to the law shall depart and [return no more]."[23] Fornication with one's wife appears to be a paradoxical term. Obviously, this law refers to a certain violation of the sexual-ethical code that calls for abstinence from sexual intercourse between husband and wife under certain conditions, that is, a transgression that is motivated by lust and self-indulgence.[24] Although the exact nature of the offence appears to be known to the author, we are left to speculate.

What circumstances would call for abstinence from sexual relations with a legal spouse? Two interpretations are possible. According to the first interpretation, intercourse that is not aimed at procreation (such as sexual relations with a pregnant woman, or with a woman who cannot give birth for medical reasons) is prohibited. This suggestion recalls the members of the Essene branch (described by Josephus) who marry and raise children, but nonetheless limit sexual intercourse to procreation. This practice is also echoed in Philo and the rabbinic corpus.[25] In fact,

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22   Temple Scroll 45:7-12. In the Temple Scroll 39:7 women are also excluded from the Temple's Middle Court. See also Schiffman 1992, 210-212. Even stronger opposition to sexual relations is found in Jubilees 50:8, where one is forbidden to have sex on the Sabbath. Anderson portrays the concept of Sabbath in Jubilees as "actualizing, in a non-Temple environment, the requirements of Temple existence" (Anderson 1989, 130). Compare the practice of "the first pious ones" (*hasidim*) to refrain from sexual intercourse on the Sabbath" (b. *nidah* 38a). According to Jubilees, sexual relations were excluded from the Garden of Eden since it was considered a Temple. See Anderson 1989, 127-131. Philo and Josephus follow the plain meaning of Lev 15:16-18 in maintaining that Jewish law demands one who has had sexual intercourse to purify himself immediately after the sexual act. See *Spec. Leg.* 3:63; *Against Apion* 2.199, 203. For implications of this law in relation to the need to maintain a constant state of purity, independent of the Temple and sacrifices, cf. Regev 2000a.

23   4QDᵉ 7, 12-13; 4QDᵇ 9 VI 4-5; J. Baumgarten 1996, 163-164. I have retained Baumgarten's translation; García Martínez and Tigchelaar translated: "And whoever approaches to have illegal sex with his wife, not with accordance with the regulation, shall leave and never return."

24   J. Baumagrten 1992b, 270.

25   Kister 1993, 280-181 (hesitantly adopted by J. Baumgarten 1996, 164-165). For the Essenes, see War 2:160-161. For Philo, see Spec. 3:34. For the rabbis cf. b. *yebamot* 64a;

the restriction of sexuality to marital relations and to procreation is characteristic of many sects.[26] The second possible interpretation is that the prohibition referred to "unnatural" sexual practices, also mentioned and prohibited by the rabbis.[27] The first interpretation seems to me far more reasonable in the context of sexual abstinence. In any event, sexual relations, intimate as they may be, are performed within legal boundaries that restrict lust and desire.[28]

A further restraint on sexuality is found in the Damascus Document in the halakhic context of the laws of semen discharge. According to Lev 15:1-15, a man who has a seminal discharge (zab) is impure, and can be purified only after seven days after the discharge have passed. The Qumranic ruling addresses the circumstances under which seminal emissions are regarded as polluting: "And the rule concerning who has a discharge (zab): Any man with a [discharge] from [his] flesh, *or one [who] brings upon himse[lf lus]ful thoughts (mahshevet zima)* or [who   ] [his] contact."[29] Seminal discharge resulting from lustful thoughts is considered to come under the category of a defiling discharge. According to the rabbis, however, seminal discharge would not apply to sexual thoughts (*hirhur*), as well as other types of sexual stimulations.[30] Qumranic halakhic rigorousness associates the physical consequences of sexual desire as a source of impurity, not dissimilar to sexual disease which also produce an extremely contagious type of impurity (note the extreme seclusion of the zab in Leviticus 15:5-12 and the fact that he is required to bring a purification offering). Thus, several rules in the Damascus Document restrict sexual relations and sexual desire to the sphere of marital relations. In the same vein,

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Satlow 1995, 227-231. Note, however, that this was not the dominant view among the rabbis. Wassen (2005, 173-184) lists other explanations and concludes that the text refers to "non-procreative, lustful sexual relations."

26   The early Hutterites limited sexual relations solely to procreation (Hostetler 1974, 146, 237). Cf. Lauer and Lauer 1983, 67-73, who refer to the Hutterites as well as to other sects. Some Quakers restricted sexual relations to procreation, or even adhered to celibacy, but this was contrary to official Quaker teachings (Fox 1997, 557).

27   Shemesh 1998, 250 n. 21, referring to Bereshit Rabbah on Gen 2:24 (ed. Friedman, 146): "if a Nohachide cohabits unnaturally with his wife, he is liable of death...[he shall cleave] to the place where they both from one flesh." See also b. *nedarim* 20a. For rabbinic inconsistency on this subject, see Satlow 1995, 238-241.

28   One may wonder how the Covenant's authorities could have known about the intimate sexual habits of the couple, unless the woman complained publicly (cf. Wassen 2005, 181-182). A feminist reading of this rule may even view it as a mechanism designed to protect women from sexual abuse.

29   4QDᵃ 6 I 14-16 and parallels; J. Baumgarten 1996, 52-53.

30   M. *zavim* 2:2; J. Baumgarten 1996, 54. For the rabbinic exhortations against sexual thoughts and "emitting seed wastefully," see Satlow 1995, 246-262.

marriage is also restricted to a single spouse. A further restriction is related to monogamy and remarriage after divorce.

2.3   One Spouse for Life

Sectarian rules regarding a minimum or maximum age for marriage shed light on additional dimensions of the sect's conception of marriage. For example, whether the couple are still adolescents whose marriage is determined by their parents, or mature adults who select their spouses independently, these rules teach us about the ideological and other roles of marriage and marital relations in the structure of sectarian life. The eschatological Rule of Congregation demands a minimum marital age of twenty for a man, requiring full maturity on the part of the husband, "when he knows good and evil."[31] Setting a minimal age for marriage seems to imply that marriage should be a conscious act.

I suggest that this law presupposes that the selection of the proper wife involves an assessment of morals, prudence and good judgment, and furthermore, that the union of man and woman is too sacred to be practiced by persons who are too young to understand what marriage is really about. This was an extraordinary rule in antiquity, when it is believed that most people were married before the age of twenty. In fact, the rabbis regarded twenty as a maximum age for marriage.[32] Maturity as a condition of marriage in the Rule of Congregation thus reflects the Qumranic conception of marriage and highlights its religious or spiritual significance, beyond the functions of procreation and sexual desire.

Other limitations on marital relations which have some parallels in other sects concern monogamy, polygamy and divorce. In a passage long disputed by scholars, the author of the Damascus Document rebukes the practice of having more than one wife:

> The builders of the wall...are caught twice in fornication by taking two wives in their lives, even though the principle of creation is 'male and female he created them' (Gen 1:27), and the ones who went into the ark 'went

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31   1QSa 1:11. The determination of twenty as the age of consent is also found in CD 9:23-10:2; 15:16-17. A number of laws of the Rule of Congregation may have originated in the Damascus Covenant or the *yaḥad*. See Hempel 1996. It is therefore possible that this law also applied to the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant.

32   B. *qidushin* 29b. I assume that the age of twenty was considered a relatively old age for marrying in the Hasmonean period (when the scrolls were written), although there are no sources to establish such an assumption. Schremer (1998), however, concluded that the customary age of marriage (for men) in the late Roman period was over twenty.

in two by two into the ark' (Gen 7:9). And about the prince it is written: 'He should not multiply wives for himself' (Deut 17:17).[33]

As Vermes noted, the three prooftexts given imply that the author opposed polygamy. Nonetheless, the meaning of "in their (be-hayehem, in masculine) life," perhaps referring to the husbands' life, is obscure. Several commentators have amended it to the feminine form, referring to living married women, an interpretation which coheres with the prohibition of polygamy. Indeed, if the original text is accepted, the reference to the life of the husband(s) seems senseless.[34] Thus, the corrected text permits marriage to a second wife only after the first dies (that is, prohibiting not only simultaneous polygamy, but also consecutive polygamy). This ruling probably also includes (as we have already seen above in another legal case) an objection to re-marriage after divorce.[35] The prohibition on remarriage is imposed on both divorced spouses, and the initial matrimonial relationship remains legally valid, as long as one's spouse is alive.[36]

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33 CD 4:19-5:2. The meaning of "caught in two" may refer to marrying one's niece in addition to taking more than one wife. Cf. Schremer 2000, 150-151. Schremer (2000) argued that CD's polemic addresses the practice of polygamy when one of the wives was the husband's niece. The problem with marrying a niece arises on the death of the husband, when the husband's brother was required to marry the widow in levirate marriage in order to perform yibum (Deut 25:5-10). But this creates the halakhic problem of potential incest, since the widow is the brother's own daughter. The two early rabbinic schools, the Houses of Hillel and Shammai, hotly debated this issue. Even if Schremer is correct, however, the problem of polygamy remains valid, independent of such levirate marriage.

34 Murphy O'Connor 1970b, 219-222 and Davis 1987, 73-85 interpreted the passage as a prohibition to marry more than one woman over the husband's entire lifetime, even if the wife dies. Recently, however, the 4QD fragments were published, mentioning marriage to a widow (see above). Moreover, in the Temple Scroll 57:17-19, the king is required to take another woman in case the first dies, which counters such an extremist interpretation. cf. Vermes 1974, 198-199.

35 See Vermes 1974, who summarized the scholarly debate. He also noticed that the third person masculine plural suffix in biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew may also refer to feminine subjects. According to Fitzmyer 1976, divorce is completely prohibited. However, Qimorn reads "one who divorces" in CD 13:17. Moreover, there is a reference to the vow of a divorcee in the Temple Scroll 54:4-5, while divorce is prohibited in the Temple Scroll 61:11 only in the special case of marrying a seduced woman. For the present interpretation of the passage in CD 4:19-5:2, see also Shemesh 1998, 245-246.

36 Shemesh 1998, 246, 248, J. Baumgarten 1990, 14-15, who relied on the Temple Scroll 57:17-19 (cited below), and also (with some hesitation) Schiffman 1992, 217-218. Noam (2005) suggested (following examples from early rabbinic halakhah) that marriage with a divorcee was forbidden since women were divorced due to adultery. Plausible as this suggestion may seem, it does not explain why the husband could not marry another woman.

The same idea is already apparent in the Temple Scroll 57:17-19: "And he shall not take upon her another wife, for she alone shall be with him all the days of her life. But should she die he may take unto himself another (wife)." Here, the king is limited to one wife. It seems that the passage prohibits not only polygamy but also divorce. Under these circumstances, the relationship between husband and wife appears more intimate and binding, which also enhances the wife's status.[37]

Interestingly, the problem of monogamy vs. polygamy, as well as divorce, occupied some of the early Anabaptists. Two early Anabaptist branches, the Melchiorites and Münsterites, called for polygamy (according to Williams, this was due to their eschatological expectations), while the Mennonites and Hutterites opposed this view.[38] Theophrastus Paracelsus argued that "each man belongs to his wife only," drawing on the 'metaphysics of marriage.' Paracelsus also rejected divorce since "marriage is a sacrament," a holy disposition.[39] Menno Simons, the Hutterites, and the Amish restricted divorce to cases in which the woman committed adultery.[40] Polygamy was also debated during the English Civil War.[41]

This evidence shows that marriage laws are revised during periods of social and religious revolution. Furthermore, the rejection of polygamy and divorce was clearly related to the protestant trend of returning to the original teachings of Jesus and Paul.[42] However, the sectarian opposition to certain types of polygamy and divorce (in the case of Qumran – remarriage after divorce) deserves attention, as well as the opposite sectarian call in support of polygamy (also attested among other sects, such as the Mormons, and in certain respect also the Oneida).

The basic explanation for all these cases is that sects not only attempt to reform society as a whole, but also to implant sectarian ideol-

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37   Schiffman 1992, 212-218 comments on the exegetical traits of the passage.
38   Williams 1962, 511-512. Williams does not explain the relationship between polygamy and eschatology. Cf. also the polygamy practiced by the Anabaptists in Münster (Kohn 1957, 293-294).
39   Williams 1962, 509-510. Admittedly, Theophrastus Paracelsus (Basel, ca. 1528) was not an Anabaptist, but was related to this movement. See *ibid.*, 195-200. Paracelsus was formerly an advocate of polygamy.
40   Williams 1962, 514-517; Hostetler 1989, 118. Hutterite and Amish women who divorce their husbands cannot marry again as long as their former husbands are alive; Amish who initiate divorce proceedings are excommunicated (Hostetler 1974, 238; Kraybill, 2001, 88).
41   Thomas 1958, 55 and bibliography.
42   Mark 10:2-12; Matt 5:32; 19:4-12; Luke 16:19; 1 Cor 7:10-11; 1 Tim 3:2.

ogy at the household level by modifying the family structure and ethos. Hence, sectarian ideology may begin from the household. Polygamy and divorce or remarriage after divorce are condemned by many introversionist sects when sectarians seek to produce a higher moral standard for marriage life which demands more religious commitment from the spouses.

To conclude, the laws which impose restrictions on married life discussed above point to the sensitivity to sexual intercourse and sexuality in the Damascus Covenant.[43] Sexual relations are confined to married couples, and are not practiced in any other context. Sexual relations are practiced in the conservative sense, and possibly remain limited to procreation. Furthermore, sexual intercourse creates marital relationships that cannot be abolished or substituted. Therefore, polygamy and remarriage after divorce are opposed, since by their very nature they make the marriage bond ephemeral and far less binding.

3   Celibacy and Sectarianism

The Essenes developed the rules of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, although (some of) the Essenes were celibate while the *yaḥad*, as I have shown in Chapter 7, were not. Their celibacy, which intrigued ancient authors, should be studied in relation to the phenomenon of celibacy among other sects, especially the Shakers, and in comparison to the gender relations of the Essene predecessors, the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant.

In understanding the total exclusion of women from Essene society, one should bear in mind several scholarly conventions regarding gender restrictions. From the perspective of structural anthropology, men and women are two distinct human categories. Culture is universally valued over nature because culture subdues or conquers nature. Women, because of childbirth and lactation, are regarded as closer to nature. Therefore, cross-culturally men are valued over women.[44] From a functional perspective, "[W]hat makes gender beliefs, images, and expectations so compelling to the people who live with them is their privileged position as part of the society's moral order; violations of the

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43   Indeed, the origins of this trend may be traced in the so-called Priestly Code (Lev 18 and 21), as well as in Jubilees 4:22; 7:20, 27; 16:5-6; 25:7; 33:10-11; 41:25-26.

44   Ortner 1974. See also the somewhat critical discussion of Ortner's theory in Sered 1994, 198-200.

gender system are experienced not as harmless eccentricities but as disturbing transgressions, as invitation to chaos and evil."[45]

My aim in the present discussion is to understand the Essene motivation for celibacy and their exclusion of women and family life. The explanations presented by Josephus and Philo are questioned, and Essene gender ideology is analyzed in comparison to that of the Shakers and other celibate sects.

3.1   Celibacy Justified: Josephus and Philo on the Essenes

Josephus states of the Essenes: "marriage they disdain" and then explains that "They do not, indeed, on principle, condemn wedlock and the propagation thereby of the race, but they wish to protect themselves against women's wantonness (*'aseleias*) being persuaded that none of the sex (i.e. women) keeps her plighted troth to one man."[46] Thus, in short, the Essenes maintain celibacy since women are unfaithful and act in licentiousness, or, in a word, simply impious.

Philo's elaborated explanation of the Essene ideology of celibacy deserves special attention:

> 14. They eschew marriage because they clearly discern it to be the sole or the principal danger to the maintenance of the communal life, as well as because they particularly practise continence. For no Essene takes a wife, because a wife is a selfish creature, excessively jealous and an adept at beguiling the morals of her husband and seducing him by her continued impostures. 15. For by the fawning talk which she practices and the other ways in which she plays her part like an actress on the stage she first ensnares the sight and hearing, and when these subjects as it were have been duped she cajoles the sovereign of the mind. 16. And if children come, filled with the spirit of arrogance and bold speaking she gives utterance with more audacious hardihood to things which before she hinted covertly and under disguise, and casting off all shame she compels him to commit actions which are all hostile to the life of fellowship. 17. For he who is either fast bound in the love lures of his wife or under the stress of nature makes his children his first care ceases to be the same to others and unconsciously had become a different man and has passed from freedom into slavery.[47]

Here, the theme of licentiousness and impiety is far more fully developed. Women manipulate their husbands and undermine the solidarity and spirituality of the Essene group. In contrast to Josephus, Philo does

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45   Eberhardt 1988, 6.

46   *War* 2:120-121.

47   *Hyp.* 11:14-17.

not accuse women of being unfaithful to their husbands. His argument is much broader: he portrays gender relations based on romantic love and family care, as the enslavement of men and a detriment to group solidarity.

Josephus also adds that "there is yet another order (*tagma*) of Essenes, which... differs from them in its views on marriage." These Essenes did marry, in order to continue the "propagation of the race" but imposed severe sexual limitations on themselves: "They give their wives a three-year probation period and only marry them after they have, by three periods of purification, given proof of fecundity. They have no intercourse with them during pregnancy, thus showing that their motive in marrying is not self-indulgence but the procreation of children."[48]

This three-year probation was a demonstration of just character. In addition, the consecutive periods of purification after each of three menstrual cycles confirmed the regularity of the menses which was necessary in order to make procreation possible under the constraints of the Jewish laws of menstruation.[49] Thus, acceptance for marriage was based on two conditions: a pious nature and a fertile body. Here the impious character of the female race is overcome by a long probation period (which is equal to the probation period of a male convert),[50] but the woman is taken only if she is capable of giving birth. The married Essenes therefore had a stronger urge to have children, and they also seem relatively lenient regarding the misogynic classification of women as immoral. Nonetheless, they held a very negative stance against sexual relations.

Many scholars did not accept the explanations given by Philo and Josephus at their face value. Some even doubted that the Essenes were even celibate.[51] Several alternative explanations have been suggested for the Essene motivation to abstain from marriage: their strict ap-

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48   *War* 2:160-161.

49   J. Baumgarten 1990, 16.

50   As J. Baumgarten (1990, 16) noted, the Greek *dokimaxontes* translated as "probation" actually means testing one's fitness, which also occurs in relation to regular admission of converts to the Essenes in War 2:138.

51   Stegemann 1992, 126-130; Boccaccini 1998, 38-46. Cf. the bibliography in Beal 1988, 39-42. Isaksson and Vermes argued that the Essenes allowed marriage for the purpose of procreation in early adulthood and practiced celibacy only at an older age (cf. Sly 1990, 208-209), but this argument has no basis whatsoever in the sources. It might have been influenced by the description of the old celibate Therapeutes. Indeed, J. Baumgarten (1990, 20) and others viewed the Therapeutes as "the contemplative offshoot of the Essene brotherhood." However, there are substantial differences between Essenes and Therapeutes. See Taylor and Davies 1998.

proach to ritual and bodily purity (that is, to avoid menstrual defile-ment),[52] their eschatological expectations for an imminent millennium (making procreation unnecessary),[53] or the idea that relations with women "always involved a tinge of fornication; namely, self-indul-gence without the intention of procreation."[54]

Indeed, there are good reasons to question the authenticity of these ancient attempts of Joseph and Philo to make sense of the Essenes' ex-traordinary approach to gender relations. Josephus offers an explana-tion that is too general and boldly misogynic.[55] Furthermore, when he explains why and how the married Essenes limit their relations with their women, the main obstacle to Essene marriage appears to be sexual relations rather than cohabitation.

Philo's presentation of the idea of celibacy is even more suspect. First, Philo seems overly enthusiastic in condemning the female sex. More importantly, the arguments he attributes to the Essenes are very similar to his own andocentric views that appear elsewhere in his writ-ings, where he states that men are associated with mind and reason, while women are associated with body and sense-perception.[56] He also states that the female gender is "material, passive, corporeal," and "ir-rational and akin to bestial passions, fear, sorrow, pleasure and de-sire."[57] Commenting on the biblical verse "therefore men cleave to his wife" (Gen 2:24), Philo asserts that man's mind becomes the slave of reason and desire, and resolves itself into the order of flesh. He also says that "a wife has great power to paralyze and seduce her hus-band."[58] These latter arguments are almost identical to his explanation for Essene celibacy.

Furthermore, Philo's condemnation of sexuality, an idea that he as-cribes to the Essenes, is also explicit in his writings when he rebukes

52 Buchanan 1963, 400-405.

53 Davies 1987, 84-85; A. Baumgarten 1994a, 131. The general view that opposition to marriage and procreation results from eschatological beliefs is expressed by Kraemer 1992, 139, 199-200. These scholars were probably influenced by 1 Cor 7:29-35, on which see Will 1995.

54 Kister 1993, 281 n. 5, commenting on *War* 2:121 ("none of the sex [i.e. Women] keeps her plighted troth to one man"). This interpretation suits Hippolytus' assertion that the Essenes avoided all lust, distrusting women altogether (*Philosphumena* IX 4:18b).

55 Josephus' own views of women remain rather unclear. Cf. Ilan 1999, 85-125.

56 *Op. Mund.* 152, 165; *Leg All.* 2:38-39.

57 See, respectively, *Quaest. Exod.* 1:7; *Quaest. Gen.* 4:15.

58 See, *Leg. All.* 2:49-50; *Leg. Ad Gaium* 39, respectively. For further sources and discus-sion, see Wegner 1991, who also showed that Philo draws in these dichotomies on Pythagorean and Aristotelian schemes, especially Plato. According to Sly (1990, 89), "Womanhood is associated in his mind with blood, evil, defilement and corruption."

the husband's lust to his own wife.[59] He idealizes virginity as freedom from lust and an escape from the bondage of the body.[60] Commenting on the description of the Therapeutes, Philo expressed his admiration of their denial of physical pleasures and even reproduction, which he viewed as an act of submission to spiritual wisdom.[61]

This correspondence between Philo's description of Essene celibacy and his own ideas has led critical scholars to conclude that Philo superimposed his own personal gender ideology and sexual ethics onto the Essenes.[62] Although this may be the case, it does not mean that Essene celibacy was a literary invention of Philo, or that the other core arguments he expresses in its description were fabricated. However, since Philo surely used the theme of Essene celibacy to promote his own messages, we cannot regard as accurate the perception of gender he attributed to the Essenes, or their ideology of celibacy.

