The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community
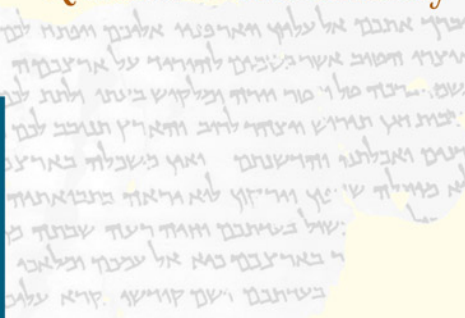
RUSSELL C.D. ARNOLD

The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of
the Qumran Community

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community

By

Russell C.D. Arnold

BRILL

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PREFACE

The idea for this project was born in a "memorable" graduate seminar at UCLA on Qumran Liturgical Texts. While reading and translating the texts, I kept coming back to the question, "why?" Why did they develop such practices? Why were they written in collections like these? Why were they not more explicitly sectarian? To find answers to such questions I recognized that I needed to understand more about Qumran society itself, and understand the way liturgy works in that specific society.

undergraduate teaching and active involvement with students in the study of religion. I know that I am a better teacher because of their examples.

I would also like to thank a number of my friends and classmates at UCLA who not only encouraged me all along the way, but also helped me immensely by providing feedback on drafts of some of the chapters: Bobby Duke, Ariella Radwin, Jeremy Smoak, Roger Nam, and Peter Lanfer. To each of you I owe a debt, which I expect to repay in the near future. My dear friend, Kym Peake, found the time in the midst of moving to serve as my copy editor. Her diligence, expertise, and giving spirit are greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to Richard Miller who helped immeasurably in producing the index for this volume.

Throughout this long process, I have received an amazing amount of support and encouragement from my exceptional family. My sister-in-law, Denise, could always be counted on to stand with me, getting excited for me when I needed it or mad when I needed that. My In-Laws, Ron and Jacquie, have done much to help me relax and forget about my dissertation stress during our visits to their home in Santa Cruz. My parents set high standards for me and always believed that I could reach them. They have offered immeasurable support, encouragement, sympathy, and hope throughout my life and throughout this process. My brother, Jamie, has modeled for me an approach to liturgy that is thoughtful and creative, and that has an eye toward community formation. His influence, while not explicit in the pages that follow, has fueled my interest in the ways liturgy works.

Finally, I hardly imagine how I could have made it through this process without my wife, Ginger, my favorite. She has stood by me every step of the way, helping me overcome my struggles and celebrate my successes. She continues to inspire me to do better work and keep an eye on the long-term goals. Her compassion and love is a constant source of joy and hope in my life, keeping me looking forward to what lies ahead for us, now that this stage of our lives is completed. To this end, I dedicate this book to our first child, due to arrive in June of this year.

Russ Arnold
Los Angeles, CA
May, 2006

INTRODUCTION

The Dead Sea Scrolls provide modern scholars with a great variety of texts of assorted genres and styles through which to view the Qumran community that collected, copied and/or composed them. Now that nearly all of the scrolls have been published, scholars are able to develop more comprehensive descriptions of the nature of the community's structure and its religious practices. The scrolls have also greatly improved our understanding of the relationships between Qumran and the various other religious groups within Judaism during the period of the Second Temple.

The presence of a large number of texts describing liturgies to be recited daily, weekly, seasonally, or on special occasions, has engendered a flurry of interest in the community's sacred calendar and the relationship between its liturgy and that of the Temple, or of later rabbinic Judaism. The present study both broadens the parameters, by discussing not just the liturgies but also the ritual contexts that contain them, and limits the focus by examining the significance of Qumran's liturgical and ritual practice solely as an expression of the social structure and the overall worldview of their community. Liturgical and ritual texts are unique among the various genres of literature in that they are, at least in theory, expressions of the community's religious behavior. As such, they provide a window into the self-understanding of the community in relationship with God and with God's people. At the same time, liturgy is enacted by the community as a public expression of that self-understanding.

The liturgical texts from Qumran are among the oldest texts describing regular fixed communal prayer within Judaism. However, they have only recently begun to impact the study of early Jewish liturgy.[1] The classic, and still influential, historical studies of Jewish lit-

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[1] For a useful survey of the field of Jewish liturgy see the work of Richard Sarason. For example: Richard Sarason, "The 'Intersections' of Qumran and Rabbinic Judaism: The Case of Prayer Texts and Liturgies," *DSD* 8 (2001): 169-181; "On the Use of Method in the Modern Study of Jewish Liturgy," in *The Study of Ancient Judaism* (ed. J. Neusner; Vol. 1; New York, 1982) 107-179; "Communal Prayer at Qumran and

urgy, by Leopold Zunz and Ismar Elbogen, predate the discovery of the scrolls.[2] Joseph Heinemann, in his influential form-critical study of the development of the Jewish liturgy, incorporated some Qumran material but he lacked access to any of the liturgical material from Cave 4.[3] Even among recent scholars writing with full access to the Qumran liturgical texts, there remains disagreement about the relevance of this material for understanding the development of Jewish liturgy.[4] Dead Sea Scrolls scholars closely examined the liturgical texts from Qumran for possible antecedents to the language and practice of rabbinic communal prayer.[5] Proposed parallels included liturgical pieces from the *Shema* and its blessings (especially the first blessing, *yotzer or*, dealing with the creation of light), the *Amidah*, Grace After Meals, *Tahanun*

Among the Rabbis: Certainties and Uncertainties," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23 January, 2000* (ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 151-172.

[2] Leopold Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt. Ein Beitrag zur Alterthumskunde und biblischen Kritik, zur Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte.* (2d ed., Berlin: Louis Lamm, 1919; First edition pub-lished in 1832). Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (trans. Raymond P. Scheindlin; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1993); trans. of Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung (Leipzig, 1913).

[3] Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud* (trans. Richard Sarason; Studia Judaica 9; Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1977); trans. of התפילה בתקופת התנאים והאמוראים (2d ed.; Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1966).

[4] See especially the debate between Ezra Fleischer and Stefan Reif. Ezra Fleischer, "On the Beginnings of Oblig-atory Jewish Prayer (Hebrew)," *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 397-441; Stefan Reif, "On the Earliest Development of Jewish Prayer (Hebrew)," *Tarbiz* 60 (1991): 677-681; Ezra Fleischer, "Rejoinder to Dr. Reif's Remarks (Hebrew)," *Tarbiz* 60 (1991): 683-688; Stefan Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer: New Perspec-tives on Jewish Liturgical History* (Cam-bridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[5] For some examples see: Esther G. Chazon, "The *Qedushah* Liturgy and its His-tory in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *From Qumran to Cairo: Studies in the His-tory of Prayer* (ed. Joseph Tabory; Jerusalem: Orhot Press, 1999) 7-17; Bilhah Nitzan, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jewish Liturgy," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Back-ground to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. James R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 195-219; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee I. Levine; Philadel-phia: ASOR, 1989) 33-48; Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in Light of Qumran Literature," in *The World of Qumran from Within* (ed. Shemaryahu Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 200-243; Moshe Weinfeld, "Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Re-search* (eds. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 241-258.