3.2 Sexuality and Sin among the Shakers and Other Sects

In order to gain a better understanding of the religious ideology underlying celibacy and its connection to sectarianism, I turn to the celibacy of the Shakers. Although the Shakers did not exclude women, a study of Shaker ideology may explain why certain sects disdain marriage. Although one cannot draw a direct correlation between the Essenes and the Shakers, the Shaker ideology of celibacy is important in that it provides an insider's perspective, in contrast to observations by outsiders such as Philo and Josephus. Points of correspondence between the two sects allow us to reevaluate the Essenes' rationale for celibacy.

The Shakers maintained celibacy, separating between man and women, in every community. The Shakers' Millennial Laws prohibited all private unions between the sexes.[63] The Shakers did have "Families," but these were religious communes, and were not based on genealogical relations. They believed that salvation comes through the

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59   *Spec. Leg.* 3:9.
60   Sly 1990, 71-73. For Philo's theme of virginity, see also *ibid.*, 74-178. For Philo's sensitivity to prostitution as well as women's interference in the male social realm, see *ibid.*, 179-207.
61   *Vit. Cont.* 68; Kraemer 1989, 354-356, 360.
62   Sly (1990, 207-209) believes that Philo's explanation derives from his own assessment, noting that, for Philo, envy is a feminine trait (*Spec. Leg.* 1:108).
63   Johnson 1967, 49-50; *idem*, 1971, 152-153. For the complete separation between male and female members (although they lived in the same buildings and assembled for service in the same meetinghouse), see Desroche 1971, 221-222.

Family and that "marriage of the flesh is a covenant with death and an agreement with Hell."[64] Consequently, women were expected to renounce some aspects of their femininity in order to affirm some aspects of their religious life.[65] Interestingly, the Shakers consciously based their doctrine of celibacy on the Essenes.[66]

But why did Ann Lee devise this radical lifestyle to begin with? According to official Shaker *Testimonies*, "in early youth... she had a great abhorrence of the fleshy cohabitation of the sexes, and so great was her sense of its impurity, that she often admonished her mother against it..."[67] Ann Lee later declared that "He who enters marriage is entering the gates of hell...Those who chose to live after the flesh, can do so; but I know, by the revelation of God, that those who live in gratification of their lusts will suffer in proportion as they have violated the laws of God and nature."[68] One must give up marriage of the flesh if one is to be married to the Lamb and take part in Christ's Resurrection, like the angels.[69]

This anti-sexual and anti-carnal rationale assumes a focal role in Shaker ideology. The generative union of the sexes leads to annoyances and afflictions, and is a "real evil."[70] Adam's Original Sin in the Garden of Eden was having intercourse unseasonably and his sin of obedience to lust rather than to God marked the origin of mankind.[71] Expressions such as resistance to "living after the flesh" and "I hate your fleshy lives" were common.[72]

Ann Lee and later Shakers urged supporters who were not full members, still maintaining marriage and reproduction, "to lay the propensities of lust entirely aside."[73] They even called non-Shakers to ab-

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64 Shakers 1888, 224. Cf. Desroche 1971, 139.

65 Desroche 1971, 140-143.

66 According to Evans 1858, 12, the Essenes are identified as an analogous movement to the Shakers. They are portrayed as "the self-denying Essenes, among whom it is thought Jesus received his education and early training" (citing Philo and Pliny the Elder). Evans is of course ignoring the fact that there were no women among the Essenes. For the Shaker belief that Paul's idea of celibacy also derives from the Essenes, see Desroche 1971, 246.

67 Shakers 1888, 2.

68 Shakers 1888, 233; Desroche 1971, 171. The impact of 1 Cor 1:9 is notable.

69 Desroche 1971, 147.

70 Evans 1858, 39. See also Mckelvie Whitworth 1975, 18-19.

71 Desroche 1971, 150-152.

72 Brown 1812, 41.

73 Green and Youngs Wells 1848, 156-157; Desroche 1971, 144. This was recommended for those who were not "able to take up a full cross, and part with every gratification of the flesh for the kingdom of God." See Shakers 1888, 233, 245. Desroche 1971, 180

stain from sexual relations other than for procreation, in order to avoid "debasing prostitution."[74] In the Shakers' view, there was no point in reproduction, at least not before Christ's Second Appearing. Family was useless, since Man's natural family would be dissolved and disappear in the presence of Christ's family, which is the basis of all social order in the eternal Kingdom of God.[75]

For the Shakers, celibacy was a symbol of resistance to the divisive hierarchy of heterosexual culture, which was ruled by the isolated nuclear family and associated with selfishness and sexism. Celibacy, in contrast, was a symbol of the divine nature, and of the post-millennial world (after the Second Coming of Mother Ann Lee).[76] Celibacy was associated with spiritual unity, and bridged divisions in sexual culture to create social equality of the sexes.[77]

The Ephrata and the Rappites' Harmony were also celibate sects comprising both men and women in late 18th and 19th century America. They reformed the institution of family due to their millennial beliefs.[78] The ascetic early Christian sect of the Montanists (named after its founder, Montanus in second century Phyrgia) also abolished marriage, and stressed the ideal of virginity but they did not adhere to complete celibacy.[79] In all these instances, relinquishing marriage and family was aimed to pave the way to social reform and lead the members to spiritual perfection.

Two major concepts are evident in the Shaker ideology of celibacy. First and foremost, sex, body, flesh and lust corrupt the soul and are therefore fully condemned as a taboo. Second, Shaker writings associate celibacy with true spiritualism in the present. In contrast to the Ephrata and Harmony, the Shakers draw only a weak connection between celibacy and eschatological expectations (although they awaited the

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mentioned rituals of "de-marriage" of women living "innocently" with their unconverted husbands. The Shakers were aware of the fact that most people would not be able to maintain celibacy. See Desroche 1971, 172-173.

74 Lauer and Lauer 1983, 58-59.

75 Desroche 1971, 83. For another, more "scientific" or demographic Shaker explanation for their celibacy, see *ibid.*, 166-169. For the danger of sinful descendants, see Kitch 1989, 52.

76 Kitch 1989, 49-50.

77 Kitch 1989, 68. For celibacy as a symbol of unity, see *ibid.*, 74-124.

78 Oved 1988, 20, 26, 71; Lauer and Lauer 1983, 31-120. Other sects, such as the Zoar and New Harmony, attempted to maintain celibacy, but failed. The "complex marriage" of the Oneida (discussed below) also transformed marriage for the same reasons.

79 Trevett 1996. For the ideal of virginity, see Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* v.18, 2-3. For the ancients sources on the Montanists, see Heine 1989.

final Day of Judgment, the Shakers believed that the Second Coming already occurred with the appearance of Ann Lee as a female Christ!).[80] There was, of course, a basic connection to millennial beliefs, which reflected a radical perception of universal reality that was required in order to subscribe to such radical conceptions of gender and family. However, there is no support to conclude that either the Shakers or the Essenes were celibate simply because they were millennialists. Instead, celibacy reflected the fundamental Shaker concept that sex is evil. I suggest that this was also the case for the Essenes.

Now it is possible to reread the accounts of Josephus and Philo with greater attention to the Essene approach to sexuality.[81] Essene repression of sexuality was more rigorous than the practices of the Shakers and the other sects mentioned above, which were composed of both men and women (in most cases living separately, but in rare cases, living together under sexual restraints, "like brother and sister"[82]). The fact that the celibate Essenes denied complete access to (celibate) women, illustrates that Essene lack of trust or faith in women was much more extreme than the Montanists, Shakers, Ephrata, Rappites' Harmony, or the celibate Therapeutes described by Philo.[83] The Essenes advanced the most extreme form of hegemonic masculinity. Not only did they reject sexuality, they rejected the female sex completely. Their exclusion of women, therefore, symbolized a more fundamental rejection of the outside world.

Celibacy, therefore, was a part of the withdrawal from "the world." The Essenes' retreat from a sexual life and all matters related to sexuality was designed to avoid contact with ungodly human behavior that

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80 For the expectation of Judgment Day, see Shakers 1888, 180, 297-302; Desroche 1971, 72-84. For their "realized eschatology" of Ann Lee as Christ's Second Appering, see Brown 1812, 17, 114-115, 122-125.

81 I think that the ideas that Josephus and Philo ascribed to the Essenes were derived (even if unconsciously) from the formula: women = sex = lust = impurity = ungodly. This was probably the basic perception from which more conscious associations of the feminine with licentiousness, temptation, unfaithfulness, deceiving, etc. evolved. I therefore believe that the Essenes, like most other sectarians that practiced celibacy, followed this practice due to their quest for "perfection in holiness." Cf. J. Baumgarten 1990, 20, following Guillaumont. 1971, who drew on rabbinic and Christian sources regarding Moses' sexual seclusion. This was also how celibacy was introduced or justified in several celibate communities (Lauer and Lauer 1983, 58-62).

82 Lauer and Lauer 1983, 61-62, 93 describe several types of such partial celibacy.

83 *De Vita Contemplativa* 32-33 68, 87-88. Kraemer (1989, 354-356, 360-361) noted, following Vit. Cont. 68, that the women among the Therapuetes had no feminine markers of sexuality or childbearing due to their adherence to *sophia*. This also seems to be the case for Shaker women (Desroche 1971, 140-143). Note that Philo does not mention any eschatological tendencies.

jeopardizes man's true and spiritual destination.[84] In contrast, the Qumran sects, as well as other introversionist sects, empowered women rather than excluded them.

4 Sectarianism and the Active Role of Women

One of the ways in which sects transform gender relations is by empowering women. Although the evidence for the role of women in Qumran is rather scarce, it seems exceptional in light of the general treatment of women in antiquity. Ancient writers regarded women as problematical participants in social and religious life. This impression is grounded by Ben Sira's (the early second-century BCE sage) views of women,[85] as well as other apocryphal writings[86] and later rabbinic law.[87] Moreover, women's low status is also paralleled in Ancient Greece and Rome.[88]

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84 Coser 1974, 139-149 explained that sects are inclined to celibacy since they demand total allegiance from their members, viewing sexual attachments as an unwelcome diversion of energies and as subversion of professed goals. They cannot tolerate exclusive sexual attachments because the sexual bond between a man and a woman threatens members' allegiance to the community. As much as this view explains the social function of celibacy for the sectarian organization, it still cannot account for the family life among strictly organized sects such as the Hutterites (cf. the Coser's attempt to resolve this difficulty, *ibid.*, 148 n. 25). As we shall see, there are other ways to achieve total subordination of the family to the sect. Furthermore, in order to perform celibacy successfully, certain preliminary beliefs about family and sexuality must be maintained.

85 Ben Sira expresses a personal negative bias against women (Trenchard 1982, 169, 173). For instance, "From woman is the beginning of sin, and because of her, we all die" (25:24); "Do not desire any woman, lest she trample down your 'high places'" (9:2). Ben Sira discusses the dangers of the adulterous wife or daughter (23:22-26; 25:13-26; 42:9-14), argues that the failure to control one's woman leads to shame (25:21-22), and pleads for women's subordination to their husbands (25:26). Although his attitude to the "good wife" is favorable, he views her as one who serves her husband's needs and desires (Trenchard 1982, 9-38, 168). Ben Sira declares himself to be a governmental scribe and scholar (38:24-39:11) and therefore seems to be representative of the higher classes in Jerusalem in the eve of the Hasmonean period. He continues the heritage of early Second Temple wisdom, to which the later apocalyptic and dualistic traditions owe much. In Proverbs, for example, we find an oppositional conjunction between Woman, Wisdom and the Strange (adulteress) Woman. Women represent the borderline between God and the Other, between man's order and chaos (see, e.g., Prov 2; 5:1-14).

86 Bar Ilan 1993.

87 The low status of women and their minimal religious involvement in rabbinic Judaism is clearly reflected in rabbinic laws. However, epigraphs from the Greco-Roman Diaspora, particularly inscriptions of donations to synagogues, attest to a more ex-

4.1   Leading "Mothers" in the Damascus Covenant

Evidence of women's leading roles in the Damascus Covenant is found
in the penal code of the Damascus Document. "[And who ever com-
plai]ns against the fathers [shall be expelled] from the congregation and
not come back again. [But if] against the mothers (*a`mot*), he shall be
punished for ten days because for mothers there is no *rokema* in the
midst of the [congregation]."[89] From the use of the plural and the social
sanctions in this passage, it is clear that this rule does not discuss the
relationship between the family members: the Fathers and Mothers are
the community leaders.

While the authority of male leaders is ranked higher than that of
the females, it is surprising that women had any social status, espe-
cially since the hierarchy in the *yaḥad* and Damascus Covenant was
determined according to priestly and levitical descent, which follow
andocentric and patriarchal lines. Even more curious is the fact that the
legislator found it necessary to justify the more lenient punishment
imposed when mistreatment or disobedience was directed to the Moth-
ers rather than the Fathers. Although it is possible that the superiority
of the male leaders was not taken for granted, a more plausible expla-
nation is that the legislator explicated the gender hierarchy in order to
emphasize men's dominant position. The phrase "because for mothers
there is no *rokema* in the midst of the [congregation]" is puzzling. It is
usually translated as "mingling(?)" or "authoritative status (?)."[90] The
use of *rokema* in the present context is obscure, since this word is used
in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice for embroidered figures, in 1QM
for ornamental designs or weapons, and in other documents from Cave
4 as colored garments. Such a liturgical meaning seems rather odd in

tensive degree of women's social involvement in the roman period. See the sum-
mary of Kraemer 1992, 93-127 and bibliography.

88   Cantarella 1987, 177-178, concluded: "The function of women in Greece was exclu-
sively that of reproducing citizens... the Greek *paideia* perpetuated a misogyny that
excluded the female sex not only from social life but also from the world of reason...
With the fulfillment of her biological function, the Greek woman had realized her
only form of participation in the life of the polis". In Rome, although women had
important social duties (especially in educating the children) and enjoyed greater
dignity, they were still limited by their responsibilities as wives and mothers.

89   4QD^e 7 I 13-15. The closest term for "the mothers of the congregation" is in Greek
inscriptions from the Diaspora which mention "mothers of the synagogue" (*CIJ* 166,
496, 523, 639).

90   García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997, 617; J. Baumgarten 1996a, 164, respectively.

the Damascus Document, but it probably designates some symbolic, manifestation of rank or duty.[91]

4.2   Young and Old Women in the Ritual of 4Q502

A further attestation for women's participation in religious and social activities is found in 4Q502, the so-called Ritual of Marriage, which apparently describes a community ritual whose nature is not clearly understood (see Chapter 7). The occurrence of women alongside men in parallel constructions in this text is especially significant due to its liturgical context: "man and his wife... a daughter of truth... his wife... old men and old [women... young men] and young women, boys and gi[rls...] together (*yaḥad*) with all of us... and she will take a place in the assembly (*sod*, literally "secret") of old men and old wom[en]... old men and women; ...]sisters."[92] This very fragmentary text describes a certain ritual, perhaps the admission of a married couple into the *yaḥad*.[93] Whatever the actual context, the fact that the author emphasizes the participation of young and old women alongside men, indicates their full participation in the religious life of the congregation, and although their actual role is unclear, the text may allude to a relatively active function.

4.3   The Wife's Testimony against Her Husband's Transgression

A passage in the eschatological Rule of the Congregation mentions a ruling concerning the testimony of a woman against her husband. Following a rule that defines the minimal age for matrimony for (male) citizens (twenty years of age), it is stated that: "then (or: accordingly) she shall be received (*tekabel*) to give witness against him ('*alav*) (about)

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91   J. Baumgarten 1996a, 166. Brooke 2003 interprets *rokema* as "a piece of embroidered cloth associated with priestly status." Wassen (2005, 189-197) suggests that the term represents the spiritual power of the Fathers.

92   Frags. 1; 19, 2-4; 24, 4; 34; 96, respectively, in Baillet 1982, 82-94. Crawford 2003, 181-183 stressed women participation in the *sod* (secret or assembly) of holy ones, the "old men and women" as designating social authority and leadership, and the "sisters" (mentioned in the context of blessing and joy) as female fellows.

93   For this suggestion, see Chapter 7. Satlow 1998 suggested that 4Q502 reflects a ritual for the New Year.

the regulations of the law and to take his (or rather: her) [p]lace in the proclamation of the regulations."[94]

J. Baumgarten and Schiffman claimed that a scribal error occurred and the text originally referred to the man's testimony. They based their argument on the context (rulings concerning the husband's minimal age of marriage), as well as on the implausibility of such extensive civil rights for women, a right that could lead to tension between the spouses.[95] Recently, Davies and Taylor, as well as Ilan, reclaimed the literal meaning of the text, arguing that women had indeed been considered competent to testify to their husbands' transgressions and participate in the legal assembly, where the rules were taught.[96]

In my view, Davies and Taylor may be correct in stressing that not only the feminine configuration of the verb, *tekabel* "be received" suits their interpretation, but also *'alav,* "against him".[97] It is unreasonable that the text means that an individual should testify against/regarding himself. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that two separate scribal errors occurred in the transmission of this brief passage. Therefore, its interpretation should be that women had a legal obligation to testify their husband's legal piety, and I assume that men had the same rights concerning their wives. Whether this passage also represents the legal norms of the *yaḥad* before the eschatological age is unclear, but I tend to think it does.[98] The fact that the literal meaning of this passage is inconsistent with the context cannot, however, be ignored. I suggest that this was a consequence of a later insertion concerning women's testimony, into an earlier rule concerning matrimony.

This legal right (indeed, obligation!) is unparalleled in ancient Judaism. Both Josephus and the rabbis explicitly stated that women are

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94   1QSa 1:11. García Martínez and Tigchelaar translated "*his* place," while Davies and
      Taylor 1996, 223 translated "*her* place." Note that García Martínez and Tigchelaar
      understood the passage as a reference to women's testimony.
95   J. Baumgarten 1957; Schiffman 1983, 62-63; 1993, 170-171 and bibliography on the
      earlier debate concerning this passage. One should also bear in mind that scholars
      were biased, viewing the *yaḥad* as a celibate, hence misogynic society, which they
      identified with Philo's Essenes (cf. J. Baumgarten 1957, 267).
96   Davies and Taylor 1996; Ilan 1999, 40-42. For the reading and interpretation of the
      laws for the entire congregation, including women and children, see 1QSa 1:4-5.
97   J. Baumgarten 1957, 268 amended *'alav* to *'al pi* "in accordance". J. Baumgarten
      (1996a, 165), however, now accepts this passage as it is and interprets it as reference
      to the wife's obligation to *admonish* the husband for illicit conjunctional conduct
      (prohibited in 4QD[b], as was already discussed above). Cf. the critical comments of
      Rothstein 2004, 599-601.
98   Hempel 1996 and Stegemann 1996 assert that 1QSa actually follows the regulations
      of the *yaḥad* or the Damascus Covenant.

unqualified to testify in court. Women's testimony was also rare in Athenian and Roman law.[99] Moreover, testifying against one's husband seems to create legal equality between the sexes in the realm of religious status and obligation to the Torah and the juristic system, which was inconsistent with the inferior status of women in antiquity.

4.4   Women Matter in Qumran

The three passages discussed above allude to the active role of women in the Damascus Covenant, as well as the groups reflected by the Rule of the Congregation and 4Q502, both of which are probably related to the *yaḥad*. Meager as they may seem, these passages prove that gender relations in those groups were significantly different from those discussed by Ben Sira, Philo, and the rabbis. Women were not barred from religious life in the Qumran sects. The sect's separation from the immorality of the outside society did not result in the total exclusion of women, as it did among the Essenes. On the contrary, women's role in the Damascus Covenant and the *yaḥad* may have been more significant than in the contemporary Jewish society. Curiously, this phenomenon is well attested in many other introversionist sects. In order to illustrate the social significance of this fact and to assess the motives underlying this tendency, I turn to the evidence from several different sects.

4.5   Female Roles among the Shakers, Oneida, Anabaptists, Hutterites, Mennonites, Puritans and Quakers

The most striking elevation of women to religious leadership status in sectarian organizations is found in sects that abolished marriage life, and advocated celibacy for their male and female members.[100] In the case of the Shakers, the centrality the female sex is embodied in the figure of Ann Lee, the messianic leader and founder of its theology and system of celibacy. The Shakers had a special perception of woman-

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99   J. Baumagrten 1957, 267-268, also referring to *Ant.* 4.219 and to the passive status of women in the Pauline churches. However, the discussion of women's status in ancient Jewish societies in that period is too broad and not directly related to their juristic liability as witnesses against their husbands (hence the discussion of Rothstein 2004, 607-613 seems to me somewhat irrelevant).

100   One peculiar case in late antiquity concerns Priscilla and Maximilla, female Montanist prophets who advocated the annulment of marriage and the idealization of virginity. See Hine 1989, 3-7; Trevett 1996, 151-197.

hood and gender. They believed that Ann Lee was a fulfillment of the Second Coming of Jesus in the body of a woman.[101] According to the Shaker leader Joseph Meacham, as God created man in two parts, male and female, it was necessary that he should make his second appearance in the form of a woman, that the order might be complete in the new creation.[102]

The appearance of Ann Lee led to full and equal status of women in religious government.[103] The Shakers claimed to have left the traditional Aaronic priesthood and returned to the universal ministry of Melchizedek, who was without father, mother, or children born of flesh. This also extended the religious role of women in the sect.[104] Women consisted up to 60 percent of the members.[105]

Women in the Oneida sect also enjoyed relative equality due to the sect's "complex family structure," which was a system of group marriage in which women and men had multiple relationships with each other. Both sexes were involved in masculine and feminine occupations and had equal voting rights. Women participated in public affairs and enjoyed formal education, although the actual leaders were men, and the founder, John Humphrey Noyes, believed in women's relative inferiority.[106] This system abolished the monogamous family that gives a husband "exclusive ownership of one woman," which they regarded as harmful as other forms of private ownership.

Women were also active in sectarian movements which did not challenge conventional family patterns. An interesting connection between religious revolution and women's liberation from their tradi-

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101 "[I]n the second appearing, when Christ should be manifested in the order of *Mother*, through a *female*" (Evans 1858, 67).

102 Andrews 1963, 60. For God as both Father and Mother ("the dual order of God") and other divine gender issues, see Evans 1858, 103-109.

103 Evans 1858, 84. Note that this trend was already evident among the English Quakers, from which the earliest Shakers evolved when joined by Ann Lee (cf. Garrett 1987, 141-142).