(supplications), festival prayers (especially *Yom Kippur*), *Qedushah*, etc. The themes of prayer associated with particular days of the week according to the *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504, 4Q506) as well as the times designated for prayer in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) have been used as evidence for an earlier date for the development of what would become "normative" Jewish prayer during the Second Temple period. In addition, the presence of *tefillin* in some of the caves and the reference to entering the covenant at daybreak and reciting God's laws in the hymn at the end of the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 10:10) have been seen as evidence for the daily recital of the *Shema* and Decalogue.[6] This atomistic search for early evidence for rabbinic traditions has also been balanced by critical editions of the Qumran liturgical texts,[7] as well as detailed studies of the corpus of Qumran liturgical texts as a whole.[8]

Bilhah Nitzan initiated much discussion in this area with her book *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, published in Hebrew and translated into English in 1994.[9] Nitzan investigates all the prayer texts that had been published up through 1990 using a comparative literary approach, comparing their forms and motifs with those of parallel texts from various time periods. She sees the texts found at Qumran as representing a transitional stage in the progression from occasional, free prayer described in the biblical period to the developed liturgy of the

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[6] Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 113.

[7] Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD VII; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982). Carol Newsom, "Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat," in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetic and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 173-401; Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta, 1985); Bilhah Nitzan, "Berakhot," in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetic and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 1-74; Eileen Schuller, "Non-Canonical Psalms," in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetic and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 75-172; Eileen M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986). *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetic and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*. (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

[8] See especially Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. Jonathan Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994); Esther G. Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran and their Historical Implications," *DSD* 1 (1994): 265-284; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*. See also the recent commentary in the Eerdmans series that brings together much of this work: James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (ECDSS 6; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).

[9] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*.

rabbinic period. She employs elements of Gunkel's form-critical analysis to distinguish between supplications, blessings and curses, songs of praise, eschatological poetry, magical poetry and mystical poetry. Hers is an excellent resource for understanding the types of prayer found at Qumran and their connections with biblical and later rabbinic literature. She does not, however explicitly deal with the social contexts of these prayers or attempt to discuss them in light of the structures of the Qumran community.[10] She also assumes that separation from the Temple in Jerusalem led to fixed prayer at Qumran.

Esther Chazon has published important work on individual liturgical texts[11] as well as more general studies of Qumran prayer.[12] Her work is especially helpful for establishing clear criteria for determining whether or not a text should be considered Qumranic in origin. She

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[10] Although in other works she makes connections between benediction texts and the community's annual covenant renewal ceremony. See Bilhah Nitzan, "Benedictions and Instructions for the Eschatological Community (11QBer; 4Q285)," *RQ* 16 (1993): 77-90; "The Benedictions from Qumran for the Annual Covenantal Ceremony," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (eds. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000) 263-271.

[11] Esther G. Chazon, "Is *Divrei Ha-Me'orot* A Sectarian Prayer?" In *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (eds. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 3-17.; "4QDibHam: Liturgy or Literature"; "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts: An Analysis of the Daily Prayers (4Q503)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (eds. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000) 217-225; "A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: 'Words of the Luminaries' (4QDibHam)," Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1991.

[12] Esther G. Chazon, "Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 2:710-715; "When Did They Pray? Times for Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature," in *For A Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (eds. Randal A. Argal, Beverly A. Bow and Rodney A. Werline; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000) 42-51; "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23 January, 2000* (ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 35-47; "Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran," in *Sapiental, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran* (eds. D. Falk, F. García Martínez and E. Schuller; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 95-105; "On the Special Character of Sabbath Prayer, New Data from Qumran," *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy* 15 (1993): 1-21; "Prayers from Qumran and their Historical Implications"; "The Qedushah Liturgy"; "The Use of the Bible as a Key to Meaning in Psalms from Qumran," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (eds. Shalom M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 85-96.

also employs a type of form criticism to determine a prayer's function. She is careful to keep in mind the possibility that the function of a prayer may have changed over time or in being adopted by the Qumran community. Her measured approach and call for the continued development of clear, refined methods of inquiry have benefited the study of Qumran prayer and liturgy immensely.

Daniel Falk, in his important monograph, investigates the evidence for daily, Sabbath and festival prayer at Qumran asking whether or not the Qumran texts represent general Jewish prayer practice during the Second Temple period.[13] He argues that while some of the texts, (i.e. *Daily Prayers* and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*) originated at Qumran, they represented a broader practice associated with the Temple, as did those texts that likely originated outside the community (e. g. *Words of the Luminaries* and *Festival Prayers*). He recognizes Qumran liturgical texts as vital resources for the study of early Jewish liturgy, and directly challenges Fleischer's idea that communal prayer arose due to separation from the Temple cult. Instead, Falk claims that institutionalized prayer emerged in connection with the Temple cult. He concludes that "much of the liturgy developed by the Yahad was adapted from practice elsewhere, especially the Temple."[14] He imagines that the Qumran community developed its liturgy as a process of modification of Temple practices, rather than as an invention. He states, "the principle of modification is apparent in the distinctive nature of their annual covenant ceremony which uniquely combines confession of sin with blessing and cursing."[15]

Drawing on this important textual work on Qumran liturgy in the context of Jewish liturgy, our study focuses more narrowly on the significance of Qumran liturgy within the social and ideological context

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[13] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*. See also his more recent work, Daniel Falk, "Psalms and Prayers," in *Justification and Variegated Nomism: The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism* (eds. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien and Mark A. Seifrid; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001) 7-56; "Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple," in *Sapiental, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran* (eds. D. Falk, F. García Martínez and E. Schuller; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 106-126; "Works of God and Communal Confession," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetic and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 23-61.

[14] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 254.