104 Desroche 1971, 176. The Shaker concept of priests of the lay order of Melchisedeck goes back to the early 18th century French Prophets in England, who opposed different clergies (*ibid.*, 27).

105 Desroche 1971, 178. Another example of the relative equality of women in so-called utopian communities is New Harmony formed by Robert Owen. See Kolmerten 1990, 54-67.

106 Oved 1988, 169, 171, 420-421; Lauer and Lauer 1983, 79-82. The Oneida sectarians believed that there was no reason to restrict sexual intercourse in a holy community in a state of grace. Monogamy was regarded as "egoism limited to two," that damaged the relationship within the community. Interestingly, when the Oneida eventually began to break up, the old Noyes favored celibacy over conventional monogamous relations.

tional role in society is attested to in the emergence of Anabaptism. The participation of women in the Anabaptist movement was striking, and evoked the amazement of outsiders. The Anabaptists believed that any person could serve as a priest. Women engaged in "corner" preaching and evangelism, believing that every person could serve as a priest. According to Goertz, "Women breaking out their normal social roles and taking control of their own lives...Self-confident women participated in public life or championed their communities in ways which were nothing short of spectacular."[107]

In comparison to their contemporary Christian society, the Anabaptist groups' attitude towards their female members was unique. Among the Hutetrites as well as many other Anabaptists, one's wife was most commonly called one's "marital sister." A couple's affiliation was first to their brotherhood or congregation of the saved, and only secondarily were they related to each other as husband and wife.[108] Modern Hutterites permit women to take part in public discussions, but women do not assume positions of leadership.[109]

The Mennonite in Mexico are proud that the Old Colony people attribute a higher status to women, and treated wives with more respect, compared to Mexican society. Women are considered almost equal to men in religious matters, but they are not permitted to express their ideas in public, hold church offices, or partake in public village events. In the home, the woman is still subordinate to the male, but often exercises great authority because of her role as the socio-emotional leader of the family.[110]

As in the emergence of Anabaptism, gender relations were relatively transformed during the English revolution. The English separatist sects laid great emphasis upon the spiritual equality of the two sexes. Both men and women were required to present proof of their individual regeneration when they joined the sect. Once admitted to the sect, women had an equal share in church government. Moreover, women were a numerical majority in the separatist sects.[111]

Among the Quakers, women were allowed to speak and prophesize on the basis of complete equality. George Fox, the founder of

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107 Goertz 1996, 115-117, citations from p. 115. Although women held a prominent place in the Anabaptist movement, in the long run, the Anabaptists were conservative concerning gender roles. Women did not consciously question the subordinate role assigned to them as females. See the studies cited in Reschly 2000, 66-67.
108 Williams 1962, 514.
109 Oved 1988, 423-424.
110 Redecop 1969, 97-98.
111 Thomas 1958.

Quakerism, preached that women's subjection to men, decreed at the Fall in the garden of Eden, was abolished by the restoration by Christ.[112] Women played an important role in the early history of Quakerism, and the Quakers were even considered a female sect. Women were among the first and most active converts, and suffered imprisonment and flogging.[113] The early Quakers established women's Meetings, thus giving women the power to control their religious lives.[114]

Moreover, dozens of early Quaker women "prophets" had cata- tonic ecstasies of visionaries. They felt that they were seized by the power of God. They denied gender differences, insisting that they preached as disembodied spirits "in the light," not as women who ex- perience self-alienation and disengagement from their social identity. Most male Quakers welcomed the prophecies of women Friends.[115] Yet, as Thomas remarked, "spiritual equality was to remain strictly spiritual only."[116]

The English Puritans exhibited a similar tendency towards a rela- tively extensive involvement of women in the social scheme. The slight but noteworthy elevation of women's status in the household is related to what Christopher Hill has called "the Spiritualization of the house- hold." For the Puritans, the family was the fundamental spiritual unit of society. Thus, in Puritan society there was an exaltation of marriage relationship.[117] Moreover, the Puritans shifted women from the status of a "necessary evil", and adopted an approach of a conjugal rather than patriarchal family.[118] Men and women were seen by Puritans as spiritu- ally equal, and this equality was to be manifested in the marriage rela-

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112 Thomas 1958, 44-48; Reay 1985, 26. Bacon 1986 discusses developments in the role of Quaker women, such as traveling women ministers and Women's meetings.

113 Baltzell 1979, 85-86.

114 Margaret Fell (who was later married to George Fox) wrote in favor of female public ministry. She played a pivotal role in establishing Quaker women's meeting. See Young Kunze 1994. In his *Journal*, Fox repeatedly mentioned women's Meetings (see the references in Fox 1997, 775, s.v. women's Meetings).

115 Mack 1992, 133-137, 174, 178. Margaret Fell, the revered mother of the movement, was called "mother in Israel." Fell emphasized the hysterical, self-serving, and ulti- mately trivial character of early Quaker women (*ibid.*, esp. 134).

116 Thomas 1958, 53.

117 Hill 1964, 443-481.

118 Todd, 1987, 96-97. According to Walzer, "Puritan literature suggests a certain sentimentalizing of the role of the women both as wife and mother." Puritans acknowledged women's potential to be saints since "souls have no sexes" (Walzer 1965, 192, 193).

tionship. Puritan women and men were equally responsible for their own sanctification.

The Puritans thus embraced a liberal approach to sexual equality: teaching sexual equality before God, equal rationality and spiritual responsibility of both men and women, and elevation of the marriage relationship and woman's spiritual role as educator and governor within the household.[119] Puritans held a new view of marriage founded on a voluntary and public contract. Marriage between two saints would be a "spiritual union."[120]

4.6 Sectarian Adherence and the Transformation of Gender Relations

This survey of evidence attests to a distinctive pattern of gender relations in sectarian organizations which requires explanation. Why did women play a substantial role in the religious life of the Qumran communities, the Shakers, Anabaptists, Quakers, Puritans, and the Oneida? Rejecting superficial explanations, I do not think that the key for understanding this phenomenon is the desire of deprived and oppressed women to join a social revolution, nor the sect's interest in recruiting more members. The evidence is too substantial and at times also pertains to later phases in development of the sect when missionarism was quite irrelevant. Fundamentally, sects aim to change the world in as many aspects as possible. In their call to reform society, gender relations was one locus of change, based on the assumption that the relationship between the sexes may reflect the afflictions of the outer society as a whole.

But I think that the explanation goes much deeper. A certain perception of gender relations is grounded in the introversionist sectarian worldview that accepts women as almost equal members as men. But why?[121] My suggestion is that the sectarians discussed above believed

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119 Todd 1987, 113-115. For New England Puritanism as a women's movement, see Hambrick-Stowe 1982, 48-49 and bibliography. The fact that a woman such as Ann Hutchinson could reproach ministers in her sermons and initiate theological controversies (i.e., the so-called Antinomian controversy) may attest to the role of women in New England Puritanism. Cf. Winthrop 1996, 105-156; Morgan 1999, 119-137.

120 Walzer 1965, 193-194.

121 A general explanation for this phenomenon may be adopted from Kraemer 1992, who followed Douglas' grid and group theory (Douglas 1996). For Kramer, women's intensive involvement in religious life is typical of low-grid (that is, systems that reject the classification system of the outside society) and high-group (groups characterized by high solidarity and inner social cohesion) systems. These general trends are actually characteristic of sects, and Douglas even defines them as "sectarianism."

that by following the sect's ideology and way of life, women overcome the inferiority of the female race. In contrast to the prevailing male conceptualization of women in the outside societies, female sectarians were considered pious, devoted, obedient and educated enough to participate in religious (and at times, also social) life.

Thus, living in a sect can transform a woman's gender roles and identity, from a sexual being who is responsible for childbearing, nursing, housekeeping, and satisfying her husband's sexual needs, to a potentially active member of the religious community. Thus, sects tend to amend and reform the conventional gender identity of women, and at times also gender roles, in the course of their wider social revolution. The sectarian way of life is therefore able not only to create a new kind of man, but also a new kind of woman. This is perhaps a rather concealed revolution, but it bears significant implications for the social stability of the relationship between the sect and the family.

5   Marriage Relations as a Spiritual Religious Experience

Another aspect of the celebration of gender relations in certain introversionist sects is the view of marriage as a spiritually uplifting relationship. The restrictions on marriage in Qumran (discussed above) indicate a tension between one's commitment to the sect and one's spouse or family. Although nowhere explicitly stated in the scrolls, the conception of marriage as an elevating religious and spiritual bond between man and woman within the sect, as well as the possible sanctification of sexual relations between the married couple, may have resolved this tension.

5.1   Elevating the Sanctity of Marriage in 4Q502, Anabaptism and Puritanism

Marriage is portrayed as a holy covenant in the fragmentary 4Q502, the so-called "Ritual of Marriage": "[...]the man who acknowledges [...] when [you] add [...] the law of God to one who lacks [...]. [...the man] and his wife for [...] to procreate offspring [...] these [...] which [...ho]ly ones, praising God [...] to be hol[y...] for him, daughter of

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Thomas 1958, 50 (following Knox's *Enthusiasm*) believes that "women seem to have played a disproportionate role in the history of mysticism and spiritual religion" (see also *ibid.*, 56).

truth and who wal[ks...] his (female) friend w[ho...] for her, intelli-
gence and knowledge in the midst of... together, to be...sins... aton-
ing."[122]

Fragmented as it is, this passage discusses the relationship between
husband and wife in the context of holiness. It associates this relation-
ship with truth, intelligence, knowledge, and atonement. Hence, it
seems to view marriage as a sacred bond of man and his wife. Nonethe-
less, the text does not seem to describe a marriage ritual. Rather, it
seems to address a situation of a given married couple. It should be
noticed that the verbs which refer to intelligence, knowledge and "to be
added" (namely, to join) are found in the regulations of admitting new
converts to the *yaḥad* in the Community Rule. Truth and atonement are
also the raison d'être of the *yaḥad*, and are emphasized in passages that
introduce the *yaḥad*'s aims.[123]

I therefore suggest that this opening fragment from 4Q502 de-
scribes the admission of a married couple into the *yaḥad*. The text seems
to idealize the marriage bond between the partners and to adjoin their
marriage relations into the communal covenant of the sect.[124] The holi-
ness of the relationship between the couple is recognized as appropri-
ate and suitable for the spiritual aims of justice and atonement for
which the *yaḥad* aims.

Interestingly, its seems that the *yaḥad* (or its later offshoot group
who may have composed this text) emphasized the sanctity of mar-
riage, thus modeling the union of the sexes as a cultic and holy rela-
tionship that represents a life of harmony not only between man and
woman, but also between both of them and God. This approach, the
extreme opposite to celibacy, aims to build a bridge between sexuality
and the flesh on one hand, and heavenly spiritual purity to which so
many sectarians aspired, on the other hand.

There are partial parallels for this way of thinking among other in-
troversionist sects – the Anabaptists and the Puritans. In interpreting
matrimony in the language of the covenant with Christ, the Radical
Reformation found a new theological basis for marriage as an ordi-
nance of Christ within the purview of the church. The Anabaptists reaf-
firmed their marital relationship in Christ, or remarried in faith. There
were instances of formal remarriage of the banned and reinstated

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122 4Q502 frag. 1-3. Cf. Chapter 7.
123 1QS 5:21; 6:18 (intelligence); 6:15 (knowledge); 6:14 (to be added/join); 1:6, 12; 5:3, 5
     (truth); 5:6; 8:6, 10 (atonement).
124 J. Baumgarten (1990, 14) acknowledged that "Qumran writings reflect a markedly
     idealistic view of marital relationship," but nevertheless could not abandon the con-
     sensus that the *yaḥad* were celibates!

spouse with the faithful spouse.[125] A similar view is reflected in the Puritan concept of elevating the marriage relationship and the woman's spiritual role.[126]

5.2   Sexual Relations as a Holy Covenant in the Damascus Document

There is another indication, although more circumstantial, regarding the concept of marriage life in Qumran. As was already shown, according Damascus Document one must not marry a woman who has engaged in sexual intercourse outside the marital context, probably including a divorcee. Sexual relations are lawful only with a partner to whom one is bound by marriage. Actually, any sexual intercourse between a married man and unmarried woman creates a marital bond that desecrates the man's marriage bond with his lawful wife.

This rule is significant not only because it restricts members' sexual experiences, but especially creates an unbreakable commitment between husband and wife, a bond that is constructed through the carnal constraints of sexual relations. If marriage and sexual relations cannot be aborted or suspended, this means that they are more powerful and meaningful than in the conventional, more flexible, gender relations of the outside society. In such completely monogamous circumstances, sex may be regarded as almost sacred, creating an unbreakable relationship. The becoming into one single flesh (Gen 2:24) is thus fully realized in the Damascus Covenant.[127] This seems to be quite the opposite of the complete suppression of sexuality among the Essenes!

This idealization of sexual intercourse and marriage has biblical background in Malachi 2:14: "...the Lord was witness between you and the wife of your youth, to whom you have been faithless, though she is *your companion and your wife by covenant.*" Here the prophet creates a parallel between the covenant between husband and wife, and "our fathers' covenant" with God,[128] and exhorts his listeners to refrain from betraying their wives (Mal 2:15). For Malachi, marriage seems to be "an

125 Williams 1962, 506. Peter Rideman, the Hutterian leader, regarded marriage as a communion with God (*ibid.*, 515).

126 Todd 1987, 115 (see above). Compare also George Fox's idealization of marriage (Fox 1997, 506).

127 A similar ideal of marriage is declared by Paul in Eps 5:25-33 (cf. also 1 Tes 4:2-7) and is probably connected to Jesus' prohibition on polygamy and remarriage after divorce (Mark 10:2-12; Matt 5:32; 19:4-9; Luke 16:19; cf. 1 Cor 7:11). I hope to discuss this phenomenon separately.

128 Mal 2:10; Hugenberger 1994, 27-47.

elected relationship of obligation established under divine sanction."[129] Mal 2:16 also refers to divorce, possibly condemning unjustified divorce, based simply on aversion.[130]

The elevation of marriage to a level of a religious covenant had two benefits for the sect. First, it limited the force of sexual lust, making sexual relations purer. A devoted member (either male of female) could hardly entertain thoughts of fornication.[131] Second, and more importantly in my mind, such a consecration of marriage enabled the sectarian worldview to dominate the institution of marriage, and even harness its power to sustain sectarian stability and solidarity. The marriage of the husband and wife was not in opposition to their commitment to the sect, but was rather another aspect of their sectarian life, in which everything was meaningful and had significance in the extraordinary covenant between the members and God. A good sectarian loves his spouse and remains devoted to him/her.

The sect's ideology therefore penetrates to the most personal and intimate (but also most mundane) aspect of one's life, without interfering with its normal course. It appears that certain sects choose to pursue sexual purity and sacredness through intimacy between husband and wife, rather than by celibacy.

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129 Hugenberger 1994, 215. Cf. his discussion of the biblical term of (marital) covenant, *ibid.*, 168-279.

130 Hugenberger 1994, 48-83. Some commentators argued that the prophet urges divorce of a hated (unfaithful?) wife.

131 For the sectarian tendency to regulate sexual relations for sake of social cohesion, see Coser 1974, 139. For the view that sex may have a positive religious value in encouraging spiritual development, through the partial restraint of one's lust, and limitation to a single spouse, see Lauer and Lauer 1983, 98 (citing Thomas Lake Harris). For the idea of love as creating stability and social order, see Good 1959.

Chapter 10

Eliminating the Power of Wealth

1 Introduction

The system of communal property ownership practiced by the *yaḥad* and the Essenes is extraordinary. The Community Rule declares that the *yaḥad* is unified not only in mind, Torah and efforts, but also in property.[1] Members should "bring all their knowledge, strength and wealth into the community of God" and should "marshal... their wealth in accordance with His just counsel."[2] After the first year of probation, converts' property was registered, and their property and production were completely merged with the community's property after their final acceptance following their second year of probation.[3] The Essenes also maintained communal property ownership (*koinōnia*).[4] In the Damascus Covenant, members maintained their private property, but nevertheless maintained several rules concerning wealth.

This chapter examines Qumranic regulations concerning economics and trade, as well as the Qumranic conception of wealth. My aim is to show that many of the references in the scrolls to wealth and communal property attest to a certain ideological and behavioral opposition to asset accumulation. The sectarians sought to reduce the negative consequences of wealth, which reflects the corrupt outside world. Com-

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1   1QS 1:11-12; 3:2; 5:1-4.
2   1QS 1:11-13.
3   1QS 6:21-23. Cf. Chapter 8. For the practical aspects of the distribution of wealth, see Murphy 2002, 155-161. Rabin 1957, 22-36 claimed that private property existed not only in the Damascus Document but also in the Community Rule. His best argument is the law concerning "deceiving in the wealth of the *yaḥad*" (1QS 7:6-8), which requires members to pay back money. However, even in communities that practiced communalism there are cases of stealing and misappropriating money. There were many instances in which members had access to the communal goods and treasury (in the context of trading with others, processing the donations and possessions of new members, or candidates who still held their own money separately), and may have had an opportunity to appropriate such goods or funds.
4   *Hyp.* 10:11-13; *Quod.* 85-88 (Philo describes practical arrangements, including the transfer of daily wages to the group); *War* 2:122; *Ant.* 18: 20. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* V, 73 argues that they have "no money."

parisons to the notions and rules of other introversionist sects reinforce this interpretation, and, despite the considerable variations in the degree of opposition to wealth in these sects, seem to demonstrate that this is a characteristic phenomenon of introversionist sectarianism.

2   Becoming as One: Communal Property and Sectarianism

The main question that requires examination is: What brings religious groups to maintain their property in joint ownership? As will be further demonstrated, this problem is connected to the sectarian approach towards wealth in general. Studying communal property ownership among other introversionist sects and its relationship to sectarian ideology may shed some light on both issues.

The Shakers maintained communal property, relinquishing "temporal interests" to support a common interest.[5] Shaker property, food and lodging became the joint property of all members of the "Church Order." The Shakers maintained systems of collective consumption, residence and education, and organized their work by groups, based on a barter system.[6] In the Shaker farm communities, food was consumed by those who produced it; there were small autonomous workshops for the production of consumer goods (clothing, furniture, housekeeping machines, lodging, etc.). The same arrangements were characteristic of the *yaḥad*, the Hutterites, and other communes discussed below. Shaker members were not permitted to hold private property or interests,[7] although new members were permitted to retain their property, perhaps in an attempt to avoid disputes. Only after a period of probation and instruction did a member sign a covenant conferring his or her property to the community. Property was never returned to members who left the community, because it was consecrated for spiritual purposes.[8]

Maintaining communal property had practical advantages for the Shakers. Their centralized economic system enabled them to economize for the sake of the entire community. Still, communalism was mainly a means for the Shakers to achieve their main spiritual goal,[9] and its ideological significance is apparent in the new member's declaration: "... to

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5   Brown 1812, 33.
6   Desroche 1971, 8-9. See also Stein 1993, 17.
7   Johnson, 1967, 50.
8   Sirico 1992, 571 and bibliography.
9   Desroche 1971, 195-196.

stand as one joint community. ...they freely gave themselves and ser-
vices, with all their temporal interests, for the mutual support and
benefit of each other, and for other charitable uses, according to the
light and revelation of God which they have received." [10]

The earliest Anabaptists in Switzerland and the early Hutterites ini-
tiated a tradition of communal property ownership. Williams believes
that the Swiss Anabaptists were prompted to share all possessions due
to their desire for relief from the tremendous burden of sin and their
yearning for purity.[11] The Hutterites may have initially established
communal property ownership as an "emergency community of
Goods," due to the practical difficulties encountered when they were
forced to wander through Central Europe as a result of their persecu-
tion. A short time later, when Jacob Hutter joined them, he established
communal property ownership as an ideal, which soon became central
in the Hutterite doctrine.[12] North American Hutterites continue to prac-
tice communal property ownership to this day.[13]

Various ideological motives may have led the Hutterites to follow
communalism. According to their leader, Peter Rideman, "since all
God's gifts, not only the spiritual but also the temporal ones, are given
to a person with a view that he should use them not just for himself,
but for all his comrades, the community of the saints is to be preserved
not only in the spiritual but also in the temporal matters."[14] In other

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10   Andrews 1963, 57, citing Young 1856, 495. Interestingly, parallels to this passage are
     found in the Community Rule (1QS 5), where togetherness (yaḥad), joint property,
     and divine revelations are mentioned.
11   Williams 1962, 124. Swiss Anabaptists, founded in Zurich in 1525, were known as
     the Brethren in Christ, and later as the Swiss Brethren. For their separatist com-
     munes, see Goertz 1996, 18. For the community of goods as a symbol of unity, moral-
     ity and holiness in the writings of Ulrich Stadler (Moravia, 1530's), see Williams and
     Mergal 1957, 277-279.
12   Packull 1995, 61-63, 95. Hutterite hymns stressed the idea of communal property as
     early as the 1560's (ibid., 89-98). Packull discussed several Anabaptists groups which
     maintained communal property (e.g., the group leaded by Pilgram Marpeck) and
     were later considered as Hutterites. Egalitarian millennialism was characteristic to
     several Anabaptist factions: Thomas Müntzer (who believed himself to be an es-
     chatological savior) had an ideal program of communal property (Cohn 1957, 258-
     259); the followers of Hans Hut at Ulm also wanted to abolish private property (ibid.,
     276); Private property was abolished by the Anabaptist revolutionists in Münster
     (ibid., 286-290). For other instances of a jointly owned goods in the medieval period
     and among the Ranters (17th century England), see ibid., 193-194, 206-234 303, 360-
     372.
13   The Hutterites define "property" as the right of use, but not right of possession. See
     Hostetler 1974, 198; Peters 1965, 106-116, 198-199.
14   Rideman 1970, 88 (citation follows the translation of Goertz 1996, 140).

words, in a communitarian lifestyle, all of a man's activities are considered sacred.[15]

Williams suggests four different theological understandings as the basis for the early Hutterites' perception of communal property as sacred: (a) an eschatological, paradisic interpretation of the community as the true church, driven into the wilderness; (b) brotherly love and a strong longing for sharing, togetherness and unity; (c) the mystical principle of surrender (or resignation) to God, "conquest of self" and liberation from self-interest; (d) full and absolute obedience toward God and the eldership, since God's will is embodied in the community, outside which no salvation exists. When all selfish desires are eliminated, God's positive commandments and those of the church can be obeyed. Obedience became freedom, liberating man from this world and from self-love.[16] I think that the last interpretation best fits the *yaḥad*'s approach to wealth, since the *yaḥad* associated wealth with the moral corruption of the outside world (see below).