[15] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 254. For more discussion of the covenant ceremony see Chapter 2.

of the community itself. In this endeavor we are following the meth-
odological challenge set forth by Lawrence Hoffman: to move beyond
text-focused, philological and form-critical approaches and treat the
liturgical texts themselves and other texts about the practice of prayer
as evidence of a living community of pray-ers.[16] Hoffman argues that
liturgical texts are a remarkable expression of the community's world-
view and indicate the nature of the community's relationships with the
divine/holy, and with those outside the community. Hoffman draws on
insights from the work of the anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, who
claims that the task of interpreting culture is to understand what is
meant, or what is being said, by a particular ritual or practice.[17] Hoff-
man presents the holistic study of liturgy as a similar process of using
all textual and material evidence to sort out what is signified by the
liturgy, what is being said, not just *in* the liturgy, but also *by* the lit-
urgy.[18]

This project similarly aims to go beyond the texts of liturgy toward
an understanding of the people who gathered and experienced the prac-
tice of the liturgy at Qumran. In order to achieve this goal, we employ
social scientific approaches to understand liturgy as a complex form of
structured behavior that shares elements of three other categories of
action: prayer, ritual, and speech.

In some studies of Jewish liturgy, the term "liturgy" is used as es-
sentially equivalent to "prayer." While the two categories often over-
lap, it is clear that not all prayer should be considered liturgy. For ex-
ample, most of the prayers recorded in the Hebrew Bible are descrip-
tions of spontaneous individual prayer in response to a particular occa-
sion.[19] Such individual expressions of crying out to God are not litur-

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[16] Lawrence Hoffman, *Beyond the Text: A Holistic Approach to Liturgy* (Notre
Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987) 1-19.
[17] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973)
9-10.
[18] Hoffman's interpretations of rabbinic liturgical practice were hindered by the
lack of significant concrete information describing the social structures governing the
rabbinic communities. By comparison, such social information regarding the Qumran
community is quite abundant, although by no means as complete as we might like.
Chapter 1 below presents a social description of the Qumran community.
[19] In one of the few detailed studies of prayer as a social phenomenon, Freidrich
Heiler focuses especially on prayer as a personal, spontaneous cry to God in solitude.
Friedrich Heiler, *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion* (Oxford:
Oneworld Publications, 1932). Heiler claims that insofar as common prayer simulates

gical in nature, although at a later time they may be adopted for liturgical use by a community. It is less commonly recognized that not all liturgy is actually prayer, i.e. not all liturgy is addressed to God. For example, the blessings that surround the recitation of the *Shema* in rabbinic liturgy are prayers, but the biblical verses themselves (Deut 6:4-9; Deut 11:13-21; Num 15:37-41) are in fact formally addressed to Israel.[20] This is also true of the Priestly blessing (Num 6:24-27), which is addressed to the congregation rather than to God. Notwithstanding such exceptions, much of rabbinic and Qumranic liturgy does take the form of prayer addressed directly to God.

At what point does a prayer become liturgy? A prayer becomes liturgy when that prayer transcends its specific moment and becomes a part of the religious system of the community, either practically by communal recitation and/or repetition, or symbolically by attaching to it some further religious signification. A liturgical prayer takes on significance beyond simple communication with the divine. This symbolic significance may be tied to fulfilling divine law, marking the cycles of the calendar, instructing the members of the community, participating with the angels in their divine worship, reinforcing the priestly hierarchy, etc. Fixed wording is not necessary for the prayer to be considered liturgy. However, certain elements of the practice must remain consistent. To which elements this applies is determined by the social and cultural context of the ritual. If the main concern of a community participating in a prayer ritual is in the theme or tone of the prayer, for example, then its liturgical rituals would express a consistent message using different words on each occasion. In contrast, a

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the group acting as an individual, and stimulates "the awakening, intensification, and vitalization of the religious feelings, moods, and volitional tendencies," liturgy can be considered real prayer (*Prayer*, 305). When common prayer takes on ritual character and strictly fixed forms, as it inevitably does, Heiler argues, it ceases to be an expression of direct communion with the divine, but instead becomes a form of magic, that if performed accurately attempts to compel the divine to fulfill the request as stated in the prayer. Such a negative view of liturgical prayer fails to recognize the symbolic and social significance of such communal action, as will be clear from the remainder of this study.

[20] Here I follow the definition of prayer as communication addressed to God, based especially on the formal characteristics of the text. However, we should keep in mind that, in some cases, a person could transform an action or utterance such as the *Shema* into prayer by their intention. Obviously, this second type of prayer is much more difficult to assess, especially in our case when the practitioners of these actions are not available to explain their intentions.

community that placed highest importance on a particular formulation of words might require exact repetition of the proper words and yet show little concern for the time, place, situation or intentionality of the participant(s).

Jerome Neyrey applied a number of different interpretive approaches gleaned from Bruce Malina's work with cultural anthropology to understanding the liturgical meaning of biblical and New Testament prayers.[21] Malina's early work defines prayer as "a socially meaningful symbolic act of communication" addressed to someone who was perceived to have some control over the situation in which the pray-er stood.[22] This definition accounts for both personal and liturgical prayer. The object of the present book, then, is to determine the social meanings of Qumran's liturgical prayers.

Neyrey groups Malina's categories of prayer into two types based on the attitude toward the present state of affairs. Some prayers are, according to Neyrey, attempts at social transformation, while others confirm social status. This division between transformative rituals (such as rites of passage) and confirmational ceremonies (such as new year's festivals), which derives from the work of Victor Turner, highlights the key insight that not all ritual serves the same social purpose.[23] As with any categorization, however, this division arbitrarily, and somewhat unnecessarily, separates events that share many significant similarities. We must allow for social status transforming rituals that occur regularly in the life of a community, in our case the annual initiation/covenant renewal ceremony. We shall see in our investiga-

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[21] Jerome H. Neyrey, "Prayer, In Other Words: New Testament Prayers in Social-Science Perspective," in *Social Scientific Models for Interpreting the Bible: Essays by the Context Group in Honor of Bruce J. Malina* (ed. John J. Pilch; Biblical Interpretation Series; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 349-380. See also the following works by Bruce Malina, *Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology: Practical Models for Biblical Interpretation* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1986); *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (3rd ed, Louisville: WJKP, 2001); Bruce Malina, "What is Prayer?" *The Bible Today* 18 (1980): 214-220.

[22] Malina, "What is Prayer?" 215.

[23] Turner described rituals according to these two types: transformative rituals, such as rites of passage, on one side, and regularly occurring ceremonies that reinforced the status quo on the other. See Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982); "Liminality and Communitas," in *Readings in Ritual Studies* (ed. Ronald Grimes; Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1996) 511-519; *The Ritual Process* (London: Routledge, 1969).

tion that Qumran's liturgies and rituals often have both transforming and confirming elements.

As mentioned above, liturgy is more than just repeated prayer. Liturgy is a verbally enacted ritual that serves as part of the religious life of the individual or community performing it.[24] As such, in order to determine the purpose and meaning of the Qumran community's liturgies, we must understand them as rituals that are part of their ritual systems. We turn to the field of ritual studies for help. Obviously, we cannot survey the many and varied approaches to ritual that have been presented over the years.[25] We will have to be content, therefore, with discussing a few approaches that are most fruitful for our study.