Evidence from the *yaḥad*, the Anabaptists/Hutterites and the Shakers, shows that introversionist sects have a certain tendency to maintain communal property ownership for ideological reasons. But wealth was also shared in non-sectarian communes. In the hippie communes in the US in the 1960's and 70's, collectivism was part of the countercultural rejection of prevailing social norms. They sought to shift the center of authority from its traditional location in key social institutions to the individual. These communes had no over-reaching economic agenda of a new order. Communal property mainly served the value of social solidarity. As communes attain a high level of affective solidarity and become committed to building a viable economy, there is a greater likelihood that they will pool their income and personal assets, and a smaller chance that conflicts will develop around work norms.[17] Although the belief system of these communes is less exclusive or demanding than sectarian ideology (the communes do not claim that they offer the only true way of life that will bring salvation), the communes

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15   Williams 1962, 432.

16   Williams 1962, 432-434.

17   Zicklin 1983, 148-150, 158. Oved 1988 (369-373) viewed modern American communalism as a by-product of millennial beliefs and the aspiration for moral perfection as a response to the defects of the world, but not as its major ideological aim. I do not think that such communalism is derived from a desire for economic success, since profitable communes have also collapsed (*ibid.*, 441-442). For communalism as a means to circumvent social threats to European movements which subsequently immigrated to America in the 18th and 19th centuries, see Desroche 1971, 194-195. Another type of community of shared goods is the Israeli Kibbutz. I hope to discuss its motivation elsewhere.

nevertheless teach us that communal property may function as a means of resistance and group solidarity.

Maintaining communal property also conferred an important economic advantage for the sect's development. The funds and land donated by new recruits allowed the groups to expand and establish new communities. The sect may have relinquished individual wealth accumulation but undoubtedly benefited from the wealth of new members. The establishment of Shaker colonies ("villages") in the early nineteenth century in the West was made possible by dedications of land by converts. Other believers then purchased or rented nearby land to ensure sufficient space for the new community.[18]

This review of ideologies of communal property may explain why the *yahad* and the Essenes established communes. They sought a sense of togetherness, and the exclusion of materialistic distractions to religious ("spiritual") life, and, to much lesser degree, appreciated the potential of resource accumulation. However, the functions and benefits of wealth consolidation cannot be detached from the overall attitude towards wealth, held by introversionist sects in general, and the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant in particular. Below, I show how these sects considered the wealth of the outside society, and the basic nature of wealth in general, a threat. Establishing communal property was one of several ideological and practical mechanisms designed to overcome this threat.

3 Corrupted Wealth

3.1 Wealth as a Boundary

The *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant regarded the wealth of their foes as defiled and polluting. In their minds, wealth conveys the evil character of its owners and users. In *pesher* Habakkuk, the Wicked Priest (the Hasmonean high priest and political leader) is harshly reproached because he "betrayed the laws for the sake of wealth. And he robbed and hoarded wealth from violent people... and he seized public money." He also "plundered the possessions of the poor" (perhaps

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18 Stein 1993, 62-63; Brown 1812, 47-48, 56. This fact sheds some light on questions, such as how the *yahad* purchased goods or acquired property. A donation of the house and crops of a new member is mentioned in ostraca found in Kh. Qumran (the *yahad* may be mentioned in these ostraca). See Cross and Eshel 1997. Compare the Essene prohibition of giving away "presents" (including property?) to relatives in *War* 2:134.

referring to the *yahad*).[19] Quite similarly, this *pesher* accuses "the last priests of Jerusalem who accumulate wealth and loot from plundering the nations. But in the last days they their loot will be given into the hands of the army of the Kittim (i.e., the Romans)."[20]

   The wealth of the "Men of the Pit" is so destructive that the author of the Community Rule is ready to renounce certain financial resources in order to avoid contact with these men.[21] In the Damascus Document, corrupted wealth is the fate of the outside society that resists the sect's teachings. "Those who remained," and did not follow the sect's laws, became corrupt, they "have defiled themselves by paths of licentious-ness and with wicked wealth...and bragged about wealth and gain," and also resented and hated each other.[22]

   Viewing the money and possessions of the wicked as both corrupt and impure led the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant to mark ex-tremely strict boundaries between insiders and outsiders. The wealth of the "men of injustice" was considered to be impure by *yahad* standards, and members were also not permitted to eat, drink or take anything from their possession without cost.[23] This separation seems to include a ban on commerce: "and the wealth of the men of holiness who walk in perfection must not be mixed with the wealth of the men of deceit who have not cleansed their way to separate from injustice."[24]

   In CD 6:14-16, evil wealth is given as a reason to avoid the Temple. Here, the "Sons of the Pit" (*benei ha-shahat*) are mentioned in relation to evil wealth, which is associated with impurity. Moreover, the passage orders members to set themselves apart from the evil wealth of the "vows and ban" (*neder* and *herem*, that is, money donated to the Tem-ple) and the wealth of the Temple. It also accuses "them" (apparently the Sons of the Pit) of robbing the poor and the widows. Hence, im-moral conduct concerning wealth not only leads to separation from the corrupted people but can also ruin the credibility of the Temple cult.[25]

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19   4QpHab 8:10-12; 11:10, respectively.

20   4QpHab 9:4-8.

21   "[T]o leave to them (the Men of the Pit) wealth and goods like a servant to his master and like man oppressed before someone domineering him" (1QS 9:22-23). My inter-pretation of this passage is based on its context, which deals with social separation.

22   CD 8:5-7; 19:17-19.

23   1QS 5:16-17.

24   1QS 9:8 (my translation, E.R.). The rationale for such a separation is provided in 1QS 5:14-15 "lest he (the man of injustice) lend him guilty iniquity" (my translation, E.R.).

25   This passage was already discussed in Chapter 2. Perhaps the money of poor and widows was retained in the Temple treasury (as in 2 Mac 3:10) and was appropri-ated by the Sons of the Pit. See D.R. Schwartz's comment in Charlesworth 1995, 23 n. 60.

It is interesting to compare this attitude in the Damascus Covenant with the regulations concerning Covenant members' commercial contacts with gentiles. Members are ordered to refrain from taking any part of the gentiles' wealth, from their granaries or winepresses, or selling them clean (kosher) animals and birds lest they sacrifice them to pagan Gods.[26] I think that these restrictions imply that trading with Jewish non-members was allowed, otherwise such limitations regarding non-Jews would have been obvious and superfluous. Hence, the total exclusion of commercial contact with wicked outsiders was practiced only by the *yahad*. In the Damascus Covenant (at the very least, in the phase of local camps), members owned private property and retained their wages. Since they worked in the outside society, daily economic contact with non-members was inescapable.

Provisions in the Damascus Covenant, prohibiting members from sharing their possessions with former members (expelled due to their transgressions), and probably referring to any association with them, indicates that expulsion may not have completely severed all social ties between banished members and their former comrades. "No one should associate with him (the expelled member) in wealth or work, for all the holy ones of the Most High have cursed him."[27] "One who eats from their (the expelled members) riches... his sentence will be written down by the overseer."[28]

I suggest that the Qumranic attempt to avoid contact with the wealth of the outside society was a means to their social withdrawal from evil. Communal property ownership was one far-reaching mechanism towards achieving that goal. The strict *yahad* rules prohibiting private ownership of property may be explained in the context of their desire to prevent the corruption of the self through ownership and personal connection to material possessions. The Damascus Covenant, which also identified the wealth of the wicked as taboo, maintained different (and more flexible) boundaries of separation from the corrupted wealth, and condoned private possessions and occupations.

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26 CD 13:6-11. For moral (as opposed to ritual) grounds for the notion of gentile impurity, see Klawans 1995.

27 4QD^a 11 14-16; 4QD^d 16 12-15. A similar concept of separation from the wealth of expelled members is found in 1QS 3:2-3. Prohibitions on merging the wealth of the "men of holiness" with the wealth of a person who betrays the Torah and is thus expelled, are also mentioned in 1QS 7:21-24. According to 1QS 7:24-25, one who mixes his pure food or wealth with an expelled member is also expelled.

28 CD 20:6-8.

3.2   Condemning the Accumulation of Wealth

Not only did the Qumranites believe that the wealth of the outside world is corrupt and therefore required separation, but that wealth *per se* and the private accumulation of property and riches are bad, immoral and ungodly pursuits in principle.[29] In CD 4:15-18 wealth (*hin*, which should be ammended to *hon*[30]) is one of the "three nets of Belial," together with fornication and the impurity of the Temple.

The author of the Hodayot is very explicit in contrasting wealth with the service or discipline of God. "I do n[ot] exchange your truth for wealth, or for a bribe all your judgment. Quite the reverse, to the deg[ree...] [I lov]e him and to the extent that you place it (namely, wealth) far off, I hate it."[31] "You have fashioned the sp[irit of your servant... You have not placed my support in robbery (*beṣah*), nor in wealth... nor you have placed the inclination of the flesh as my refuge. The strength of heroes lies in the abundance of luxuries, ...the abundance of grain wine and oil; they take pride in their belongings and possessions. ...The soul of your servant loathes wealth and robbery, and in the affluence of luxuries he does not..."[32] These authors do not believe that wealth could ever be good or just. This belief is resonated in the Qumranic self-portrayal as "the poor ones," discussed below.

Philo's presentation of the Essene lifestyle reflects a similar denial of wealth. He argues that the Essenes did not hoard silver and gold, did not acquire vast estates, but produced only what was essential for life. They lived without goods, property, or commerce, and rejected anything that might have evoked greed.[33] The Essenes scorned riches and pleasure, and were committed to frugality, simplicity and modesty. In this respect, Philo also praises their communal life.[34] The Essenes are

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29   For a similar approach in Jesus' teachings, see Regev 2004c, 399-401. See also James 1:10; 2:5-7; 5:1-6. This view is already found in Prov 30:7-9. However, the general attitude to wealth in Proverbs is positive, although the superiority of wisdom over wealth is stressed (interestingly, in Prov 8:10-21 wealth is a result of wisdom!). See Whybray 1990. Similar approaches can be found in Ben Sira 10:31-11:1; 26:28-27:3; 31:1-11.

30   Murphy 2002, 38 and bibliography.

31   1QH^a 6[14]:20-21.

32   1QH^a 18[10]:22-25, 29-30.

33   *Quod.* 76-79. They also condemned slavery for the same reason.

34   *Quod.* 84. *Hyp.* 10:11-13. Josephus adds that they despise riches and that neither the humiliation of poverty nor the pride of wealth was evident among them (*War* 2:122).

sometimes described as ascetics,[35] in a manner that is nowhere attested in the scrolls.

Similar invalidation of wealth is common to other introversionist sects. The Shakers believed in a radical dualism of good and evil, and thus refused to compromise with the world. They concluded that it was necessary to remake society on the basis of a new type of human relationship. Since the economic evils were based on "biological" evils, only a new kind of biological relation would make it possible for them to refashion society and its economic structure.[36] Accumulation of wealth derived from lust for property,[37] and was therefore contemptible and condemned: "Affections for private property are the sequences of self-love, and this is un-Christian...they lead to the formation of earthly families... Christians life and love draw souls into a communion of interests in all things, after the pattern of the Pentecost."[38]

Quite a similar approach was held by the early Anabaptists, who believe that "a Christian should not possess anything of his own." They believed that all property belonged to God.[39] The members of the *Bruderhof* movement (which later joined the Hutterites) believed that only joint property could save the world from total decay. They regarded private property as an expression of greed and lust, and the source of all evil, which disrupts the relationship with God. "Money is a personification of Satan,"[40] they said.

The same basic idea is also found among sects that, like the Damascus Covenant, did not maintain communal property ownership: the Quakers and the Puritans. Although the Quakers shared a similar opposition to wealth accumulation, they believed that the endeavor to win goodness by withdrawal from society is vain. They disdained the pursuit of the power, pleasure and luxury for their own sake, and maintained that "the commercial spirit is selfish." They believed, however that the spirit of the simple life could be lived at any level of pov-

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35   Cf. also their simplicity of dress and restrictions on food consumption in *War* 2:126, 130, 133.

36   Desroche 1971, 39.

37   Brown 1812, 23.

38   G. Lomas, *Plain Talks* (Albany 1873), 10, cited in Desroche 1971, 195. Perhaps it was not a coincidence that the Shakers first emerged among the English industrial revolution working class, in Manchester, the first city to experiment with industrialization (note that James and Jane Wardley were tailors, and Ann Lee was a factory girl). See Desroche 1971, 40-41.

39   Williams 1962, 173.

40   Oved 1996, 48, 67-68, 133-134. The *Bruderhof*, however, realized that communal property would not suffice to attain salvation and had different debates and divisions on this issue.

erty or wealth, and at any stage of ignorance of culture: "It is essentially the spirit of *living for life's sake*, or consecration of personal or social goodness." They adhered to life without withdrawal, but in a sphere of manifesting consecration. "The only possible way to overcome the world is to carry the forces of the spiritual life into the veins of society (probably referring to the "Society of Friends", the Quaker self-designation) until peace and love and righteousness prevail there." The Quakers were committed to the idea of simplicity as a means of separating themselves from wealth, which was considered the evil of the world.[41]

Although the accumulation of wealth was appropriate and a sign of election for the English Puritans, and prosperity could be a reward of godliness, profit was designated for the community rather than for the individual. Capital was not to be accumulated, but to be used for the good of society, in educating the children of the sect and the surrounding community, relieving the plight of the poor, and serving the church. Appetite for riches, selfish accumulation and conspicuous consumption were all denounced. Material abundance was regarded not as a sign of divine approval, but as a temptation to other forms of excess. Some Puritan thinkers viewed accumulating excess wealth as a blatant denial of God's providence, and a test all too likely to be failed.[42]

Evidence shows that wealth itself and its accumulation are viewed negatively by many introversionist sects. Wealth is associated with materialistic pleasures, temptation of sin, greed, lust, selfishness, and is considered an obstacle to the service of God. Wealth was the ultimate symbol of all things in the world from which these sects sought to distance themselves in their efforts to become close as possible to the divine.

4   Helping the Poor / Being the Poor

In the course of their retreat from corrupting wealth, sectarian organizations sought to cope with economic strife, which was the lot of many sects. Economic assistance to fellow sectarians, and humanitarian care for the poor both are typically practiced by introversionist sects. Mem-

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41   Jones 1965, 93-94. William Penn (1999, 213-286) opposed luxury as "an excessive indulgence of the self." It is interesting to note that the Quakers saw themselves as suffering and called their gatherings "sufferings" (Braithwaite 1923, 312-313, 315-316), while the *yaḥad* called themselves "those who suffer (*mityasrim*)" (1QS 3:6). Cf. 1QS 9:10; CD 20:31-32.

42   Todd 1987, 152-154.

bers of the Damascus Covenant contributed specific amounts of their
income to the sect. They donated a minimum tax of two days' salary
(eight percent), which was distributed by the "overseer of the Many
(*rabbim*)" and the judges to "the injured, poor and destitute, the old
man who is bound down, the afflicted persons, captives held by the
gentiles, young women without supporting relatives or husbands, and
helpless youth," who may have been members of the Covenant, or
somehow associated with members.[43] This ruling therefore contains
both dimensions of care: economic assistance to fellow sectarians, and
humanitarian care for the poor. Both are typical to other introversionist
sects.

Shaker communities helped each other financially.[44] The Hutterite
colonies' mutual aid system included securing loans from other colo-
nies, and inter-colony aid was granted (without charge) in cash and
produce to colonies in economic distress.[45] In Mennonite colonies, the
deacons who take care of material and social welfare also handle per-
sonal problems such as sickness and poverty.[46] The Amish are respon-
sible for each other's welfare and find many ways to come to each
other's aid within a capitalistic society.[47]

Introversionist sects also established systems of economic aid for
the poor. The early Anabaptists, Puritans and Quakers continued the
heritage of the early Jerusalem church of supporting the poor.[48] For the
early Anabaptists, the care for the poor was the actual justification of
their joint property.[49] The Anabaptist communitarians in Austerlitz

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43   CD 14:12-17; 4QDᵃ 10 i 5-10 (with some additions). The conclusion of the rule (4QDᵃ
      10 i 9-10) refers to donations for "all [the service of the association (*ḥeber*, or perhaps
      associate, *ḥaber*)], and the house of the association shall not be deprived of its means"
      (Murphy's translation should be preferred: "will not be cut off from among them,"
      see Murphy 2002, 83). Note that Philo mentions that the Essenes' rationale for their
      economic union was mutual assistance (*Quod.* 87-88). Josephus also noted that they
      help one another and offer food to the needy (War 2:134).

44   Desroche 1971, 206-207; Stein 1993, 146.

45   Peters 1965, 166-167.

46   Redekop 1969, 65. For the mutual aid among the Mennonites, see also Winfield Fretz
      1939; Redekop 1989, 280, 295.

47   Hostetler, 1968, 145-146. Amish immigrants helped each other, and extended assis-
      tance to Mennonite immigrants as well (Nolt 1992, 96-97). For the Amish society of
      mutual aid and medical care, see Kraybill 2001, 101-104, 154-156.

48   For communal property, see Acts 2:44-46; 4:32-37. For the aid for the poor, see Acts
      6:1; Rom 15:26; Gal 2:10; James 1:27. For hasty attempts to draw connections between
      Qumranic and early Christian conceptions of communal property, care for the poor
      and self designation as "the poor" (see below), cf. Keck 1965; 1966.

49   For this idea in the community headed by Hans Hut in Moravia, in the pre-Hutterite
      Gabrielites, and in the Scharnschlager Order (1540), see Packull 1995, 59-61, 119, 313.

(1528) asserted that the purpose of their sharing their own goods was "in order that the needy in the community might be sustained,"[50] and their sympathy for the poor was indeed impressive. John Schpttelmaier, an Austrian Anabaptist, declared that "a Christian should not have anything of his own, but should have all things in common with his brother, not allow him to suffer need."[51]

Extensive help for the needy is also characteristic of sects which do not maintain communalism. The Puritan promoted assistance to the poor, and maintained certain orders regarding charity, alms, and relief for the poor in schools and education.[52] During the Puritan revolution, a governmental policy, "Corporation of the Poor," included employment for the poor, educating and training orphans and poor children.[53] Mercy, charity and care for the public were also among the main concerns of John Winthrop.[54]

Quaker overseers were responsible for collecting money for needy and destitute, widows and orphans,[55] establishing what some scholars call "a welfare state."[56] For American Quakers, charity was one of the functions of the Quaker conception of community and a foundation of the belief that all men were brothers and sisters and children of the Father of the Lights. Goods were collected and delivered to the poor. The Monthly Meeting also served as a loan fund.[57]

I think that this concern for the poor and needy is based on more than humanitarian grounds, and is related to general conception of wealth by these sects. In a sense, if wealth is bad, the poor, who were not afflicted by its immorality, are the just ones. They are the closest to the ideal of the sectarians who disdain riches. The destitute suffer due to the destructive power of wealth, and should cooperate and unite in order to overcome it by spirit, and not by gaining wealth of their own.

In light of the sectarian care for the poor, the self-designation of both the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant as "the poor" has a special significance. In CD 19:9, "those who revere Him are 'the poor ones of

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50   *Ibid.*, 229-233 (citation from p. 232).

51   Williams 1962, 173.

52   Todd 1987, 153, 161-172.

53   Pearl 1978. The Corporation was terminated by the king, on his restoration in 1660.

54   See Winthrop's "A Model of Christian Charity" (Winthrop 1996, 2-5, 8).

55   Braithwaite 1923, 312-313. For the Quaker's care for poor Friends, see Fox 1997, 364, 373, 621. For George Fox's personal charity, see *ibid.*, 7.

56   Cf. Margaret Fell's social activities for poor relief of fellow Quakers, such as prisoners and families in financial distress (Young Kunze 1994, 83-100).

57   The motive for mutual aid and poor relief was the belief that every person is a vehicle of the Seed of God and therefore deserves love and help. See Tolles 1963, 65-73.

the flock'" (Zech 11:11). In the Pesharim, the sectarians (probably the *yaḥad*) refer to themselves as "the congregation of the poor ones (`evyonim*), who volunteer to do the will of God."[58] In the Hodayot, the members of the community are repeatedly described as the poor, and especially "poor in spirit, refined by poverty and purified in the crucible, [those who keep the]ir nerve until the time of Your judgment."[59]

This self-denomination has hardly anything to do with the sectarians' actual economic situation.[60] It is a positive self-designation which implies that its owners are uncontaminated by the power of wealth. This positive association of the poor as the just and pious can be traced back to Psalms. The poor (*a´navim* as well as several other designations) are frequently mentioned in Psalms as those who place their faith in God rather than in money.[61] "The "poor" are those who have nothing themselves, and hope to receive everything from God."[62]

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58 4QpPsᵃ(4Q171) I 21. For other references to "the poor ones" see 4QpPsᵃ II 10; III 10; 1QpHab 12:2-6. The wisdom texts from Qumran, such as 4Q415-418 *Instruction*ᵃ⁻ᵈ, (probably of non/pre-Qumranic provenance) discuss poverty extensively. See Wright 2004.

59 See 1QHᵃ 4[14]:20-21. Cf. also 1QHᵃ 10[2]:32-34; 1QHᵃ 11[3]:25; 1QHᵃ 12[5]:14-16; 4QHodayotᵃ(4Q427) 7 ii 7-9; 4QBarkhi Nafshiᵃ (4Q434) 1 i 1-3. For additional references and discussion, see Keck 1966, 68-77. The same connection between views about wealth, collection for the poor, and communal property is also relevant to the early Christians, especially the Jerusalem church. I hope to develop this topic elsewhere.

60 For economic resources during famine according to 4QpPsᵃ 3:2-5 see, Flusser 1987. The fact that the most common punishment in the Community Rule is a decrease of one-fourth of one's daily portion of food for up to two years proves that the *yaḥad*'s regular diet was more than satisfying. See Schiffman 1983, 109 n. 88; 1993, 201 n. 173. The ostraca from Kh. Qumran, that may attest to the transfer of property, including a slave, from a joining member to the *yaḥad* official (Cross and Eshel 1997), may also point to relative affluence.

61 E.g., Ps 14:6; 25:9; 40:18; 72:4. Some scholars viewed the poor as a definite religious community (which included the Psalter himself) of united worship. Since Mowinkel, the more accepted view is that the poor include all who are slandered by their enemies, the helpless, oppressed, powerless, etc., who plead for God's intervention. The poor are therefore associated (also in several other places in the Hebrew Bible) with those who call for justice, lack social status, and whose protector is God. Their troubles drive them to rely exclusively on God. They are certain of their salvation and become witnesses of God's gracious presence (e.g., Ps 9:17-21; 149:4-5). See Kraus 1986, 150-154.