Ritual theories often consider ritual as a type of language, a complex means of communication. Therefore, the study of ritual has often employed constructs associated with the study of language such as the combination of semantic and syntactic meanings.[26] The semantic meaning of language is based on what the words mean, which includes symbolic meanings such as metaphor and imagery. The semantics of a ritual derive from the individual elements or actions that make up the ritual. Alfred Radcliffe-Brown and Mircea Eliade use such linguistic models to develop ritual morphology, the study of the form and struc-

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[24] I define ritual as an action, governed by guidelines or rules, that is understood by the participants as significant beyond the mundane or regular practice of such an act. The difference, for example between a bath for the sake of washing and a ritual bath or ritual washing may or may not be evident from the action itself. The behavior may be more formal and more consistent from one person to the next, but what truly makes it a ritual washing, is that it is infused, by the participant or by the culture, with meaning that goes beyond cleaning off the dirt. This does not mean that such a ritual washing does not actually clean off the dirt, but only that it does more than that. For a ritual to be successful, the participants in the ritual ought at least to know that what they are doing carries more significance than the act in itself. However, the participants are not necessarily aware of the full significance of the ritual, such that certain rituals may, from an outsider's perspective, function to establish boundaries or unify or solidify the identity of the members or any number of other things that could not be precisely articulated by the participants in the ritual.

[25] For a clear survey of many of the theories see Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[26] *Midrash Sifre* on Num 6 is an interesting example of an analysis of the semantic and the syntactic meanings of the Priestly blessing in Ancient Israel. First, there is a discussion about what the words of the blessing mean, then there are rules about how the priest is supposed to deliver the words (in Hebrew, etc.).

ture of a ritual practice.[27] Morphemes, which are the smallest meaning-ful units in language, are equivalent in a ritual context to set routines of action, or set symbolic units. Clifford Geertz argues that, within a par-ticular community, this system of ritual symbols serves as a *model of* the world as it is and at the same time as a *model for* the way the world should be. As such, it provides both a structure by which to understand one's place in the world, as well as a mechanism for change.[28]

Victor Turner also emphasizes the meaning of individual symbolic units. Turner discusses the ways in which the dominant symbols that make up rituals create emotional attachments. Through these attach-ments, that which is required of the people is transformed into some-thing that is considered desirable.[29] Ritual units, such as music, danc-ing, unique dress, incense etc., provide concrete and personal ties to the enactment of social norms and values, making them out to be natu-ral and right. As such, these values become part of their world, their own experience. At the same time the ritual elevates the people's per-sonal experience into the realm of communal significance. "The basic unit of ritual, the dominant symbol, encapsulates the major properties of the total ritual process which brings about this transmutation."[30] Turner also recognizes that, although they are associated with the soci-ety's stable norms, values, and relationships, symbols do not necessar-ily retain the same meaning over time, or even in different ritual con-texts within the same society. As reflections of society, symbols are dynamic, versatile, and multivocal. We shall find that this is also the case with Qumran's liturgical practices. In order to understand their complexity, we must gather information about each symbol's role and significance in each of the contexts in which it appears, understanding that the meanings in the different situations also influence one an-other.[31]

The syntactic meaning of language is determined by its adherence to a standard of grammar, that is, an established structure with rules

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[27] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (trans. Willard R. Trask; New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959). Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred R., "Religion and Society," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 75 (1945): 33-43.

[28] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 90.

[29] Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967) 30.

[30] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols,* 30.

[31] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols,* 46.

that govern how elements are linked together. Arnold Van Gennep argues that the individual elements of a ritual have no inherent symbolic meaning, but can only be understood as part of a sequence, related to what came before and what came after.[32] Similarly, Pierre Smith presents two approaches to understanding individual rites as part of a ritual system.[33] He first focuses on what he calls focalizing elements of the ritual. The focalizing element of a rite is that around which the different sequences revolve and are organized.[34] Each element of the ritual must, therefore, be understood in light of the focalizing principle. Consequently, two identical elements that appear in the rites of different communities may in fact have different meanings based on their places within each system, in relation to each focalizing element. Smith states, "[I]n a general way, a single type of ritual act, such as sacrifice, initiation, prayer, or the display of ritual masks, can be integrated, either centrally or accessorily, to various systems, differently interconnected among themselves, and in this way receive different colorings or orientations, pertinent for its analysis."[35] The choice to include any particular element in a ritual system is also in itself meaningful.[36] This is a potent reminder for us to be cautious about assuming that the meaning of a liturgical practice at Qumran, such as confession of sin or wearing *tefillin*, will be equivalent to the meaning understood for the same practice in later rabbinic liturgy, or even in other Jewish

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[32] Van Gennep, Arnold, "On the Method to Be Followed in the Study of Rites and Myths," *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion: Aims, Methods and Theories of Research* (ed. Jacques Waardenburg; 1; The Hague: Mouton, 1973) 287-300.

[33] Pierre Smith, "Aspects of the Organization of Rites," in *Between Belief and Transgression: Structuralist Essays in Religion, History and Myth* (eds. Michel Izard and Pierre Smith; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) 103-128.

[34] Since Smith puts such emphasis on finding the focalizing elements of the ritual, he believes that it is important first to consider the rituals in their most stripped down form. By understanding the central thrust of the ritual, then one can understand the meaning or purpose of the accumulating glosses and the various accessories associated with the ritual in its full-blown form. While I agree with Smith about the importance of locating an overarching purpose in order to understand the various elements of the ritual, it must be noted that the basic elements of the ritual may not always be clear and are subject to the scholar's interpretation. It may also be true that some elements attached to rituals may be either unrelated or perhaps counterproductive.

[35] Smith, "Aspects of the Organization of Rites," 110.

[36] Roy A. Rappaport describes it this way, "it is self-referential in that the performer in performing the canon not only reproduces it but also indicates his or her *current* relationship to it" ("Veracity, Verity, and *Verum* in Liturgy," *Studia Liturgica* 23 (1993): 36).

communities of the Second Temple period.[37]

Smith's second systemic approach highlights the relationship between rituals in a series or within one community or culture. Smith describes two types of such systems: periodic rites and occasional rites. Periodic rites form a syntagmatic relationship in which each ritual is regularly preceded and followed by the same rites according to a determined order. These are typically associated with specific times within the calendar or within the person's life. The order of the rites is determined by natural and biological sequences, thus eliminating any possibility of rearranging them. Smith claims that these periodic systems "make a period of passing time, in itself irreversible, appear as an ordered series of eternal re-beginnings and repetitions."[38] At Qumran, as elsewhere, these ritual systems often exist side by side, as a periodic sequence of initiation and membership rites for an individual occur alongside a periodic sequence of calendrical rites for the collective.

Rituals of the second type are occasional, and form a paradigmatic relationship, as they react to various circumstances that are often unforeseeable. Such a series includes various rituals to address the many different types of situations, typically afflictions, which come up in the life of the individual and of the community. Societies generally have more than one system overlapping, sometimes in harmony and sometimes in tension with one another. The deterministic character of the Qumran community is expressed in their emphasis on the periodic rites of determined sequence over the relatively rare occasional rites of affliction.

The syntactical structures that govern ritual are most evident in the relationship between religious law, *halakhah*, and ritual in Judaism.

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[37] Smith uses the example of the bullroarer, a type of musical instrument placed on the end of a string and swung around in a circle overhead to create a constant hum. Earlier studies of this practice have emphasized the symbolism of its phallic shape. Smith argued that this instrument, which in some cultures is simply a child's toy, is merely employed in this ritual because it effectively does what it is supposed to do, that is, to represent the sounds of the gods. It is meaningful not because it shaped like phallus, but because its sound can continue indefinitely and does not require human breath or the mouth or fingers to play it. He acknowledges that once such an object is made part of a ritual schema, then it does in fact bring its characteristics into the meaning of the rite. It is the meaning based on these characteristics that is found to be similar in various cultures, not necessarily the significance of its use within the ritual itself ("Aspects of the Organization of Rites," 107-108).

[38] Smith, "Aspects of the Organization of Rites," 109.

Halakhah is like grammar, as it governs how elements can be put to-
gether. Gruenwald writes:

> The laws of *halakhah* sustained the life of the people (or their existence)
> and contain everything that is needed to restore disturbed conditions to
> their normal state. *Halakhah* is an applied philosophy of life. It organ-
> izes into a ritual manner every aspect of life in systemic categories that
> create ritual clusters.[39]

Gruenwald makes the case that *halakhah* itself should be viewed as
ritual, in the sense that *halakhah* prescribes and proscribes specific
behavior to be enacted at particular times. It is clear that there is some
relationship between *halakhah* and ritual, and that the nature of the
halakhah can define, inform, and give meaning to particular rituals.[40]

   This connection between law and ritual is important especially with
respect to Qumran's *Rule of the Community* (1QS). The text of 1QS
provides a *halakhah* that prescribes certain behavior to be performed at
certain times under specific circumstances. We must remain cautious,
however, to recognize the potential discrepancies between the prescrip-
tion and the community's actual behavior. A written text like 1QS can
prescribe certain behavior or a certain ritual, but that does not guaran-
tee that that was exactly what was being done, or that the meanings
ascribed to it by the text were understood by the participants. This is a
major difficulty of studying ritual on the basis of texts. We have no
access to the actual practice of the ritual, and we have no access to any
of the practitioners of the ritual. What we do have is a framework that
places the rituals within a system of ideological and theological struc-
tures that provide meaning for them as a coherent system.

   Many ritual theorists discuss the complex relationship between rit-
ual and society. Taken together, we see that the two are inextricably
linked and serve one another in something like a biofeedback loop.
Societies create rituals as a representation of the social order to be fol-

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[39] Ithamar Gruenwald, *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill,
2003) 33.
[40] See also Ruth Langer, *To Worship God Properly: Tensions Between Liturgical
Custom and Halakhah in Judaism* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 22;
Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1998). She analyzes rabbinic liturgy from
the point of view of the halakhic rules governing prayer, rather than the prayer texts
themselves.

lowed. [41] Rituals can even play a part in establishing and giving authority to the social order itself.[42] At the same time the practice of such rituals engenders the transformation of the society through the incorporation of new, incomprehensible circumstances.[43] In this way, it can be said that ritual plays a significant role in creating society.[44]

These processes form a cycle of continuity and change. Ritual helps mold consciousness based on traditional structures, while at the same time it allows current situations to transform those structures. Each society, in some general way, decides on a certain kind of ritual, or at least provides a context for some ritual. This ritual, as it develops, creates boundaries and an identity for a community. The community, upon developing its identity and interpreting that identity, reinterprets and reinvests in the ritual, thereby adapting it for its new purposes. Such a process may be seen behind the various forms of the initiation ceremonies described in 1QS 1-2, 1QS 5-6, 4QS and perhaps *Berakhot* (4Q286-290).

Qumran's liturgies often contain an element of speech. As such, our understanding of the complexities of their meanings is enhanced by reference to Speech Act Theory, which recognizes that some utterances are designed to enact something rather than describe something.[45] The success of a such a performative utterance depends on the

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[41] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life [1915]* (trans. J. W. Swain; New York: Free Press, 1965). Treating the sacred as a social phenomenon that sacralized community structures and interpersonal bonds, Durkheim argues that rituals are essentially rules governing how one is to act in the presence of the sacred, i.e. in society.

[42] See Maurice Bloch, *Ritual, History and Power: Selected Papers in Anthropology* (London: Athlone, 1989).

[43] See especially the writings of Marshall Sahlins: *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981); *Islands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985). See also Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. (trans. Richard Nice; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

[44] Thomas Csordas views Catholic Pentecostal communities as being, in fact, formed by their rituals. He argues that the ritual events of their prayer meetings were "historically and structurally prior to the generation of distinctive patterns of thought, behavior, and social organization." Thomas J. Csordas, "Genre, Motive, and Metaphor: Conditions for Creativity in Ritual Language," *Cultural Anthropology* 2 (1987): 448.

[45] This phenomenon was originally described by J. L. Austin in a series of lectures given at Harvard University in 1955, which were later published as J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (eds. J. O. Urmsson and M. Sbisa; New York: Oxford Uni-

societal conventions that govern the particular situation. For example, the statement, "I do," only succeeds in making a marriage if it is stated in the appropriate situation (a wedding), by the appropriate persons (the bride and groom), with the appropriate people present (officiant and witnesses). When these conditions are met, the speech-act functions as an integral part of the ritual.

Philip Ravenhill applies the theory of speech acts to religious utterances.[46] In so doing, he recognizes that religious speech is multivocal and multivalent, and that it is constrained by clear societal and cultural rules. This means that liturgical speech cannot be separated from its ritual, theological, or linguistic context. We must keep in mind the importance of discussing "the total situation in which the utterance is issued – the total speech-act" in order to understand the meaning of Qumran's recited liturgies.[47] It will be especially important to understand the nature of the communal and strictly hierarchical society described in the Qumran texts. Only by attempting to understand the whole communication, and not just the words devoid of social context, will we discover the multivalent meanings of the experience of liturgy for the people living at Qumran.