62 Kraus 1986, 152.

5   Rules for the Conduct of Wealth

Sects which did hold private property ownership and engaged with commerce with outsiders on a regular basis prescribed specific rules which restricted such private economic occupations. Several such rules and prohibitions are detailed in the Damascus Document. The members of the Covenant, who did own private property, are ordered to inform the local overseer of their actions in economic matters: "And no one should make a deed of purchase or of sale without informing the overseer of the camp. He shall proceed in consultation lest they err."[63] This supervision on economic activities is probably designed to ensure that members avoid commercial ties with wicked, and refrain from exploiting others or acting deceptively. Quite similarly, early Amish laws of conduct (1779) ordered that no brother shall engage in any large purchase, or other large business, or involve himself in any unnecessary profiteering or usury without the counsel, foreknowledge and consent of the brethren and elders.[64]

Members of the Damascus Covenant were also prohibited from buying and selling to fellow members ("Sons of Dawn"), with the exception of "hand in hand," that is, only on the basis of exchange and mutual trust without seeking to profit from these commercial relations.[65] The use of money was thus limited to commerce with outsiders, reducing the use of wealth and the possibility of accumulation. The omission of wealth in intra-sectarian economic ties was probably symbolic, but is consistent with the negative characteristics ascribed to wealth.

Similar regulations on trading also exist among some Mennonites. They give "gifts" and receive "favors" in return, saying that "it keeps friendship going." Thus, for example, they share the fresh meat of a calf or steer with relatives and friends in a rotation system (this arrangement is called "meat ring"). Mennonite members also serve as "messengers" of oil and commodities from the colony to town and back, or care for a sick person in turns.[66] Peter Rideman, the Early Hutterite leader, called for certain restrictions on immoral economic occupations and called members to refrain from engaging in the "sinful business" of commerce.[67]

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63   CD 13:15-16; 4QDª 9 iii 1-10.
64   Hostetler 1989, 85
65   CD 13:14-15. See the reading and interpretation of J. Baumgarten 1983a.
66   Redekop 1969, 117-119.
67   Rideman 1970, 126-127.

These rules indicate that sectarians who own private property maintain rules to eliminate the negative affect of wealth, both in their contacts with outsiders, as with fellow members. Some rules are based on a reciprocal exchange of goods, and their general aim is to limit the impact of the free economy of the outside world.

Other rules attest to the sensitivity of the Qumran sectarians to the immorality of wealth. Lying about money warrants punishment in both the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant.[68] The fact that this rule opens the penal codes of Damascus Document and the Community Rule, as well as its relatively severe penalty attest to its significance either as most common, or, more plausibly, as a symbol of behavioral fidelity to sectarian values.[69] Additional laws in the Damascus Document address additional related situations: lost/stolen and found property, demanding oath or confession for dismissing any guilt regarding the acquisition of property;[70] jurisprudence concerning wealth and the number of witnesses required;[71] and prohibitions on dedicating to the altar or donating to priests anything taken by force (`anus`).[72]

6 Conclusion: The Immoral Nature of Wealth

The textual examination of the treatment of wealth in the scrolls surely points to the conclusion that wealth was a symbol of communal identity for the Qumranites.[73] The disposition of wealth was also one of the key criteria for distinguishing the faithful from the wicked, devilish assembly.[74] The wealth of the wicked transmits their immorality and should be therefore excluded. The comparison with ideologies of other introversionist sects takes us further, to the most basic notion of wealth in sectarian thinking. Qumranic sensitivity to corrupted wealth is derived from their loathing of money in general, an idea that is shared by other sects. Their help to the poor and their self-portrayal as "the poor ones" is related to this negative attitude towards wealth. Several rules

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68 1QS 6:24-25; CD 14:20-21; 4QD[a] 10 i 14-ii 1 4QD[d] 11 i 4-5. The punishment includes separation from the sect's purity for a year and a "penalty,", namely, reduction of food, for sixty days.

69 Cf. Murphy 2002, 53.

70 CD 9:8-16. See Murphy 2002, 48-52.

71 CD 9:22-10:3.

72 CD 16:13-14. The section includes additional restrictions on such dedications. See Murphy 2002, 61-66.

73 Murphy 2002, 135 and passim.

74 Muphy 2002, 243.

were made in order to reduce the morally destructive power of money, possessions and trade with the outside society as well as with fellow members.

This conception leads to the rationale for communal property ownership. It seems that the practice of communalism by some introversionist sects was designed to eliminate the role of wealth in society and its negative consequences. In such communes, wealth had no place in daily life or in the interactions between members. Not only are commercial relations replaced with social equality, sectarian members have no reason to devote any thought to money or possessions. The basic conception of communal property is therefore a boundary built to provide protection against the corrupting power of wealth of the outside society and against the very notion of accumulation of wealth.[75]

The reason that wealth was marked as such a serious religious challenge by so many sects (and as a cultural problem by secular communes) was probably related to its special nature. Wealth is not a natural or a heavenly resource. Wealth is a human creation, a capital that can be conceptualized only by humans. Capital was invented by humans in order to enjoy luxuries, pleasure and pride. It therefore leads to a path which sectarians strongly reject.

Moreover, sensitivity to the corrupted wealth of the wicked derives from the power of wealth to transfer social values (similar to electric conductivity). As Marcel Mauss has shown, gifts (possessions) create sharing and communion, since the gift (capital) is an integral part of both the giver and the recipient. Thus, any kind of exchange creates a sense of mutual acknowledgement and even commitment.[76] Money is therefore not merely an object, and trade is not a neutral activity. Money and trade connected people one to another and transmitted values and ideas, mostly impious ones. Such socio-cultural interaction with "the world" is certainly rejected by introversionist sects who viewed wealth as an obstacle to the highest sectarian goal: an encounter with the divine.

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75   Such resistance to the very notion of wealth should remind us that Aristotle and Karl
      Marx, among others, condemned money and trade since it undermines social soli-
      darity and human freedom, and also depersonalizes social relations. See Parry and
      Bloch 1989.
76   Mauss 1969, esp. 31-37.

Chapter 11

Mysticism and the Holy Spirit

1 Sects and the Immediate Presence of "The Spirit"

Attaining closeness to God and the highest degree of holiness possible for humans is the greatest aim of many introversionist sects, as it was for the Qumran sects. In a sense, sectarian ideology, rituals, practices and laws pave the way to this ultimate goal. Many Qumran scrolls discuss this theme in different ways and forms: self-declarations of holiness or angelic character, rituals of sanctification, prayers, as well as claims of mystical experiences or mystic knowledge of the divine. Space does not permit discussing all these in detail, nor does it allow us to draw on specific socio-anthropological models relating to the perception of holiness and mysticism in Qumranic thinking. My treatment of the vast evidence aims to complete a perspective of the worldview of the Qumran sectarians in light of comparatisons with other introversionist sects.

The significance of sanctity and closeness to God in sectarian thinking was noticed by Peter Berger in his critical review, entitled "The Sociological Study of Sectarianism." Berger criticized the standard definition of sectarianism, arguing that what is necessary is a definition of "the inner meaning of religious phenomenon and not the social structure." Berger therefore defined sectarianism as "the belief that *the spirit is immediately present*," as opposed to the remoteness of the spirit in "the church" (that is, in institutionalized forms of religion).[1]

Berger's definition is certainly an important key for understanding the uniqueness of the Qumran sectarians and many Christian sects, including the Quakers and the Shakers. However, in my reading of the scholarship on the Mennonites, the Amish, the later Hutterites and the Puritans, I found no markers of a special type of spiritualism of this kind. Although it is possible that my study of these sects was not as comprehensive as it should be, my impression is that not all introversionist sects (and surely not all sects *per se*) stress the presence of the spirit of God. Some sects may merely demand obedience without fur-

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1   Berger 1954, citations from p. 474.

ther spiritual prospects for their average members, or, at least, are less
engaged in aspiring towards direct contact with God. Perhaps they
regard the mystical ride as dangerous or pretentious. In contrast, the
experience of holiness was of tremendous importance for the Qum-
ranites and other sects that had special interest in experiencing the holy
spirit.

Considerable portions of the following discussion deal with what is
commonly called mysticism. What exactly mysticism is, and how it
should be defined are, however, controversial issues. Some would limit
it to the knowledge of God through experience, when the inner-self
enters into immediate contact with God or metaphysical reality, or even
to a mystical union with God (*unio mystica*). Others would expand it to
a type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of
a relationship with God, or a direct intimate awareness of the divine
presence.[2] Whether through divine experience or mere consciousness,
mysticism involves a direct encounter with God or the godly. Both
groups of definitions are relevant for the evidence from Qumran.

2   House of the Holy

The *yahad* emphasized the holiness of their group and its individual
members. The *yahad* defined itself as an "assembly/congregation of
holiness," who "establishes the spirit of holiness in eternal truth."[3] The
Damascus Covenant called itself "the men of perfect (*temim*) holiness,"
a terms also used by the *yahad* in the Community Rule.[4] Moreover, the
yahad members thought of themselves in terms of a holy house: "a holy
house for Israel and the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron."
The association to the Temple and the priests is evident since the sub-
sequent sentences refer to their atonement and include a metaphorical
reference to sacrifice.[5]

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2   See Scholem 1954, 4, who refers to Thomas Aquinas for the first definition, and to
    Rufus Jones for the latter. Cf. also the bibliographic survey in Davila 2001, 25-32.
3   1QS 5:20; 9:3-4; 1QHᵃ 25(top):3. The relationship between members is characterized
    as "a holy council" (1QS 2:25; 8:21).
4   CD 20:2, 5, 7; 1QS 8:20.
5   1QS 8:5-6. For the reading "foundation," see Licht 1965a, 179. See also "At that
    moment, the men of the *yahad* shall set apart a holy house for Aaron, in order to
    form a most holy community (*leha-yahad*) and a house of *yahad* for Israel" (1QS 9:5-6);
    "The most holy dwelling for Aaron" (1QS 8:8-9; cf. 1QHᵃ 20[12]:2). The priestly and
    cultic associations are discussed in Licht 1965a, 171-174.

As I have already explained in Chapter 2, the *yaḥad* considered it-self to *function as* the Temple and its priests in Jerusalem, and therefore, a means to perform atonement for their own members. However, in the Community Rule, the sectarians do not consider themselves a Temple. They use the more general wording of "house" (which is also used to denote the Temple) rather than terms used exclusively to imply Temple or sanctuary (*miqdash*). They see themselves as *a substitute* for the Temple and the sacrificial cult.[6]

According to Philo, the name of the Essenes drives from the Greek *'osiotēs* (holiness), because they were known to be especially devout in the service of God by resolving to sanctify their minds.[7] Some have taken this comment seriously, suggesting that "Essenes" is a derivation from the Aramaic root *ḥasi* "to be pious."[8] I am not sure, however, whether the Essenes actually called themselves "the holy" or were only considered as such by Philo and perhaps also other outsiders.

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6   Gärtner 1965, 16-46, Klinzing 1971, and others were too eager to find parallelism between the Community Rule and the Pauline letters and interpret these passages by arguing that the sect is a Temple. Here, there is no use of strictly cultic wording as *heikhal* (cf. the use of *naos* etc., in 1 Cor 6:19; 9:13; 2 Cor 6:16; cf. 1 Pet 2:5) and desig-nating members as sacrifices (Rom 12:1; 15:16). As a matter of fact, I think that even in these New Testament passages the community is not an actual Temple but only a metaphor for a Temple. See Regev forthcoming b.

In 4Q174 *Florilegium* 1 i 6-7 God "commended to build for Himself a Temple of man (*'adam*), to offer Him in it before Him the works of thanksgiving" (*todah*; or: *torah*, *namely*, "Scripture"). Some interpreted the Temple of *'adam* as a human Temple, as in the Pauline letters (e.g., Gärtner 1965, 34-35; cf. Dimant 1986). Others maintained that it is not a metaphor but a physical Temple built by humans, as opposed to the Temple to be built by God, mentioned in Ex 15:17 and 1 Sam 7:12, both cited in 4Q174 *Florilegium* 1 i lines 2-3, 10. Schwartz 1979 viewed the Temple of *'adam* as re-ferring to Solomon's Temple. Wise 1991 (following Yadin and Flusser) concluded that it refers to the Temple noted in the Temple Scroll. In any event, the subsequent references in the text to an eschatological Temple of God's construction indicate that, even if "a Temple of *'adam*" refers to human beings who function as a virtual sanctu-ary, they are only a temporary substitute (cf. Schmidt 1994, 130-158, who also draws on the Temple Scroll plan for a future earthly Temple). Passages in Songs of the Sab-bath Sacrifices that may allude to the view of the community as a virtual Temple are discussed below.

7   *Quod.* 75. In *Hyp.* 11.1 Philo also says that they are called Essenes due to their piety, implying that their name derives from *'osiotēs* (namely, piety).

8   Schürer-Vermes-Millar 1979, 559 (following Vermes), where Philo's Greek translit-eration is regarded as "only a play on words". The suggested transliteration from Aramaic to Greek are *ḥasin*/essēnoi or *ḥasiah*/essaioi. For the difficulties in recon-structing the Hebrew or Aramaic name of the Essenes, see Kampen 1986.

3 Immersing in the Holy the Spirit

3.1 Experiencing the Spirit in the *yaḥad*

The term "holy spirit" (*ruaḥ qodesh*), so common in the New Testament and Christian theology, was coined in the Hebrew Bible, where it designates divine inspiration and providence.[9] It appears several times in the writings of the *yaḥad*, especially in the Hodayot.[10]

God's holy spirit had two functions for the sect: atonement and revelation of divine mysteries, both are derived from closeness to God and heavenly inspiration. Note that both functions were the heart of the *yaḥad*'s ideology of sectarian difference, as demonstrated in Chapter 1. The holy spirit was not merely a theoretical concept for the *yaḥad*. Its atoning force played a focal role in the members' lives. It is attained through obedience to the laws of God (probably both those explicit in Scripture and those related to the communal life in the sect). Both functions of the holy spirit are discussed in the Community Rule, in the course of the blessing for those who enter in the annual covenant of the *yaḥad*, where the merits of the members are described:

> For it is by the *spirit* of the true counsel of God that are atoned the paths of man, all his iniquities...And it is by the *holy spirit* of the *yaḥad*, in its truth that he is cleaned of all his iniquities. And by the *spirit* of uprightness and of humility his sin is atoned. And by the compliance of his soul with all the laws of God his flesh is cleansed by being sprinkled with cleansing waters and being made holy with the waters of repentance/purification. May he, then, steady his steps in order to walk with perfection on all the paths of God, as he has decreed concerning the appointed times of his assemblies, and not turn aside, either right or left, nor infringe even one of His words. In this way he will be admitted by means of atonement pleasing to God, and for him it will be the covenant of an everlasting *yaḥad*.[11]

The holy spirit was therefore a consequence of being moral and righteous in the eyes of God. Note that the second half of this passage deals

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9   Isa 63:10-11; Ps 51:13. Literally, the term "spirit" symbolizes breath, and consequently, one's living soul (Gen 2:7; 7:22; 45:27; Ezek 18:31; Prov 16:2). Hence, God's spirit represents His divine manifestation (Isa 32:15-16; Ps 104:30). Its affect on humans results in human charisma and prophesies (Judg 6:34; 14:6, 19; 1 Sam 19:20-21; Mic 3:8; Isa 11:2). For occurrences in the apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, see Horn 1992.

10   1QHᵃ 15[7]:7; 17[9]:32.

11   1QS 3:6-12; 4QSᵃ II. For the interpretation of this passage and its parallels within and outside Qumran, see Flusser 1988, 54-60. The concept of purification by the holy spirit as a complete salvation of "covenant of an everlasting *yaḥad*" is also mentioned in the Instruction of the Two Spirits (1QS 4:20-22).

with ritual purity: attaining the holy spirit results from ritual purity and cleansing by immersion, which ritualizes the spiritual experience. The grace of purification in the holy spirit is one of the pillars of the author's relationship with God (in addition to election and devotion) as described in detail in the following passage:

> I have appeased Your face by the spirit which You have placed [in me] to lavish your [kind]ness on [Your] serv[ant] for[ever] to purify me with Your holy spirit, to bring me near by your will according to the extent of your kindness... and to act with me[...] the place of [Your] wi[ll] which you have cho[sen] for those who love You, and for those who keep Your pre-cept[ts...] in Your presence [forev]er. [12]

Although the holy spirit is never mentioned in the very fragmentary remains of the liturgies of purifications (4Q284, 4Q414, and 4Q512 discussed in Chapter 2), the references to divine purification and the experience of holiness may suggest that those who immersed and prayed these liturgies actually experienced the holy spirit or were inspired by it. If this was indeed the case, the holy spirit became a tangible element in the everyday lives of *yahad* members.

While in the preceding passages the holy spirit purifies the author's soul and enables him to know how to please God through righteous behavior and observation of the holy laws, elsewhere the holy spirit is related to knowing the mysteries of God, again, as a gift if grace:

> And I *maskil* (i.e., Instructor, wise), have known You, my God, through the spirit which You have gave in me, and I have listened loyally to Your wonderful secret through Your holy spirit. You have [op]ened within me knowledge of the mystery of Your wisdom, and the source of [Your] power.[13]

God's holy spirit transforms the carnal and fleshy human, who is drawn to iniquities, sins and evil, into a righteous person who achieves closeness to God. Closeness to the holy spirit also confers knowledge of the divine mysteries and creates the eternal covenant with God. The texts discussed here use the "holy spirit" as a technical term, although one may wonder whether the holy spirit is no more than a term for ecstatic feelings. Nonetheless, I think that without this feeling of inspiration, a grace of atonement and knowing the mysteries of God, the

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12   1QH³ 8:19-22[16:11-15]. God's holy spirit atones (and according to the reconstruction of Licht 1957, 223, also purifies) also in 1QH³ 23:13 [frag. 2 I 13-14]. For the concept of the holy spirit as a divine inspiration in the New Testament, see Rom 8:8-9; 1 Cor 2:10-12. For its association with repentance, see Acts 2:38; Rom 4:2. For its atoning force, see 1 Cor 6:11; Titus 3:3-7. Compare the Puritan usage of this concept in Ham-brick-Stowe 1982, 81-82, 89.

13   1QH³ 20[12]:11-13.

members of the *yaḥad* did not feel that their ends are fulfilled. This spirit was the heart of the *yaḥad*'s aspirations.

The actual term "spirit" (*ruaḥ*), denoting divine inspiration and intervention in human life, also marks the attitude of the Qumranites towards the flesh and the carnal aspects of life. Without the spirit of God, man would remain a mere body, a carnality subject to the forces of lust and evil. It is God who transformed the chosen ones, purified them from their sins and sanctified them from abominations and guilt.[14] The opposition between sin and holiness therefore parallels the contrast between flesh and spirit, and no one can elevate himself from fleshy sin to holiness without God's graceful intervention.

3.2   Encounters with the Spirit among the Shakers and other Sects

A similar approach to the holy spirit is also found among the Shakers, and some traces of its consequences in relation to baptizing are also characteristic to the early Anabaptist, the Amish and some Puritans, indicating a certain connection with the introversionist sectarian worldview. Although I am fully aware that this attitude was already expressed by Paul,[15] I think that the sectarian conception of the role of the holy spirit and related concepts is not as obvious or self-explanatory as in Roman Catholicism, for instance. The sectarians do not merely follow Paul. It seems that in later "mainstream" Christian theology, the potential of the holy spirit was not realized in the actual life to the extent that it was realized by these sects.[16] For the *yaḥad* and the Shakers, however, the holy spirit was not merely an etiquette but an active and actual religious concept that is experienced by the believers and derived from the belief that they are different, better, elect, and are required to invest efforts to attain this state. As an expression for sectarian aspirations for closeness to God that is beyond "conventional" norms, "the holy spirit" marks a sectarian worldview (although not as exclusively as other concepts).

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14   See, e.g., 1QHᵃ 19[11]:11-14; Flusser 1988, 60-71.
15   For the concept of the holy spirit in the letters of Paul, see Davies 1970, 200-226, who also discussed this notion in Rabbinic theology.
16   In early Church creeds, the Holy Spirit was a matter of doctrine, sometimes identified with the divine presence within the Church, but not a matter of individual religious experience (Kelly 1972, 152-160, 339-344). In Byzantine Christianity, the Holy Spirit is a divine inspiration but not always a divine experience. It is a gift of wisdom and grace, a belief that make a person perfect, but not necessarily a conversion experience (Maloney 1983, 107-113, 115-121).

Shaker writings emphasize the place of "the spirit" and "spiritual-ism" in their communities.[17] Unsurprisingly, Ann Lee, "by strictly obeying the light revealed within her, became righteous even as Jesus was righteous... and formed the same character as a *spiritual* woman that he (i.e., Jesus) formed as a *spiritual* man."[18] In explaining why the Shakers worship God by singing and dancing, Evans introduces the reader to the full concept of the spirit as a means of atonement:

> God is a Spirit and can be worshiped only in the spirit and in truth. With-out the presence of the Spirit, there can be no true worship. Conviction of sin, godly sorrow, and repentance, are the first effects of the Spirit of God upon conscience of a sinner. And when sin is fully removed, by confessing and forsaking it, the cause of heaviness, gloom, and sorrow is gone; and joy and rejoicing, and thanksgiving and praise, are then the spontaneous ef-fects of a true spirit of devotion.[19]

Similar to the passage from the Community Rule quoted above, this passage also links the holy spirit with atonement, and argues that total release from sin derives from obedience to the law.[20] The spirit is more than mere divine inspiration, it is the experience of self-sanctification, and the achievement of the fundamental religious goal. For the Shak-ers, the holy spirit was attained through confession.

Shaker confessions, thoroughly regulated and strictly required from everyone, were performed orally to the female or male Elders. Confes-sions always concerned the individual's sins, and were made in a fer-vor of repentance. For those who underwent the ritual of confession, it constituted both baptism in the Spirit and a vow to enter the church,

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17 Evans describes the emergence of the Shakerism in terms of a burst spirituality and prophecy (1858, 18-20; cf. Garret 1987). "Shaker societies always originate in the *spiritual* part of a cycle. There is, first, a general agitation of the *spiritual* elements... The natural and spiritual worlds are now coming into a state of rapport with each other; and the spiritual faculties in man, which have for a long been in a state of dormancy, are being aroused and developed extensively" (Evans 1858, 17-18, italics original).