Liturgy, as described above, is also broader than performative speech in that the language itself need not necessarily be formally performative. In some cases the exact words themselves could have been used in other contexts. For example, many texts that could be prayed as liturgies, such as Psalms or the *Hodayot*, could also be used for instruction or study. In the same way, a recitation of the key events in the history of Israel could be educational or liturgical, and therefore carry with it additional meaning and significance.

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versity Press, 1965). This theory was further developed by John R. Searle, "A Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts," in *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 1-29.

[46] Philip L. Ravenhill, "Religious Utterances and the Theory of Speech Acts," in *Language in Religious Practice* (ed. William J. Samarin; Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 1976) 26-39. Wade T. Wheelock, although he underemphasizes the possibility for slight, yet meaningful changes in the performance of ritual, argues that ritual language differs significantly from normal speech in that its goal is to create a situation rather than to communicate information ("The Problem of Ritual Language: From Information to Situation," *JAAR* 50 (1982): 49-71).

[47] Austin, *How to Do Things with Words,* 52.

1. THE LEVELS OF MEANINGS OF LITURGY

Liturgy, as a type of behavior that combines ritual, performative speech, and often also prayer, is inherently multivalent and multivocal. With respect to Qumran we, of course, cannot access all the information that we would like about the ritual and social contexts of its liturgical practices. We can, however, endeavor to bring together as much context as possible to help us understand their liturgical practices according to the following potential layers of meaning.

First of all, we shall find meaning communicated by the content of the words themselves, which present elements of the community's ideology, identity, and/or goals and hopes.[48] Much of what has previously been done on Qumran liturgy emphasizes this level of meaning.

Second, the form of the liturgy can communicate aspects of the social organization of the community, based on the order of participation and the types of speech associated with various positions of leadership within the community.[49] The language used in the liturgy also provides models for the members' discourse.[50] It is important to keep in mind

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[48] Wheelock, "The Problem of Ritual Language," claims that ritual language, by virtue of it being already known by the speaker and the hearers, loses its communicative value. Yet, even in the case of a ritual with firmly fixed wording, this is never complete, as the participants' experience (or hearing) of the words is affected by their subsequent life experience and current state of mind. As such, the wording of the ritual is not irrelevant, but serves as reminders of the central identifying concepts of the community and its practice.

[49] This raises important questions, such as: Who is the intended audience of the words? Are the words directed to God? Or are the words directed toward either the participants themselves or to an audience? For example, the blessings and curses in the Qumran initiation ceremony are addressed to the members of the community. The form of the liturgy can also indicate for the reader the *Sitz im Leben*, providing information about the participants or the social setting of the liturgy.

[50] Csordas describes four genres of ritual speech in the setting of the prayer meeting: sharing, teaching, prayer, prophecy. In describing initiation seminars that take place which include sharing and teaching, he says "these seminars are an important setting in which new members acquired experience in using genres of ritual language, especially sharing and prayer, including glossalalic prayer" ("Genre, Motive, and Metaphor," 448). This is a good example of the initiation process teaching not only content but also a way of being in the community, and the guidelines for accepted speech of members of the community. New members learn, from such reframing, the appropriate terminology and perspective from which to describe their experience as a member of the community. This process does seem to restrict ritual speech by exerting

also that often such liturgies represent things that should be so, rather than precisely what is.

Third, liturgy can communicate as an illocutionary act. Like all acts of speaking, liturgy signifies something by its very action.[51] Speech act theory recognizes that rituals do something in the saying, rather than explain or express something in what it says. Examples from Qumran include the blessing of new initiates, the marking of the changes in the calendrical cycles, and the praising of God.

Fourth, liturgy can have a perlocutionary effect, that is, it can have a real effect on its participants and/or its audience. These effects can be both psychological and social in nature. Examples include: social cohesion, identity formation, reinforcement of authority, security and assurance of forgiveness, etc.[52]

Fifth, any particular liturgy has meaning as part of the community's ritual system. Such meanings derive from how the individual rites relate to each other within a ritual system and to the central or focalizing elements of the ritual. Also, the meaning of a liturgy may be affected by its role as part of a periodic or an occasional rite.[53] The laws and social norms pertaining to a particular situation are also significant for determining meaning.

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a kind of pressure toward conforming to the standards of speech used by the community.

[51] See Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary acts for the various ways speech can "do something": John R. Searle, *Speech Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) 59-61. Wheelock, although he perhaps underemphasizes the possibility for slight, yet meaningful changes in the performance of ritual, argues that ritual language differs significantly from normal speech in that its goal is to create a situation rather than to communicate information ("The Problem of Ritual Language").

[52] For examples see the various functionalist and neofunctionalist approaches to ritual outlined by Bell, *Ritual*, 27-33. Malinowski focused on individual, psychological states, especially fear, alleviated by rituals. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays [1925]* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1974). A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, on the other hand, emphasized the connections between social structures and views of the divine ("Religion and Society"). Rappaport and Harris discussed economic effects. Marvin Harris, "The Cultural Ecology of India's Sacred Cattle," *Current Anthropology* 7 (1966): 51-66, revised as Marvin Harris, "The Origin of the Sacred Cow," in *Cannibals and Kings: The Origins of Cultures* (New York: Random House, 1977) 147-166; Roy A. Rappaport, "Ritual Regulation of Environmental Relations among a New Guinea People [1968]," in *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion* (Richmond, Calif.: North Atlantic Books, 1979) 27-42.

[53] See above for description of Pierre Smith's systems approach.

2. PROVENANCE OF QUMRAN LITURGICAL TEXTS

An important methodological issue for the study of Qumran liturgy is determining the provenance of the texts. How do we determine which texts were composed by the Qumran community, which were adopted and perhaps also adapted by them and used in their liturgy, and which may have only been collected by them? For many years, it was assumed that every text found in one of the Qumran Caves that was not biblical or Apocryphal was considered to have been the product of the Essene (i.e. Qumran) community. For example, Dupont-Sommer reported in his 1973 volume, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, "[a text's] presence in the Essene library suggests that it was written by an Essene."[54] More recently, scholars have rejected such pan-Qumranism and have developed a number of criteria for determining if a particular text should be considered to be of Qumran origin. The criteria outlined below approach the question of provenance from a number of directions and are critical for assessing the relationship between each liturgical text and the Qumran community.

2.1. *Orthography and Language*

Emanuel Tov, in his 1986 article, recognizes a unique system of orthography and language used in many of the scrolls, including those clearly written by the community.[55] He claims that all texts written in the peculiar Qumran orthography and language (QOL) must have been copied by the scribes at Qumran. Those that were not written in QOL were therefore copied outside the community and added to the Qumran library. Tov, being interested mainly in the scribal practices, did not deal explicitly with the question of authorship. For example, the pres-

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[54] André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1973) 306.