18 Evans 1858, 82 (italics original).

19 Evans 1858, 90. As in the case of the *yaḥad* (and Paul), the Shakers also drew a clear distinction between flesh and spirit. Ann Lee delivered believers "from the fetal con-dition of our natural and worldly life and birthing souls out of the world state into the Christ state" (quoted in Kitch 1989, 137).

20 The connection between election, revelation, the law and atonement is illustrated in Shaker confession ceremonies. When Shaker Elders were asked, "Are you perfect? Do you live without sin?" they replied, "The power of God, revealed in this day, does enable souls to cease from sin; and we have received that power; we have ac-tually left off committing sin, and we live in daily obedience to the will of God" (Shakers 1888, 14, quoted in Desroche 1971, 140).

thus it also implied a commitment to the future.[21] Although confessions were an important element in the ideology of the Damascus Covenant and the *yaḥad*, nowhere in the scrolls do we find such a direct relationship between confession and the holy spirit as is evident among the Shakers. The Damascus Covenant and the *yaḥad* seek to achieve personal sanctity of experiencing the holy spirit in daily life through obedience and repentance. For them, the holy spirit represents the complete negation of the outside world with its carnality and corruption.

An interesting example of the spiritual exaltation of the individual is the testimony of Shaker leader James Whittaker. He professed about his own personal feelings towards God in a manner that any reader of the Hodayot would find familiar: he spoke of his sense of maintaining constant communications with God, beyond occasional revelations.[22] Although he does not use the technical term "the spirit of God," Whittaker obviously implies this concept when he speaks of a direct, unmediated experience of the divine.

> I daily feel a fountain of love, joy, and heavenly glory flowing in my soul, like a river of living water, pure and clean. My soul is constantly replenished with rich supplies from the heavenly glory; and my heart constantly flows with charity and benevolence to all mankind. With a broken heart, God has blessed me; and the image of the Lord of Glory is formed in my soul; Plenty of the dew of heaven is distilled in my soul from day to day; and the divine nature doth insold me, like a delightful sea of pleasant water, full of glory... God has given me the power to increase and multiply in its true mystical, typical, and evangelical sense.[23]

Another example of an inner sense of the holy spirit comes from Puritan leader John Winthrop. After undergoing a period of spiritual humiliation, emptiness and preparation, "the good spirit of the Lord breaded upon me, and said I should live." This was followed by the expected trials and temptations, but the spirit never wholly deserted him: "many falls I have had, and have lyen long under some, yet never quite forsaken of the Lord."[24]

Less concrete but somewhat relevant treatments of the spirit are implicit in the Anabaptist concept of baptism. For the early Anabap-

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21 Desroche 1971, 147. On the baptism of the spirit, see Green and Youngs Wells 1848, 283-286.

22 The religious moods of the Hodayot hymns are discussed throughout Chapter 1 and in the present chapter. See also Licht 1957, 35-44, 48-49; Kuhn 1966.

23 Brown 1812, 40-41.

24 Morgan 1963, 72, citing *Winthrop Papers* III, pp. 338-344. See also George Fox's (founder of the Quakers) assertion: : "... that was not so spoken that I was equal with God, [but] He that sancitfieth and he that is sanctified are all of one" (Jones 1965, 107). According to William Penn (1999, 87) a holy spirit is necessary for true prayer.

tists, Mennonites and the Amish, baptism is related to forgiveness of sins or purification from sins (note that Amish baptism requires confession of sins), sanctifies the believer and bonds the community of believers. For the Anabaptists, baptism paves the way for the holy spirit.[25] It seems to me that experiencing the holy spirit satisfied the need for sanctity and ecstasy for the Anabaptists, and, in certain phases of its history, for the Shakers. The *yahad*, however, aimed for (or claimed) much more.

4 Communion with Angels

Time and time again in the Damascus Document, the Community Rule, the Rule of the Congregation, the War Rule, and the Hodayot, the Qumran sectarians speak of their communion with angels.[26] The Damascus Document and the eschatological Rule of the Congregation justify the exclusion of defiled persons, cripples, blind, deaf and dumb and other deformed individuals from the congregation "of the men of renown," because the angels of holiness are among their congregation.[27] In these passages, while the sectarians' association with angels highlights the holiness of the group, there is still a division between humans and angels.

In the Hodayot, however, the communion with angels seems more concrete where individual members as well as the entire community are cast among God's angels: "The depraved spirit You have purified from great offence so that he can take a place with the host of the holy ones, and can enter the communion with the congregation of the sons of heaven."[28] "For You have brought [Your truth and] Your [glo]ry to all men of your council and the lot of together (*yahad*) with the angels of the face, without there being a mediator between [Your holy ones...]."[29]

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25 Williams 1962, 396; Goertz 1996, 59-68; Nolt 1992, 55. For the role of the spirit among the Bruderhof, see Oved 1996, 32, 54-55. It is possible that this approach is characteristic to all Anabaptist groups. For the original relationship between baptism and repentance in Christianity, see Mark 1:4 and parr.; Acts 2:38 (where it precedes the holy spirit). Again, I think that it is not a coincidence that sectarian groups revived this early Christian idea.

26 The phenomenon was discussed in Kuhn 1966, 66-73; Charlesworth 1980a; Dimant 1996. The evidence was recently collected and surveyed in Frennesson 1999. Compare 1 Enoch 104:2-6.

27 1QSa 2:3-9; CD 15:15-17; 4QD^d 6 2. See also 1QM 7:6.

28 1QH^a 11[3]:21-22. See also 4Q181 1 II 3-5 (Allegro 1968, 79-80).

29 1QH^a 14[6]:12-13. See the interpretation of Licht 1957, 113.

In these Hodayot, it is unclear whether the individual is actually or only metaphorically transformed into an angel.[30] Furthermore, the angelic functioning of the members of the holy community is not specified. Nonetheless, we shall see that this concept was developed in other texts, where individuals, probably the sect's leader, are angels in heaven, and in texts where the sectarians themselves worship God in heaven with/as angels. It is therefore possible that the previous references to the sectarians as angels are more than metaphorical.

The union with God's angels affects the character of the sect in a poem in the Community Rule, in which the author discusses his knowledge of divine mysteries and eternal glory. He then claims that God "has given them inheritance in the lot of the holy ones. He united their assembly to the sons of the heavens in order (to form) the council of the *yaḥad* and a foundation of the building of holiness to an everlasting plantation throughout all future ages".[31]

Although the transformation of a righteous or messianic figure into an angel is not uncommon in Second Temple Pseudepigarpha and early Christian writings,[32] this concept is certainly significant for the Qumranic worldview. Already in Jubilees there is a communion between the angelic hosts and the holy people Israel, accomplished through their common avoidance of work on Sabbath.[33] Hence, the general idea of being equal to angels is not necessarily sectarian in the strict sense of the term, but nevertheless points to a pursuit of supreme sacredness and closeness to God, which is consistent with the mystic tendency characteristics to certain sects.

The extensive treatment of this idea in other Qumranic writings, however, points to unique religious mystical thinking that marks the peak of Qumranic religious anthropology.[34] Before discussing the por-

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30   In any event, it is not a transformation of the soul in the afterlife. Cf. Lichtenberger 1980a, 224-227. For being with angles in the heavenly world, see Kuhn 1966, 47-73. Kuhn argued that the motif is an expression of a present realization of eschatological salvation (*ibid.*, 66-72, 113-117; cf. Klinzing 1971, 126-129).

31   1QS 11:7-9. 4Q511 *Songs of the Sage* 2 i 9-10 also mentions "the lot of God with the ange[ls of] His glorious luminaries" who praise God and "the dominion of the *yaḥad* to walk [in] the lot of [God] according to [his] glory, [and] serve him in the lot of the people of his throne." Cf. also 1QM 12:1-2, 7.

32   For a survey of sources, see Charlesworth 1980a.

33   Jub 2:21, 30. In a quite similar vein, in 1QM 10:10-11 the people of Israel are "hearers of the glorious voice, seers of holy angels." Cf. Kuhn 1966, 91-93.

34   A comparison of members to angels is found among the Shakers: One must renounce marriage of the flesh if one is to be married to the Lamb and take part in Christ's Resurrection, like angels (Desroche 1971, 147). Nevertheless, only Ann Lee and the elders are actually portrayed as acting like angels, in one of the Shaker

trayal of the entire community as a community of angels, it is necessary to pay attention to the exaltation to heaven by a prominent member, probably the founder.

5   The Mystic Leader

5.1   Who is Counted among the Gods in Qumran?

In several texts associated with the *yaḥad*, a distinguished sect member is transformed to an angel. This phenomenon is called angleomor-phism, that is, the belief that the righteous lived an angelic life and possessed an angelic identity or status (although it is impossible to identify this individual as an angel). In the blessings of the *Rule of Bene-diction* (which follows the *Rule of the Congregation*), a certain individual is described as an angel who serves God:

> And you as the Angel of the Presence (*panim*) in the abode (*me'on*) of holi-ness for the Glory (*kavod*) of the God of Hos[st you] will be round about serving in the palace (*heikhal*) of the kingdom and may you be cast lot with the Angels of the Presence and a common (*yaḥad*) council [... for] eternal time and for all glorious endtimes.[35]

This exalted figure is portrayed as a high priest and may have been the priestly leader of the *yaḥad*, perhaps at the End of Days, when the *yaḥad* becomes the congregation of Israel.[36] Fletcher-Louis, who devoted an extensive literary study to Qumranic angleomorphism, believes that the passage does not use angelology as a metaphor but refers to the high priest's actual ascension to heaven, since he is able to cast a lot like the angels and God Himself.[37] For Fletcher-Louis, the core of angleomor-

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hymns: "With Mother, three Elders like angels did stand" (Brown 1812, 365). Con-gregation with angels is also mentioned by the Anabaptist Dietrich Philips (Williams and Mergal 1957, 229).

35   1QSb 4:24-26. Translation follows Fletcher-Louis 2002, 150.

36   Licht 1965a, 275, 283 pointed to the priestly character of "abode of holiness" and "serving in the palace," which may refer to entry into the holy of holies. See the dis-cussion of Fletcher-Louis 2002, 151-158. Licht and Fletcher-Louis (as many others) regarded 1QSb as eschatological blessings. Stegemann 1996 and Abegg 2003 argued that since this passage contains no explicit reference to eschatology (in contrast to the following blessing for the "prince of the congregation" in 1QSb 5:20-29, which is ex-plicitly eschatological), the fragmented text refers to the actual high priest. However, since the *yaḥad* had no definite leading figure, I find it implausible that 1QSb 4 refers to a contemporaneous leader portrayed as a high priest. For the eschatological high ("head") priest see, 1QSa 2:12; 1QM 2:1; 15:4.

37   Fletcher-Louis 2002, 152-153. On casting lots, cf. 1QS 4:26; 1QM 13:9-10.

phism derives from the Jewish Temple, its sacred space and priest-hood.[38] The high priest is closer to God than any other human when he glorifies God's name, by virtue of the fact that he embodies it in his diadem (*nezer*), the visible manifestation of the glorification of God's name. Thus the high priest gives God's most holy name a substantial real presence within the community.[39]

Another remarkable text, *Self-Glorification Hymn*[b], discusses per-sonal ascension to heaven more explicitly:

> ...a might throne in the congregation of the gods [... there are non]e com-parable to me in my glory and besides me no-one is exalted, nor comes to me, for I sit in[... hea]ven and there is no... I am counted among the gods and my dwelling is in the holy congregation; [my] des[ire] is not according to flesh, [rather] my [por]tion lies in the Glory of... the holy [dwel]ling. [W]ho has been considered despicable on my account? And who is compa-rable to me in glory? Who... like me? Who bea[rs all] sorrows like me? And who [suffe]rs evil like me? There is no-one. I have been instructed, and there is no teaching comparable... And who will attack me when [I] op[en my mouth]? And who can contain the flow of my lips? And who will summon and (who is) like me in judgment bec]ause I am recko[ned] with the gods [...] my glory is with the sons of the king...[40]

In another, shorter version, *Self-Glorification Hymn*[a], the author even boasted: "who is like me among the gods," (*mi kamoni ba`elim*), a word play on Ex 15:11.[41] In the passage cited above, the speaker mentions the congregation of the gods and God's own throne. He claims to have been taken up and seated in heaven and counted as one of the gods. He describes the experience of his being enthroned in heaven and the en-counter with gods or angels,[42] although it is not clear whether he sits on his own throne or on God's throne.[43]

But who is the speaker? Morton Smith argued that the speaker is a mystic who ascended to heaven, noting the resemblance to the genre of the Hodayot. John Collins and Esther Eshel maintained that this hymn contains an (eschatological?) exaltation of the high priest, inspired by the Teacher of Righteousness. His boasting – "who is comparable to me

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38   Fletcher-Louis 2002, 5 and passim. Cf. the praise of the high priest's glory in the Letter of Aristeas 97-99 and Ben Sira 50:11 and the discussion in Fletcher-Louis 2002, 154-157.

39   The *nezer*, mentioned in 1QSb 4:28, bears God's most holy name, the *tetragarmaton*. Cf. Ex 29:6; 39:30; Lev 8:9; Fletcher-Louis 2002, 155.

40   4Q491c *Self-Glorification Hymn*[b] frag. 1, 5-13. Reconstruction and translation follow Fletcher-Louis 2002, 200. See also the parallels in 4Q471b.

41   4Q471b 1 a-d (Chazon et al. 1999, 428-432).

42   Smith 1990.

43   As in other Second Temple sources. See Fletcher-Louis 2002, 202.

in glory?" exalted above all angels – indicates that he has special au-
thority. He teaches his people and may have the power to save them.
Such a person may have been the legendary Teacher, the Interpreter of
the Torah (mentioned in CD and sometimes identified with the
Teacher) or the eschatological high ("head") priest, mentioned in the
Rule of the Congregation and the War Rule. It may also be a conglom-
erate of these three figures.[44]

Some contents of this passage are paralleled in a fragment
4Q427*Hodayot*[a].[45] Here the speaker in the hymn continues to call to
praise God publicly along with the angels, mentions the revelation of
secrets to those who stumble and fall (implying the members of the
sect) and also foresees blessings, healing and joy, as well as everlasting
glory. He continues to declare: "we have known you, O God of right-
eousness, and we have recognized [your truth, O king] of Glory, for we
have seen your zeal with your powerful strength and we have recog-
nized [your] ju[dgment in the abundance] of your mercies and marvel-
ous forgiveness..." The passage concludes with a call to praise God "to
take a stand in the place [before You, in community with (?)] the sons
of heaven."[46]

Following this 4QHodayot version of the Self Glorification Hymn,
Wise and Fletcher-Louis concluded that the hymn represents the feel-
ings of all the members of the community. Wise regards it as a commu-
nal partaking in the Teacher's charisma, through recitation and partici-
pation in a celebration of "future glorification," that is, the glory after
death. Fletcher-Louis maintains that the speaker is indeed a priest, but
the ascent is not eschatological. It represents the community's own "vi-
sionary" experience, and the speaker's teachings. The "I" form does not
suit an eschatological genre, and the hymn's context in the 4QHodayot
parallel is liturgical, where the glorified speaker also leads the liturgy
of praise to God.[47]

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44   Smith 1990; Collins 1995, 146-164; Eshel 1999b; Eshel in Chazon et al. 1999, 423-427.
     Baillet 1982, 26-30 identified the speaker with the angel Michael (who is mentioned
     in the War Rule, to which Baillet ascribed this fragment). Wise 2000, 216-218 con-
     cluded that the self-praise originally referred to the Teacher and was later adopted
     by the entire group. Each individual member of the group spoke for himself or her-
     self (note that 4Q491c contains verbs in the plural form).
45   4QH[a] 427 7 i-ii (partial parallel in 1QH[a] 26(top):6-10) following reconstructions by
     Schuller in Chazon et al. 1999, 96-100 and based on overlaps with other copies of the
     Hodayot. See Fletcher-Louis 2002, 200-204.
46   4Q427 7 ii 14-19.
47   Wise 200, 218-219, referring to Weber's concept of the routinization of charisma.
     Fletcher-Louis 2002, 204-216, also notes that the eschatological interpretation derived
     from the incorrect attribution of the passage to the eschatological War Rule.

I would stress, however, that the communal version of the hymn in the 4QHodayot does not focus on the mysticism of the one who is enthroned in heaven. It continues in public praise and includes a communal claim (or hope) for the knowledge of revelations, secrets and eternal glory. It does not contain any additional direct claim, individual or public, for ascension to heaven. The question remains whether the editor of this hymn in 4Q427 *Hodayot*ᵃ and those who recited it identified themselves with the enthroned figure or merely celebrated his mystical achievement (that occurred in their past, present or future). Since the context of this intriguing passage is lost, this question remains unresolved. Nonetheless, if all *yahad* members believed that they were "counted among the gods and my dwelling is in the holy congregation" and that "there are none comparable to me in my glory and besides me no-one is exalted, nor comes to me, for I sit in... heaven", what distinction remained for the leader of the congregation? What heavenly status could the eschatological priestly messiah (discussed in Chapter 1) assume?

There are indeed several passages in other (possibly pre/non Qumranic) scrolls describing the angelic character of the messiah or the eschatological high priest. In 4Q543 *Visions of Amram*ᵃ *ar*, Aaron is called god (`*el*) and an angel of God; in 4Q541 *Aaron A* the high priest is a heavenly and cosmogenic figure, who will expiate for all the sons of his generation, and whose word is compared to the word of heaven;[48] in 4Q521 *Messianic Apocalypse,* the messiah is a superhuman figure to whom "[the heav]ens and the earth will listen."[49] Moreover, in the later

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48   4Q543 *Visions of Amram*ᵃ *ar* frag. 3, 1 (Puech 2001, 294 [designated as frag. 2 a-b]); Fletcher-Louis 2002, 187-189; 4Q541 Aaron A 9 i (otherwise known as *4QTestament of Levi*ᵃ*(?)* or 4QApocryphe de Léviᵇ? ar, in Puech 2001, 241-244); Fletcher-Louis 2002, 189-192. The figure of Melchizedek in 11Q13 *Melchizedek* 2 (García Martínez et al. 1998, 224-233) may also be considered a priestly messiah of angelic status: he will restore the people of God on the Day of Atonement, "the year of Melchizedek's favor," (l. 9) and the author seems to consider him God-like (cf. "the year of God's favor," Is 61:2), and is referred to as a god (`*elohim*) in God''s assembly (l. 10, citing Ps 82:1). See Kobelski 1981, 52-74. Fletcher-Louis 2002, 216-221 argues, however, that Melchizedek is a human high priest and not an angel. Interestingly, 4Q418 *Instruction*ᵈ frag. 81, 4-5 (Strugnell et al. 1999, 300-306) refers to one who "among the gods (`*elim*) he cast your lot and multiplied your Glory exceedingly and he has placed you for Himself as a first born among..." Fletcher-Louis 2002, 178-187 maintains that the addressee here is a priest, and possibly, a high priest.

49   4Q521 *Messianic Apocalypse* 2 II 1 (Puech 1998, 10-12). Collins 1995, 118-124 believes that it is possible that the text is of Qumranic provenance. For the heavenly status of the (Davidic) messiah in other sources, see Collins 1995, 142-143.

(post-Qumranic) Testament of Levi, the ascent to heaven is an element in priestly investiture, hence it is associated with the high priesthood.[50]

I therefore think that the individual in the Qumranic scrolls who claims to be a god, an enthroned angel and superhuman, is a religious leader. Since the genre and context of the available versions of the *Self Glorification Hymn* are not eschatological, it is not probable that the description refers to a future personage. The most reasonable possibility seems to me that the speaker is the Teacher of Righteousness because the Teacher was clearly considered to be a mystic leader by his followers. Still, it is impossible to determine whether this hymn was originally written by the Teacher or was only ascribed to him by other members after his death, when his figure was mythologized (recall the discussion of revelations of the Teacher of Righteousness and the social phenomenon of the charismatic founder in Chapter 1). The Teacher may also have composed several Hodayot hymns that frequently mention knowledge of the mysteries of God and nomination by God.[51]

Thus, although most of the evidence is indirect or circumstantial, the Teacher was clearly considered to be a mystic leader by his followers. I have already suggested in Chapter 1 that the Teacher established the concept of revelation that later became fundamental for the *yaḥad*'s belief system. Following the interpretation of the *Self Glorification Hymn*, it is also possible that the Teacher believed himself to be transformed into a distinguished angel and possess a singular knowledge of God like no other individual (or unlike the knowledge of the *yaḥad*), or, at the very least, was later conceived of in this fashion.

5.2 Divine Exaltation of Shaker and Quaker Founders

It is interesting to see how founders and charismatic leaders of other sects described their mystical experiences, which were significant for the religious identity of their followers in subsequent generations.

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50   For the ascent to heaven in the Testament of Levi 2-5 and its priestly character, see Himmelfarb 1993, 31-37. The parallels in the much earlier Aramaic Levi Document were poorly preserved in 4Q213a 1 15-18 (Brooke et al. 1996, 30-33). See Greenfield, Stone and Eshel 2004, 66-67, 138-139.

51   For the association of the Self Glorification Hymn with the Hodayot and its attribution to the Teacher, see also Abegg, 1997. For the view that 1QHa 10-17 [2-9] was composed by the Teacher, see Jeremias 1963, 168-267; Douglas 1999 and the discussion of the Teacher's revelations in Chapter 1. Although this approach may seem at times quite naïve, it was revived convincingly by Charlesworth 1992.

According to her own testimony, Ann Lee, founder of the Shakers, began her spiritual carrier through a vision of Jesus in his kingdom and glory, who revealed "the way of redemption" to her.[52] She is cited later as reporting: "I look at the windows of Heaven, and see what there is in the invisible world... I have seen Michael and his angels fight with the Dragon and his angels, and the Dragon was cast down and there was no place found for him."[53] Ann enjoyed superhuman status, even during her own life. Believers acknowledged that she was the female version of Jesus: "Christ is called the Second Adam and thou art the Second Eve." Another believer said to Ann, "Thou art the Bride, the Lamb's wife!" She answered, "Thou hast rightly said, for so I am. Christ is my husband.... I now hear the hosts of heaven singing praises to God."[54]

James Whittaker, the next leader of the Shakers and Ann Lee's successor, also reported a mystical ascent: "I have joined the host of heaven; with open vision do I behold the angelic company of the spiritual world, and join the melodious songs of the New Jerusalem."[55]

George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, who called himself "the son of God," experienced mystical visions of God: "The heavens opened and the glory of God shined over all."[56] Elsewhere in his *Journal*, Fox describes a mystical journey: ""Now was I come up in spirit... into the Paradise of God... I knew nothing but pureness and innocency and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God... I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me... seeing the nature of virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord... Great things did the Lord lead me into, and wonderful depths were opened unto me."[57] He also describes other visions: "I had a sight and sense of the king's return," a vision in which the city of London "lies in heaps and the gates down, just... when it was burned." In his "spiritual travail," he saw "the state of the

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52   Evans 1858, 22.