[55] Emanuel Tov, "The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran and the Origin of These Scrolls," *Textus* 13 (1986): 31-57. See also, Tov, Emanuel, "Further Evidence for the Existence of a Qumran Scribal School," *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (eds. L. Schiffman, E. Tov and J. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000) 199-216.

ence of Biblical texts written using QOL assures us that not all texts written in Qumran orthography were also composed at Qumran. Esther Chazon applied Tov's findings to the question of sectarian provenance by asserting that the lack of any traces of Qumran scribal practice can indicate that a text was not composed at Qumran.[56] She raises the possibility, however, that what is considered Qumran orthographic practice may in fact be present on some manuscripts dated paleographically to the middle of the second century B.C.E., and therefore, pre-Qumranic.

Falk questions Tov's basic premise of discrete scribal schools, stating that there is no assurance that a text lacking traces of QOL could not be considered sectarian in composition.[57] Devora Dimant also questions any connection between orthography and sectarian provenance.[58] She cites an unpublished article by Elisha Qimron that recognizes changes in orthography found within a text, as well as the fact that 4Q264 lacks QOL even though it is a copy of the clearly Qumranic *Rule of the Community*. In light of these findings, it is possible that if Qumran had developed its own scribal system on ideological grounds, it might be expected to lapse at times within a particular text.[59] We should also be aware of possible diachronic development of such a scribal practice. For our purposes, Qumran orthography may be used cautiously as a possible indicator of the use of the text by the community, whether the members composed it or not. However, we also acknowledge that the community also conceivably used texts within their liturgical practice that were not copied by them.

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[56] Chazon, "Is *Divrei Ha-Me'orot*?" 5.

[57] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 11.

[58] Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* (eds. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 23-58.

[59] See the discussion of linguistic ideology at Qumran in William M. Schniedewind, "Linguistic Ideology in Qumran Hebrew," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 245-255; "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage," *JBL* 118 (1999): 235-252.

2.2. *Terminology*

The most popular criterion for distinguishing Qumran sectarian texts has to do with terminology. Hartmut Stegemann proposed that the Qumran authors avoided the use of the Tetragrammaton and often also אלהים in their free compositions.[60] The avoidance of the Tetragrammaton is clear in the explicitly sectarian texts, but this avoidance is not to be considered unique to Qumran.[61] Therefore, texts that use the Tetragrammaton in free composition can be considered to have originated outside Qumran, while nothing can be said with certainty of texts that avoid it. The situation with אלהים is more difficult as is evidenced by Newsom's discussions of the provenance of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.[62] The use of אלהים by itself cannot prove non-Qumranic composition. In fact, Falk considers this criterion to be wholly unreliable.[63]

Devora Dimant also uses terminology to divide the texts into two groups: those that exhibit clusters of terminology connected with the Qumran community and those that do not. The relevant terms refer to:

> (1) the practices and organization of a particular community, (2) the history of the community and its contemporary circumstances, (3) the theological and metaphysical outlook of that community, and (4) the particular biblical exegesis espoused by that community.[64]

Dimant argues that it is not enough for a text to present ideas compatible with the community, but in order to make a claim for sectarian provenance the text must express these ideas using the community's distinctive terminology.[65]

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[60] Hartmut Stegemann, "Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu den Gottesbezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten," in *Qumrân: sa piété sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot, 1978) 195-217.

[61] Notice this tendency already in Late Biblical Hebrew, especially Chronicles.

[62] In her original publication, Newsom ascribes Qumran provenance for the *Songs*, but the presence of a copy of the text found at Masada convinced her to reverse her conclusion. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 1-4; Carol Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (eds. W. Propp, B. Halpern and D. N. Freedman; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 167-187.

[63] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 11.

[64] Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," 27-28.

[65] Although Chazon concludes that the *Words of the Luminaries* is non-Qumranic in origin, she leaves open the possibility that a text that relies on a sectarian ideational

The abundance of ideological similarities with Second Temple Jewish texts such as *Jubilees* and Enoch indicates that ideas and concepts are not sufficient to connect a text directly to the Qumran community. One difficulty with a strict reliance on terminology is that even the clearly sectarian texts do not always use the same terminology for describing the same things.[66] This variability could be due to diachronic changes, or it could indicate that some texts may have been written or used for different purposes that did not require this terminology.

Stegemann also requires some evidence of the influence of the Teacher of Righteousness. This criterion is too vague to be useful. Clearly not all texts of the community refer directly to the Teacher, and beyond direct reference it is difficult to characterize specifically what would indicate his influence. It is also possible that the Teacher may have influenced other communities.

2.3. *Formal Characteristics*

Stegemann also includes texts as sectarian that evidence formal or terminological connections with other sectarian texts, or that exhibit elements of the Qumran community's structure. Texts that make allusions or references to sectarian texts can also be considered sectarian. Falk uses his analysis of the benediction formulas from the various liturgical texts as evidence for connecting the provenance of texts such as *Daily Prayers* (4Q503) and *Ritual of Purification* (4Q512), concluding that if one is Qumranic, the other must be also.[67]

In contrast, given the prominence of the 364-day solar calendar in the community, any text that does not follow such a calendar should be considered non-Qumranic in origin. Also, texts whose paleographical features predate the settlement of Qumran should not be considered Qumranic in origin.

The number of copies of a particular text found among the scrolls is certainly not a clear proof of Qumran authorship, but it may indicate

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framework but lacks clear Qumran terminology could have been authored by a Qumran member ("Is Divrei Ha-Me'orot?"14-15).

[66] For example, מורה הצדק, Teacher of Righteousness, appears in CD and the *Pesharim*, but not in 1QS.

[67] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 21-29.

the relative significance of the text to the community. Since we are interested especially in the community's liturgical practice, multiple manuscripts of a specific text may indicate that it was circulated for use by its members.

2.4. Rhetorical Polemic

Carol Newsom's important article, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran" categorizes the DSS texts based on their rhetorical character.[68] She argues that one can meaningfully call a text "sectarian" that evidences a self-conscious separation from the larger religious community. She writes:

> 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.[69]

She does not use the term "sectarian" as equivalent to "Qumranic in origin" or "written at Qumran." Rather, she uses it to describe the nature and function of the text, not precisely its provenance. One would assume that sectarian texts, by her definition, would also be Qumranic in provenance. But not all Qumranic texts must necessarily be rhetorically sectarian in nature. The Qumranites could very well have composed texts intended for their own use that expressed a different rhetorical character. Indeed, Newsom's criterion, rather than addressing the question of authorship, actually describes an element of the social function of a text within the community.