53   Shakers 1888, 181-182.

54   Shakers 1888, 165. For Ann Lee as Mother Wisdom and being carried within Christ, see Desroche 1971, 175.

55   Brown 1812, 40.

56   Fox 1997, 66. Cf. *ibid.*, 21. For Fox's self-designation, see e.g., his letter to Oliver Crowell (*ibid.*, 197). Fox was also accused as claiming he was Christ (*ibid.*, 52, 85-96).

57   Fox 1997, 27. Cf. Braithwaite 1923, 38-39. Compare to Enoch's tour in heaven (1 Enoch 14-36).

city New Jerusalem which comes down out of heaven was opened to me."[58]

Although such mystical experiences are characteristic to many non-sectarian individuals and groups throughout the history of religions,[59] I suggest that the illustrations presented here attest to a pattern of development that begins with a mystical encounter with the divine, or an ascent to heaven by the leader of the sect. This encounter was more than a "conventional" revelation; it was an individual experience that was not shared by other lay members.

Sociologists may say that the ascent to heaven was used by the leader or his followers to reinforce the leader's authority and teachings, by providing a mark of distinction that proves the leader's worthiness to lead the group. But if the writings of Ann Lee, James Whittaker and George Fox are to be taken seriously, and if the Self-Glorification Hymn was indeed composed by the Teacher of Righteousness, it is possible to point to an important psychological aspect of charismatic leadership and the formation of sectarian doctrine. The founder or leader feels as close to God as possible. The leader's sense of closeness to God, or mysticism, is presented as a key to the resolution of spiritual distress,[60] and a search for a new path to salvation.

I find it intriguing that the founder's mystical experience is a source of inspiration and guidance for his followers in later generations, yet they hardly claim the same degree of mystical exaltation for themselves. The founder's mystic career is a spiritual peak that the other members never even hope to achieve. It seems to me that the mysticism of the founder or leader becomes a symbol for the sect's spiritual flow, a precious cornerstone that attests to its authentic origin, and a reflection of the will of God. In Qumran, as we see in the Songs of the Sab-

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58 Braithwaite 1923, xxix-xxxi, 34-35. Cf. Fox 1997, 361. For another vision of New Jerusalem, see *ibid.*, 575.

59 For several cases of ascents to heaven or revelations of the mysteries of God in ancient Jewish and Christian texts, see Rowland 1982, 78-120. For attestations of heavenly ascents in the Qumran library (most appear in non-Qumanic texts), see Davila 1999.

60 For Ann Lee's spiritual distress, see Shakers 1888, 5, 174, 181-182 (see also Chapter 1). For George Fox, see Fox 1997, xxix-xxx. See also the model of the shaman discussed in Chapter 1. Another case of mystical experiences of a sect leader may be that of Montanus (founder of the Montanists, formed in second century Phyrgia), who proclaimed himself to be the mouthpiece of God and the Spirit (Ephiphanius, *Panarion* 48:11). He and two women leaders, Priscilla and Maximilla claimed that they received prophetic revelations in a state of ecstasy. See Hine 1989, 2-3, 6-7, 22-25, 56-57, 64-65; Trevett 1996, 109-110, 114, 151-197.

bath Sacrifice, *yaḥad* members may have attained a higher degree of mystical experience than any other sect.

6   Stairway to Heaven: The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice is, in my mind, the most impressive literary composition in Qumran. It is a liturgy recited every Sabbath, corresponding to the special sacrifices brought to the Jerusalem Temple on the Sabbath day. There are thirteen different Songs, corresponding to thirteen different Sabbaths in the annual cycle. In these Songs, the "holy ones" praise God. Carol Newsom, who published the Songs, interpreted them as "angelic liturgy," sung by a heavenly cult of angels in heaven, to which the human community of the Qumran members listened passively.[61] She also concluded that "although the outer form of the document is praise of God (i.e. each song begins with a call to praise God), the subject of particular interest is the angelic priesthood itself."[62]

The Songs mention different kinds of angels: divine beings, angels, Holy Ones, spirits, priests of the highest height or of the inner sanctum, ministers of presence, chief princes, deputy princes, chiefs of the dominions, chiefs of His inner room, chiefs of those wondrously arrayed, gods, gods of knowledge, holy of holy ones, etc.[63] The angels' superior knowledge and understanding of divine mysteries are stressed throughout the liturgy: They declare the majesty of Gods kingship "according to their knowledge"; they have "tongues of knowledge," and they "make known hidden mysteries" (to the elected human community).[64]

The heavenly Temple is described in detail and God's chariot is mentioned several times, for example: "And the chariots of His inner room give praise together, and their *cherubim* and thei[r] *ophanim* bless wondrously [...] the chiefs of the divine form. And they praise Him in (the) holy inner room..."[65] The veil of the inner sanctum, the *devir*, its colors and the rivers of lights and surrounding flames of fire are also

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61   Newsom 1985, 17-72.
62   Newsom 1990b, 105. For a convenient presentation of the composite text of the thirteen songs, see Newsom and Charlesworth 1999, 138-189.
63   See the list in Newsom and Charlesworth 1999, 7.
64   4Q405 3a; 4Q400 2, 3-11; 4Q401 14 ii 7, respectively (Eshel et al. 1998, 187-194, 208, 319).
65   Conclusion of the 7th song, 4Q403 1 ii 15-16 (Eshel et al. 1998, 279).

described, [66] as well as "the sacrifices of the holy ones," "the odor of their offerings" and "drink offerings," their breastplates and `efodim.[67]

According to Newsom, the Songs are not an apocalypse, a "speculative instrument," or a "mystical praxis." They do not speak of ascent nor use the technical vocabulary of mystical praxis. They do not serve as a substitute for the cultic sacrifice. They are simply a liturgy, a response to a problematic absence of earthly cult and priesthood.[68] In this angelic liturgy, the group views itself as a faithful priesthood which serves God and validates their self-declarations as just, pious and holy.

Newsom asserts that "the Sabbath Shirot neither replace the cult nor do they merge the human and angelic priestly communities. In elaborating the existence of an angelic priesthood and heavenly temple, the religious imagination constructs a realm where adequate cult is maintained. This ideal realm is vividly present through the human community's act of worship in invoking the angelic praise and describing it in sensuous and evocative language." The Songs create "a virtual experience of being present in the heavenly temple," but they "do not speak of actual co-participation in the conduct of the cult of the heavenly temple."[69]

Other liturgies which describe God's throne in heaven and reflect the interest of the yahad in mysticism, also appear in 4Q286-290Berakhot, where the holiness of the community's worship was attained and con-

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66   10th song, 4Q405 15 ii-16 (Eshel et al. 1998, 335)
67   13th song, 11QShirShabb 9 (García Martínez et al. 1998, 291). For the idea of a heavenly Temple/palace in ancient Jewish (and Christian) sources, including the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, see Morray-Jones 1998. Cf. Jubilees 31:14.
68   Newsom 1990b, 114. Maier 1992, 553 concluded that the Songs were used in cultic acts and events as a substitute for actual Sabbath offerings in the Jerusalem Temple. But the Songs also describe, and in a certain sense also stage, participation in a corresponding ritual in the heavenly sanctuary.
69   Newsom 1990b, 115-116. Cf. Newsom 1985, 59-72. Newsom supports this later claim by referring to confession in which the humans bemoan their inadequacy and humility compared to the angels in 4Q400 2 6-7 (Eshel et al. 1998, 187); they characterize their own prayers as dust, compared to the prayers of divine being. Interestingly, Dimant has shown that the angels in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice perform activities that correspond to the activities of the sectarians: they form a special community, have a covenant with God, are given special laws, offer bloodless sacrifices, live in perfect purity with no sin and evil, praise God, atone for their sins, posses divine wisdom and engage in teaching. She connected this observation to the scholarly view of the self-conception of the yahad as a Temple. In other words, the core members of the community "functioned analogically to a community of priestly angels, officiating in the innermost sanctuary of the heavenly temple." "The community aimed at creating on earth a replica of the heavenly world," "a communion by analogy rather than an actual one." See Dimant 1996, 98-101.

firmed through the inspiration from the heavenly realms to the earthly realms. These blessings addressed to God, attesting to the greatness of God and His glory, and successively recited by all of creation, starting with the heavenly creatures and gradually continuing to the earthly creatures. These words of praise describe the heavenly abode and throne ("the seat of Your honor and the footstools of your glory... the chariot of your glory..."), God's divine attributes ("miraculous works, a foundation of wisdom and structure of knowledge...") and the mysteries of God's knowledge.[70]

Fletcher-Louis has recently challenged the conventional interpretation of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice by underlining the phenomenon of angelomorphism. He suggested that the designations, as well as some of the characteristics of heavenly figures in the Songs, do not correspond to otherwise known Jewish angelology, but actually correspond to *humans who ascended to heaven as angels* to sing the praise of God, without any citation of the prayers themselves. That is, the fact that the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice lack the contents of the angels' liturgy and focus on the description of the angels praising God in heavens, leads Fletcher-Louis to argue that the text is in fact not a liturgical text but rather a mystical text.

Fletcher-Louis thus attempts to demonstrate that the Songs represent a heavenly ascent, whose climax is the entry into the inner sanctum. The Temple that is mentioned is not a heavenly Temple that corresponds to the earthly one in Jerusalem (as Newsom thinks), but is the community's virtual sanctuary, a cultic space which symbolizes the entire cosmos.[71]

Although this latter assertion may be reasonable in the immediate literary context of the Songs, I still find it problematic. In contrast to arguments presented by previous scholars, I think that there is no firm attestation in the scrolls to the idea that the *yaḥad* regarded itself as an actual spiritual Temple (as in the Epistle to the Hebrews).[72] Rather, it seems to me that if the Songs describe exalt humans who were transformed into angles praising God, this is done in the heavenly sanctum.

70   4Q286 1 ii; Nitzan 1998, 137-141 (Nitzan's translation). See the full text in Eshel et al. 1998, 12. The relation of 4QBerakhot to the *yaḥad* is obvious since 4Q286 7ii 1 refers to "the council of the *yaḥad*" and 4Q286 expands the Community Rule's ceremony of passing in the covenant.

71   Fletcher-Louis 2002, 255-279, 359-361. Cf. his close reading of the Songs (*ibid.*, 280-394). Note, for example the great detail in which the sacrifices of the heavenly priesthood and the clothing of the high priesthood are described in the 13th song.

72   See above concerning "holy house" and the "Temple of ʾadam" in 4Q174 Florilegium. Cf. also the moral and liturgical substitutes of the sacrificial cult discussed in Chapter 2.

It is therefore possible that the Songs describe the heavenly ascent of the sect members in their praise of God, and may represent the peak of mysticism in Qumran.

In fact, the transformation of humans into angels in relation to praising God may be also attested in 4Q511 *Song for the Sage*, where the "holy ones" serve as priests in a kind of virtual Temple: "Among the holy ones God makes (some) hol[y] for Himself like an everlasting sanctuary, and there will be purity amongst those purified. And they shall be priests, His just people, His army and servants, the angels of His glory. They shall praise Him with fantastic marvels."[73]

The idea of a group of righteous humans who are transformed into angels and partake in heavenly activities is unique and exceptional, and should be understood in light of the *yaḥad*'s aspiration to immense and intense spirituality and closeness to God. Therefore, Fletcher-Louis's interpretation of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the present passage from the *Song for the Sage* reinforces the view (opposed by Newsom) that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were composed by the *yaḥad* (or an associated group) and were not adopted from outside.[74]

If one accepts Fletcher-Louis's interpretation of the Songs, a new critical question arises: Does the ascent of sect members serve as an actual visionary experience or merely an imaginative exegesis? Does it represent true mysticism or merely liturgical word play? Some scholars described the Songs as ecstatic and visionary, or at least are ready to admit that such altered states of consciousness cannot be denied *a-priori*. Others think that they do not describe a mystical journey or were uttered in the heavenly abode, and therefore do not function as the

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73   4Q511 *Song for the Sage* frag. 35 2-5 (Baillet 1982, 237). Fletcher-Louis 2002, 162-166 identifies the humans with the angels. The same idea is also implied in the Hodayot: "...and in the lot of with your holy people, to raise the worms of the dead from the dust, to an ever[lasting] community and from a depraved spirit, to [your] knowledge, so that he can take his place in your presence with the perpetual host and the spirits [...], to renew him with everything that will exist, and with those who know in a community (*be-yaḥad*) of jubilation." See 1QHa 19[11]:11-14. Licht 1957, 163, interpreted this passage as standing with angels in front of the heavenly throne (but regards this as an eschatological expectation, which seems unlikely; cf. Holm-Nielsen 1960, 187).

74   See Fletcher-Louis 2002, 394. Newsom 1990a, 179-185 argued that since there is no definite "sectarian" terminology in the Songs (that is, wording characteristic to the Community Rule, etc.) and since they were also found outside Qumran, in Masada, they were probably of non-Qumranic provenance. See also Maier 1992, 560-561. In any event, 4Q286*Berakot* 10 ii 1 seems to attest that the Songs were used by the *yaḥad* and influenced the *Berakhot* (cf. Newsom 1990a, 181, 185).

means to incite ecstasy or mystical experience.[75] This question may be clarified by new literary and comparative studies of the Songs. In the meantime, I would prefer to consider them, at the least, as representing a strong *urge* for a mystical ascent.

Whether or not they represent a lived mystical experience, the Songs are not merely fascinating liturgical literature. They allude to a certain religious ecstasy, probably among the *yahad*,[76] that took place every Sabbath, whether this was an experience that occurred when contemplating the angels and the heavenly abode, or whether the members experienced a transformation into angels as they transcended to the highest plane. This mystical experience is not typical of religious groups or sects. Interestingly, the Quakers and the especially the Shakers subscribed to an ecstatic yet less ambitious religiosity.

The first Friends trembled at their awareness of God's proximity, and were thus called "Quakers." One of George Fox's principles was "an inward transforming experience of God." William James characterized Quakerism as "a religion of veracity, rooted in spiritual inwardness."[77] Similarly in the case of the Shakers, the religious experience was rather visible, as Evans describes: "Sometimes, after sitting a while in silent meditation, they were seized with a mighty trembling, under which they would often express the indignation of God against all sin. They were often exercised with great agitation of body and limbs, shaking, running and walking the floor...These Exercises, so strange to the eyes of the beholders, brought upon them the appellation of Shakers."[78]

Such situations and sensations are quite exceptional even for sects, and attest to the members' high degree of spiritual tension. The Songs and other similar liturgical-mystical compositions discussed above demonstrate that the *yahad* (or relate groups) had similar religious experiences. Although we have no knowledge of their physical manifestations, the contents of these texts seem to be even more extraordinary and more intensely engaged in an experience of the divine, compared to the descriptions in Quaker and Shaker writings. The *yahad*'s mysti-

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75 See the discussions and bibliography in Wolfson 1994, 197-200; Davila 1999, 480-483. For a similar problem in understanding the early Jewish mysticism of the *Hekhalot* Literature, see Davila 2001, 12-21, 253, 308.

76 The relationship to the *yahad* is only circumstantial, based on the many occurrences of the adverb *yahad* (see in Chapter 7) as well as the emphasis on the holiness of the sect in the Community Rule. Note that the earliest manuscript of the Songs (4Q400) is dated to c. 75 BCE (Charlesworth and Newsom 1999, 1), a generation later than the paleographic date of 1QS.

77 Jones 1965, 42, 45, 140.

78 Evans 1858, 21.

cism therefore seems far-reaching, even in comparison to other intro-
versionist sects.

7 Conclusions

7.1 Why Introversionist Sects are Predisposed to Mysticism?

The Qumran sects, and particularly the *yaḥad*, believed that they were
holier than all other human beings. Their major aim was to achieve
closeness to God, and perhaps even a certain spiritual transcendence to
heaven, the world of the angels, God's throne and the heavenly Tem-
ple. Although the basic characteristics of their spirituality and mysti-
cism are typical of other sects, especially the Shakers, the *yaḥad* main-
tained a more intensive quest for the holy spirit and mystical
experience that was more significant for their belief system. The high
frequency of the themes of attaining the holy spirit, their state of su-
preme holiness, and their communion with angels appearing in the
Community Rule and the Hodayot, highlight the significance of these
themes in the *yaḥad*'s self-identity.

    Although such intense mysticism is not an all-embracing phe-
nomenon among interoversionist sects,[79] one still asks why the *yaḥad*
and the Shakers were drawn to it. For Jewish mysticism, at the very
least, there seems to be a typical socio-anthropological background that
can explain the sectarian motivation to enter the mystic realm. Ger-
shom Scholem noted that Jewish mystics live and act in perpetual re-
bellion against a world with which they fiercely strive to be at peace. To
most Kabbalists, the existence of evil is one of the most pressing prob-
lems, and attempts at its resolution keeps them continuously occupied.
They have a strong sense of the reality of evil and the dark horror that
permeates everything living.

    Martaha Himmelfarb maintains that a "visionary" group that was
unable to find the fulfillment of prophetic visions in the reality of the
present stood behind the ascent to heaven in 1 Enoch. As the group
became alienated from the priestly establishment, eschatological and
apocalyptic beliefs emerged. According to Himmelfarb, Ezekiel's vision
of God on a chariot–throne emphasizes the sense of distance between

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79   For the American Puritan's rejection of mystical experience, see Marini 1982, 11-17.

God and humanity, as a response to the destruction of the Temple, once the center of its religious experience.[80]

It seems that Scholem and Himmelfarb are referring to the phenomenon of tension with the world, the most essential characteristic of the sectarian ideology. Mystic thinking (not to mention mystical experience) is one means to overcome this tension stemming from the separation between God and man, and create new religious values corresponding through interpretation of the traditional ones. For Himmelfarb, however, the tension is not as sociological as it is spiritual or psychological. A feeling of emptiness and the loss of experiential contact with God lead to new paths of faith and spirituality that go beyond the conventional traditions.

These observations elucidate why only certain sects tend to mysticism. Not every case of sectarian tension with the world results in a sense of alienation from God. And not every such spiritual hurdle leads to the construction of mystical ideas and liturgies to overcome the human isolation from the divine. Other, more simple behavioral mechanisms, different taboos and rituals of confession, for example, may restore the relationship with God. The stronger the sect's spiritual alienation and the more intensive its spiritual creativity, the greater the probability that the sect will develop mystical thinking and mystic experience.

7.2 "All the Glory of Adam"

Perhaps a summary of the spiritual-mystical aim of the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant can be found in the strange term that appears in the Damascus Document, the Community Rule and the Hodayot: "all the glory of Adam."[81] While one may assume that this term refers to immortality or long life,[82] its actual meaning is spiritual or even mystical. Wise has suggested that it refers to a reversal of the Adamic curse

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80 Scholem 1954, 34, 36. Himmelfarb 1993, 26, 69-71. See also J.Z. Smith's theory of sacred center in Chapter 2. Note that Himmelfarb attributes the origin of Second Temple mysticism to the theology of the Priestly circles (*ibid.*, 26-37).

81 In CD 3:20 it is mentioned in the context of God building the "true house" and giving them eternal life. In 1QS 4:22-23 (the Instruction of the Two Spirits) it occurs in the context of the (eschatological) purification of the righteous in the holy spirit and instruction of heavenly knowledge. In 1QH^a 4[17]:14-15, the context is the purification and redemption of the elected.

82 This interpretation may seem likely in light of 4Q171pPs^a III 1-2: "live for thousand generations in salva[tio]n; for them there is all the inheritance of Adam", where the context is eschatological.

(Gen 3:16-19) at some point during the eschaton.[83] However, Fletcher-Louis maintains that its context is not eschatological but the present reality.[84] I think that the glory of Adam refers to members' transformation to the purest possible form of human being, the form that is closest to God.[85] It is reasonable to assume that the term recalls Adam's original state before the Fall: perfect, free from sin, and dwelling in paradise.

Under certain circumstances this state may be imminently realized, while under other circumstances, the reversal may be eschatological. If this is indeed the case, the *yahad* and the Damascus Covenant seem to have found a path to attain full salvation for their members. By overcoming all mortal and immoral shortcomings and fulfilling the destiny that God designated for humans at the beginning of creation, they believe they (will?) complete a full circle of salvation.

In conclusion, I think that the *yahad* were more ambitious (or pretentious) than any other sect discussed here, probably even more than the Shakers. They genuinely believed that their way of life and belief system would take them as far as possible to a full spiritual return to God.

The *yahad's* engagement in mysticism should be studied in relation to their social position as a sect. Mysticism bears several features that well serve the ideology and needs of sectarians. Mystical experience is not only a means to achieve closeness to God, it is a mode of salvation. The ascendant aims for personal and sometimes even collective redemption. Moreover, as can be shown from evidence from shamans and protest cults, and as the study of later Jewish mysticism (Hekhalot Literature) shows, rituals of mystical ecstasy confer ritual power to their participants.[86] Mysticism sometimes serves as a means of transporting the individual from depressive social reality to the districts of utopia. Thus, for example, spirit possession provides an escape from the confining bonds of allotted stations in society, and supports ritual rebellions.[87]

Mysticism may empower those who reject the outside world. It may serve as a means of resistance, and a means to gain religious authority while challenging outside society. These characteristics are related to tension with the world – the most fundamental characteristic of sects, and the most outstanding characteristic of difference (to use Stark

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83 Wise 1991, 126. Puech 1993, 392 interpreted it as eschatological afterlife in paradise.
84 Fletcher-Louis 2002, 96-97, who also refers to Ben Sira 49:16.
85 See Licht 1957, 208; 1965a, 104. See also "And You have raised his glory above flesh" (1QH^a 7:19-20 [15:16-17]).
86 Davila 2001, 255-256 and passim; Lesses 1998.
87 Lewis 1989, 114-115.

and Bainbridge's definition) in sectarian introversionist ideology. It is possible to speculate that the mystic response to the sectarian crisis may have been a somewhat later development, when the existing belief system regarding holiness, revelations etc. was not sufficiently satisfying. At that stage, the immense spiritual energy of the *yaḥad* in its pressing social setting, created the exceptional and innovative mystic liturgy of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices which represents the peak of their religious creativity and their supreme motivation for redemption.

Conclusions

In this book I have tried to uncover the essence of sectarianism reflected in the Qumran scrolls, first and foremost in the Community Rule and the Damascus Document. What were the basic beliefs and pre-suppositions of the members of these sects? What rules and practices characterized their social system, and how were these related to their sectarian ideology? What sectarian options were open to them, and how do their choices reflect nuances of their ideology? Comparisons with several early modern introversionist sects beyond the world of Qumran – the Anabaptists, Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish, Puritans, Quakers and Shakers – have shed light on these questions.

The classification and interpretation of each of the sectarian charac-teristics discussed was directed by social-scientific models as well as the corresponding phenomena in the other introversionist sects. I have attempted to present these sectarian religious and social systems from an insider's perspective, rather than on the basis of a judgmental social evaluation of sectarianism. This relatively direct approach to sectarian ideology, practices and experience is based on many sources written by the sectarians themselves, or the works of other historians of the later Christian sects, which also were dependant on first-hand sources.

1 The Major Characteristics of the Qumran Sects

Several sectarian ideas and practices are shared by the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, some of which are also attested to in MMT, the Temple Scroll, 1 Enoch and Jubilees (which are pre-sectarian on both ideological and chronological grounds). Stark and Bainbridge's model of sectarianism grounded in an ideological tension with the world, and its dimensions of antagonism, separation and difference, provides a preliminary framework for exploring the belief system of the Qumran sects. The general concept of tension is embodied in the dualistic worldview of these sectarians regarding the struggle between God and the righteous angels with the wicked angels, especially Belial or Mastema, who struggle to gain influence over all human souls. An additional aspect of tension is contributed by the moral dualism be-tween righteous and wicked people, and to certain extent, the psycho-

logical dualism that reflects the struggle between these two forces in the soul of all persons.

Related to this dualistic framework are several themes which conform to Wilson's general typology of introversionist sects. The Qumran sectarians believed that all humans are sinful, and man is ashes and dust unless he is elected and justified by God. The carnal world is sinful and atonement is always necessary. Atonement is achieved through confession, devotion to God and especially through strict moral conduct.

This worldview of man's sensitivity to sin and quest for atonement has two social implications. On the one hand, it classifies the outside world as sinful, immoral and dangerous, which progresses towards self-destruction due to its rebellion against the Godly ethics. Social separation and hatred of the values embodied in outside society require the establishment of boundaries which prevent the penetration of evil into the sect. Mechanisms of social separation were expressed through a discourse of moral purity and impurity, interwoven with rules of ritual purity and impurity. One the other hand, those who overcome the temptation of sin, are elected by God and win His grace and justification, are able to atone for their sins, not merely as matters of belief, but through discipline, confessions, strict penalties and other rituals, including daily immersions.

Messianic aspirations assume a prominent place in the ideology of the Qumran sects, (beginning with 1 Enoch and Jubilees, and MMT's conception of the End of Days as already present). The traditional Jewish hope for the kingship of the Son of David was augmented by expectations for a new sectarian leader, a priestly messiah, sometimes called "the interpreter of the Torah." The day of judgment, or "day of visitation" was considered imminent, and calculations were made to predict its date of arrival. The fact that neither event occurred over several generations of sectarian existence did not seem to diminish members' hopes or beliefs. These beliefs continued to play an important cognitive or socio-functional role in intensifying the groups' faith in their just cause, and as a source of religious compensation when the conventional rewards of the outside carnal world were rejected.

Life in the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant had an aura of sanctity, as the accomplishment of atonement may suggest. The *yaḥad* even called itself "a holy house." Confessions, prayers, ritual immersions, the study of the Torah, communal assembles and meals (in the *yaḥad*), constituted the core of members' daily religious lives. The word of God was transmitted through revelations unique to the sect, although the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant subscribed to very different con-

cepts of revelation. Such an intense religious atmosphere led to a structure of social hierarchy, which was evident even within the democratic and relatively egalitarian *yaḥad*.

2 Differences between the *yaḥad*, the Damascus Covenant and the Essenes

The application of the social theory of sectarian ideology and especially comparisons with other introversionist sects underline the differences between the two groups represented by the Community Rule and the Damascus Covenant. These differences demonstrate that the two are distinctive sects, and although they share many literary and ideological points of resemblance, they vary in many significant religious and social characteristics.

The *yaḥad* was more exacting in the maintenance of its social boundaries. The communal lifestyle (characterized by communal property ownership, communal meals and possibly also communal work and living quarters) intensified sect cohesion and reduced contacts with the outside world to a minimum. It is also possible that the *yaḥad* lived in a spatially isolated settlement. Indeed, the Community Rule reflects a more selective admission process and greater concern for the need to detach from "the people of Belial." Members of the Covenant, in contrast, held their own private property and earned their own living; their contacts with fellow members were less intense, and they maintained a closer relationship with the surrounding society.

The *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant also show substantial differences in structure and organization. In the Covenant, an overseer or priest leads the group, decides who is eligible to join the sect, teaches the members and advises them in personal matters, and is charged with the admonition and expulsion of transgressing members. In the organizational phase of scattered communities called "camps," a supreme overseer headed all the camps. The structure of the *yaḥad*, however, is substantially different from this highly hierarchical pattern. *Yaḥad* overseers and priests were administrative officials who did not govern others, but rather executed the common will or decisions of the community. The sect had no single leader, and the communal assembly, in which all members participated, seems to have been the *yaḥad*'s most important institution. The *yaḥad* group is not related to any higher general organizational authority (and I suspect that there were several co-existing independent groups of *yaḥad*).

Consequently, life in these sects was substantially different for the lay members. In the Covenant, lay members were required to follow the instructions of the leading overseer and priest. In the *yaḥad*, lay members maintained more intensive spiritual and mundane interactions, and had the opportunity to shape the group's ideology and participate in its decision making. *Yaḥad* members' actions, spirit and deeds in the Torah were also the basis for their evaluation in comparison to other members.

In the *yaḥad*, revelations were a continuous and all-present fact of life. Any member could have revelations, perhaps when meditating on the interpretation of Scripture. These revelations played a significant role in establishing the ideology of the *yaḥad*, and probably functioned as a reward for pious members. Revelations were related to the interpretation of the Torah (perhaps to its commands) as well as to the divine providence and the secrets of creation, and they seem to follow the revelations attributed to the founder of the Qumran sects, the Teacher of Righteousness. In the Damascus Document, in contrast, the concept of revelation was much less significant. Revelation seemed to be a legacy of the past and not a lived experience of the sect's members. It is possible that the Damascus Covenant reflects the routinization of the *yaḥad*'s charismatic concept of revelation.

Moreover, the *yaḥad* were more concerned with mysticism than the Damascus Covenant, and the *yaḥad*'s religious sensitivity and aspiration for individual religious experience, including revelation, cohere with its semi-egalitarian and democratic social structure. Comparing the two groups, all members of the *yaḥad* sensed themselves closer to God.

The Essenes described by Philo and Josephus surely fit the definitions of an introversionist sect. The most important difference between the historic accounts of the Essenes, on one hand, and the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, on the other, is the celibacy of the Essenes. Celibacy is not mentioned at all in the scrolls, and the silence of the Community Rule regarding women, children or family does not justify a conclusion that the *yaḥad* were celibates. Celibacy is too crucial and extraordinary to receive no mention in the Community Rule. Moreover, 4Q502, which may be related to the *yaḥad*, allude to women and children several times and to their participation in a certain ceremony. Another indication of this difference is that the Essenes refrained from reciting oaths and owning slaves, while both practices are found in the Damascus Document. On the basis of these and other discrepancies, I conclude that the Essenes cannot be identified with either the *yaḥad* or the Damascus Covenant.

3 Historical Development of the Qumran Movement: 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Temple Scroll, MMT, *yaḥad*, Damascus Covenant, Essenes

Each of these fascinating texts was examined in order to understand its underlying worldview and to trace its sectarian belief-system and social construction. This led to a quite tentative attempt to classify the movements reflected in these texts in chronological order, based on the intensity or maturity of its sectarian ideology. Throughout this phenomenological examination, more concrete clues related to the literary and ideological relationship between these texts and their historical circumstances were noted. Although these clues should be regarded with caution, they may point to the roots of the introversionist sectarianism practiced by the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, and perhaps also imply their further evolution.

The major theme in 1 Encoh is cosmic dualism and the manner in which righteousness will overcome all evil. The struggle between the just and wicked angels provides background for the present ills. Enoch's divine wisdom and revelations seem to serve as partial remedies. Eschatological salvation is foreseen in the Animal Apocalypse and Apocalypse of Weeks after a war against the gentiles and wicked fellow-Jews. 1 Enoch is occupied with cosmic tension and primordial signs of social tension, but lacks instructions for actual social behavior.

Rather than prescribing a comprehensive sectarian lifestyle, 1 Enoch represents a reform movement which aims to transform Jewish society. Its apocalyptic wisdom is the theoretical foundation for the later development of a sectarian worldview embedded in the Community Rule, the Damascus Document and the War Rule. The Enoch Apocalypses echo the decrees of Antiochus IV and the war against the Seleucid, but do not reflect Maccabean ideology. All this leads me to conclude that the documents in 1 Enoch predate the Qumran sects and may have been composed around the early 160's.

Jubilees is also immersed in a similar cosmic dualism of good and bad angels, but it is also more occupied with the tension between Israel and the gentiles, calling for a complete separation from the latter. Jubilees is very concerned by the sins of the Jews and possible means of atonement. Jubilees concentrates on a religious reform in Jewish society and does not recommend withdrawal into sectarian seclusion. Chapter 23 alludes to this reform movement, its relationship with the establishment and its future hopes and expectations to gain public support and bring salvation.

Jubilees introduces several laws pertaining to the Sabbath, Temple cult, marriage laws, and the 364-days calendar, most of which are also found in the Temple Scroll, MMT and the Damascus Document. Jubilees also shares the concept of moral impurity found in MMT and the later Qumranic sources. Hence, it probably predates all these Qumranic compositions. But Jubilees is also very much dependent on 1 Enoch's angeology and cosmic dualism, and, of the two, was probably the later composition. Moreover, nudity and the negligence of circumcision are harshly reproached, and since both are mentioned in 2 Maccabees in relation to the Hellenistic reforms in Jerusalem (175-172 BCE), Jubilees was probably composed after, yet close to this period. The hatred toward the gentiles probably also reflects the Maccabean wars of the 160's.

The Temple Scroll and MMT deal with holiness and atonement in the Temple cult. Their great concern in eliminating any possible desecration of the sacrificial rites recalls the Qumranic dualistic worldview advocating efforts to avoid sin. Hence these documents actually have much in common with the pre-sectarianism of 1 Enoch and especially with Jubilees, although their laws are far more detailed. The Temple Scroll's concept of an eternal Temple seems to be dependent upon Jubilees. MMT's idea of moral impurity may also be an extension of the treatment of this concept in Jubilees.

MMT's political stance attests to the historical moment when its members despised other groups (both the immoral "multitude of the people" and the erring Pharisees who controlled the Temple), but nonetheless sought to cooperate with the early Hasmoneans and introduce their own cultic laws in the wake of independence. This may have been the group's final attempt at reform before adopting the strategy of total withdrawal from outside society, one step before its final break from society as a separate sect.

An analysis of structure and organization leads us to conclude that the *yaḥad* emerged before the Damascus Covenant. The term *rabbim* is much more prevalent in the Community Rule than in the Damascus Document, and probably originated with the *yaḥad*. The Covenant seems to borrow it from its predecessors. This conclusion gains support from my impression that the Covenant's *rabbim* phase preceded the more organizationally complex camps phase. I therefore suggest that the Covenant emerged as a different type of *rabbim* and developed into a group which did not use this term.

The penal code of the Damascus Document, in which the *rabbim* appear, alludes to separation from group purity, food reduction, and the assembly of the *rabbim*, all of which are characteristic to the *yaḥad*

but are not mentioned elsewhere in the Damascus Document. It is therefore quite probable that the penal code was adapted from the *yaḥad*. CD 20 mentions the *yaḥid* or the *yaḥad* as the group of the Teacher of Righteousness or those who follow his teachings. Consequently, it seems that the Damascus Document alludes here to the *yaḥad* as an earlier group. The Covenant was therefore dependent on some of the ideological foundations of the *yaḥad*, but developed into an entirely independent sect.

The Essenes share some characteristics that are distinctive of either the *yaḥad* or the Damascus Covenant, such as dwelling places (cities or more isolated villages) and seclusion from the Temple with cultic substitutes accompanied by sending donations to the Temple. The Essenes were also more interested in gaining political power by publicizing their prophecies or predictions. Their major innovation was the idea of celibacy. Due to this complex relationship between Essene and Qumranic practices and since the descriptions of their way of life by Philo and Josephus are much later than the scrolls, I think that the Essenes developed out of the *yaḥad* and the Damascus Covenant, perhaps in the late Hasmonean or the Herodian period.

4   Features of Introversionist Sectarianism

The comparisons of the Qumran Sects with other introversionists sects – the early Anabaptists, the Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish, Puritans, Quakers and Shakers – leads to new insights into many ideas and practices in the scrolls. These comparisons were based on theoretical definitions of sectarianism and sociological categories of introversionist sectarianism. Throughout this book I have offered a series of concrete analogies between the Qumranites and these later Christian sects, keeping in mind the general characteristics of introversionism. I have refrained from using the comparative data to create an *a-priori* detailed model of introversionism and applying it to Qumran. This is primarily because my initial aim was to understand the world of Qumran rather than establish new criteria in the sociology of religion, and also because I felt that one should not build too much on scattered evidence collected by a non-specialist.

Through these comparisons, several characteristic phenomena of introversionist sects emerged. It should be stressed, however, that many of the general or specific sectarian or introversionist features can also be found among non-sectarian societies or religious systems. What makes these phenomena distinctive to sects in general and introver-

sionist sects in particular is the social setting of tension with the world
in which these features are embedded, and the combination of numer-
ous markers in a single society. Furthermore, some of the more particu-
lar phenomena can be traced only to such sects. I therefore prefer to
regard the features common to introversionist sects as a flexible set of
introversionist *tendencies* rather than a fixed *model* of introversionist
sectarianism.

Like all sects, introversionist sects live in a state of tension with the
world, sometimes (as in Qumran) combining social tension on earth
with cosmic tension between evil and righteous supernatural entities.
Many introversionist sects also have millennial expectations, especially
in their early history. Such sects separate themselves from the outside
society and establish rules and rituals of "difference" that enhance their
internal cohesion and sense of closeness to God. Introversionist sects
create a religious and moral enclave that isolates them from the evil
world. The desire for withdrawal is not based on a sense of self-
righteousness: introversionist sectarians continue to feel guilt and in-
vest continuous efforts to atone for their past and present sins. Among
the *yaḥad*, the Puritans and the Shakers, these efforts were connected to
the belief in human nothingness and in God's election and justification.

Some sects build their religious system on revelations. Revelation
usually emerges in the earliest phase of the sect. In the case of the
Teacher of Righteousness, George Fox and Ann Lee, revelation was
established by the sect's founder, as an element in the founder's leader-
ship and a foundation for the sect's basic doctrine. In many sects, reve-
lations are subsequently experienced by other members on a regular
basis, but revelation may also become routinized over the years and
symbolizes sectarian heritage. Rarely, as in the *yaḥad*, the Pentecostals,
and in certain times also among the Quakers and Shakers, revelation
may be experienced by all members and becomes an integral part of the
sectarian sensibility.

There are certain typical rules, practices and rituals related to the
sect's structure and organization. Admission of new members demands
selection and observation in a gradual procedure that includes a proba-
tion period. When children born in the sect reach maturity, they also
undergo admission to adulthood, a process that includes examination
by the elders and a public commitment to the sect's way of life. Disci-
pline and cooperation are imposed by restricting transgressors from
religious ceremonies or communal activities and, in case of more severe
transgressions, by excommunication. The quest for atonement is ritual-
ized through members' private or public confession of sins and self-
guilt. Transgressing members, whose acts are discovered by others, are

admonished by other members or by the sect's authorities in case of light offenses. All these practices are designed to maintain the moral character of the sect.

Some sects have a distinguished leadership and a strict social hierarchy, while others are more egalitarian and nominate lay members as officials to represent their collective interests. Sects are organized in small communities in order to maintain more intimate and manageable social interactions; some even branch off into smaller groups when population increases. The different communities of a sectarian movement may be closely woven into a tight hierarchical structure, under a dominant leader or ministry (as in the camps of the Damascus Covenant and the Shakers), but usually communities are autonomous and conform to a common doctrine and lifestyle. Different sectarian branches may maintain different degrees of boundary maintenance between communities. These various modes of structure and organization offer sectarian movements a certain degree of flexibility that enhances their adaptability.

Sects encourage marriage within the sect and impose certain restrictions on the selection of spouses. Some sects prohibit remarriage after divorce. Others restrict members' sexuality in various ways. Celibacy, maintained by the Essenes and the Shakers, derives from the condemnation of sexuality and a desire to repress carnal lusts, and not necessarily from pure misogyny. Other sects, such as the Amish, the Puritans, and the Damascus Covenant cherish family life and encourage intimacy between husband and wife. In certain cases, marriage was regarded as the highest spiritual bond between man and woman. Women were active in many sects (especially among the Quakers and Shakers) and enjoyed social roles and religious sensibilities that were probably impossible outside the sect. Female sectarians were considered pious, devoted, obedient and more educated compared to male outsiders. It seems that certain sects aimed to transform gender relations in their quest for social and religious revolution, and offered women new gender roles, and consequently, new patterns of gender relations.

Wealth is usually regarded with disapproval by all introversionist sects. Wealth of the outside world is immoral and defiling, and serves as a boundary between the sect and the world. Moreover, the accumulation of wealth by the sect members is denounced, unless it is spent on collective ends. This approach to wealth does not, however, imply asceticism in the full sense of the term, since it does not aim to deny bodily pleasures but to avoid the corrupt world. Communal property ownership is a social means designed to eliminate the corrupting power of

wealth and promote cohesion, collaboration and mutual aid among sect members. Mutual aid to fellow members and needy in general is also common, as a constructive response designed to counter-effect the social damages of wealth. Money and economics are regarded as the man-made afflictions of the outside world, and sects have developed different responses to avoid and overcome them, in creating what they believe to be a better society. Sects which maintain private property nonetheless impose restrictions on handling money, for example by restricting commerce between members.

Many sects have a certain tendency towards spirituality, such as an experience of the holy spirit. Some have a special interest in mysticism, and may subscribe to beliefs such as the belief that the members live in the presence of angels. Several sect founders or leaders among the Quakers, Shakers and the perhaps also the Teacher of Righteousness, had mystical experiences. These experiences, which may be indicative of the degree of spiritual tension and religious experience that contributed to the emergence of these leaders and their sects, were cherished by subsequent followers as symbols of the founder's spiritual achievements. The Songs of Sabbath Sacrifices and other compositions indicate that the *yaḥad* searched for mystical experiences and, based on their self-perception of angels in heaven, may have believed that this quest could be actually accomplished. Such a strong tendency towards mysticisms is unattested in the sources and scholarship of the other sects I have studied and seems unique to the *yaḥad*.

5   Sectarianism and Religious Sincerity

To close on a personal tone, sectarianism involves a complete and thorough devotion to God. Living in a sect involves a denial of the self and daily carnal urges, in order to be a better human being who is as close as possible to God, and accomplishes the objective for which God created humans. Sects create a system that directs their members to this super-human realm, urging them to overcome the constraints of their personal feelings and worldly desires in order to serve a higher goal.

From a modern Western-democratic perspective, the social mechanisms that articulate such ideas impose regulations that restrict or eliminate members' liberty and selfhood, by representing a nameless entity that demands obedience and discipline in an effort to secure self-enhancement. Nonetheless, most if not all the sects discussed here developed in civilizations where individual selfhood was already restricted by social networks (the family, the church, or the rulers). Under

these circumstances, sects liberate their members from existing local obligations, and lead them to new visions and aspirations. Sectarianism, in a sense, is a quest to overcome the carnal through attainment of the spiritual, by imposing a counter-cultural upon the social locality, and, some may add, by impressing the heavenly upon the earthly.

It is difficult not to develop a profound appreciation of the novelty, courage and imagination of sect leaders and their followers in inventing ideas and social systems, and creating new cultures. The fact that many of these cultures actually succeeded in recruiting many followers and surviving for several centuries proves that sectarianism fulfills a need that is present in human society. It is a form of religious and social innovation, of creating an alternative mode of life which may not be suitable for all persons, but nonetheless is relatively harmless in comparison to other socio-religious phenomenon. What I find particularly interesting is that, in contrast to certain governments or socio-religious institutions which enforce their will upon outsiders, sects tend to use social coercion only upon their members. Due to their lack of social power, their ideas and aims are directed to the insiders, and their impact on outsiders is, ultimately, limited.

Some ideals and visions are too fragile or naïve to be realized. Sects create such waves of religious creativity and sensibility, and protect them from breaking on the rocky shores of reality. Ultimately, sects offer us an opportunity to examine our own values and social relations in a more critical manner, and recognize the compromises we make in our relationship with God and humans.

Abbreviations

BA:	Biblical Archaeologist
CBQ:	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
DJD:	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
CRINT:	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DSD:	Dead Sea Discoveries
EDSS:	Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls, eds. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
EI:	Eretz Israel
ER:	The Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. M. Eliade, New York and London: Macmillan, 1987.
HTR:	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA:	Hebrew Union College Annual
IEJ:	Israel Exploration Journal
JAAR:	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JBL:	Journal of Biblical Literature
JJS:	Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR:	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSJ:	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period
JSOT:	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSP:	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrahpa
JSS:	Journal for Semantic Studies
JSSR:	Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion
JTS:	Journal of Theological Studies
OTP:	Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, ed. J.H. Charlesworth, New York: Doubleday, 1985.
PAAJR:	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
RB:	Revue biblique
RQ:	Revue de Qumran
SBLSP:	Society for Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
STDJ:	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
VT:	Vetus Testamentum
ZAW:	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZNW:	Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

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