2.5. *Problems in Determining Provenance of Liturgy and Prayer*

Dimant assumes that liturgical units are "literary forms which by their very nature are not expected to employ terminology of the community."[70] She claims that, due to this limitation, it is meaningless to talk

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[68] Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature."
[69] Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature," 179.
[70] Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," 28 n. 14.

about the provenance of those texts that do not show the distinctive terminology of the community because of their genre. However, it is not certain why this should be so. It is true that liturgical traditions tend to be conservative in their use of language (e.g. Ex 15; Jud 5, etc.), but are we to assume that all liturgical material is traditional or based on ancient traditions? If the community developed any liturgical texts, should we assume that they would not use their distinctive terminology? Clearly, early Christian prayer was based on traditional models but also used terminology distinctive of its own beliefs. Must we plead ignorance regarding provenance if we do not have clear terminological ties to the community?

For the purposes of our study, those texts that are deemed to be of Qumran origin will be taken together with any liturgical texts that originated outside, but were likely used as liturgy by the community. Our main interest is in the liturgical use of the text, and any indication from other Qumran texts that such an occasion included liturgical practice. For example, the non-Qumranic collection of *Festival Prayers* will be treated as representing Qumran practice, based on the indications in the *Rule of the Community* and elsewhere that liturgical prayer was part of the community's festival practice.

3. LITURGICAL USE OF A TEXT

Once we have discussed the origins of a particular text, it is necessary to determine whether or not the text should be considered liturgical in character. Does it represent the language and structure of a liturgy practiced by the community? Or is it to be understood as literature? Chazon sets out a few characteristics of liturgical prayer:[71]

1. Specific directives within the text instructing the people to pray.
2. Titles connecting a prayer to a specific occasion or day.
3. Antiphonal refrains.
4. Concluding responses such as "Amen Amen."
5. Consistent use of first person plural references.

Falk adds to this list:[72]

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[71] Chazon, "4QDibHam: Liturgy or Literature"; Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran and their Historical Implications," 273-274.
[72] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 16.

6. Regular use of prayer formulas.
7. Calls to prayer.
8. Allusions to liturgical use within the text.
9. Formal similarity to other texts considered to be liturgical.
10. Genetic links to later liturgical texts or common Jewish practices.
11. Evidence from other sources describing the practice indicated by the text.

These explicit criteria will be useful for understanding the nature of the relationship between the texts under discussion and the actual practices that they represent. Two things are essential to keep in mind. First, we are dealing with written texts that describe liturgies and rituals, and as such, we do not have direct access to the liturgies themselves. In each case, we must work with the information available to determine the closeness of fit between the liturgical text and the rest of the evidence describing the nature of the ritual context. Second, it is possible that a text that lacks explicit liturgical characteristics could be adopted as part of a liturgy. For example, the *Shema* itself does not indicate that reading it aloud indicates participation in a ritual. In fact, according to rabbinic law it only qualifies as fulfilling a ritual obligation if it is recited at the proper time and with the proper intention. Otherwise, it is considered Torah study.[73] This once again highlights the importance of addressing the evidence for the ritual contexts in which such texts might be employed.

4. PLAN FOR THIS STUDY

The present holistic approach to Qumran liturgy requires us to turn first to a sketch of the social and ideological structures of the Qumran community (Chapter 1). Having established certain conclusions about the nature of the community, we proceed to discuss the variety of liturgical contexts found in the scrolls. Chapters 3-8 will each treat one type of liturgy based on the six categories delineated by the work of Catherine Bell.[74] The categories are as follows: Rites of Passage

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[73] *m. Ber.* 1:2.
[74] Bell, *Ritual*, 93-137. We have also followed the preliminary survey of Qumran ritual according to these categories in Rob Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran," *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131-152.

(Chapter 2), Feasts and Fasts (Chapter 3), Calendrical Rites (Chapter 4), Rites of Affliction (Chapter 5), Political Rites (Chapter 6), and Rites of Communion (Chapter 7).[75] Within each of these chapters, we will discuss the textual and archaeological evidence relating to each type of ritual before turning to the liturgical texts themselves. For each liturgical context, we will provide a description of the liturgical practice (who is involved, what is done, etc.) followed by a discussion of the significance of the practice in the life of the community. Our study will conclude with a short discussion of the implications of the findings (Conclusion).[76]

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[75] Given the social complexity of these rituals, we shall see that some liturgies show elements of a number of these categories.

[76] The Hebrew transcriptions of the Qumran texts cited throughout are taken from the official DJD series. Unless otherwise noted, all translations of these Hebrew texts are my own.

CHAPTER ONE

COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

This book investigates Qumran's liturgical practices in the context of its social and ideological reality. This chapter undertakes to provide a brief sketch of that Qumran community, that is, of the people who actually participated in the liturgies to be discussed in the chapters that follow. It is not possible to attain the degree of certainty we would like regarding the community's structures because of the limited and fragmentary nature of the evidence.[1] However, we are fortunate to have significantly more relevant information for this task than have others who have discussed the social contexts of other corpora of early Jewish liturgy, such as the Psalms or rabbinic liturgy. To structure our discussion of the Qumran community, we shall draw especially on the sociological framework developed by Mary Douglas for classifying societies for the purpose of comparison, based on concern with boundaries and with internal structures tying together individuals within the society.[2]

Douglas defines two continua along which any society can be plotted. The first, called group, describes the degree to which a community erects a strict boundary that separates itself from the outside world and exerts pressure on those inside to conform to social norms. The second, called grid, describes the degree to which a community develops symbolic structures and rules that limit how people interact with one another within the community.[3] This framework distinguishes four

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[1] It should be stated here that a significantly different assessment of the nature of the Qumran community would most certainly lead to different conclusions about the community's liturgical practice. This chapter lays out my assessment of the evidence regarding the community, which will serve as the foundation for the rest of the study.

[2] Obviously this is not the only way to organize such a social description of the community. I have chosen to use Douglas here because I have found that her work provides a useful framework for understanding the interrelationships between the community's social structures and boundaries and its highly developed system of halakhah and ideology.

[3] Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, 57-60. This reference is taken from the 1970 edition of this work. In her revised edition of this work (3d ed. repr., London: Routledge,

distinct societal types: strong group-strong grid, strong group-weak grid, weak group-strong grid, and weak group-weak grid.

Douglas uses these types to describe and compare various aspects of religious thought and practice in different societies. She concludes that ritual density – the amount of ritual present in a society – is correlated especially with strong group, and to a lesser extent to strong grid. The more important membership within the community is, the more ritual there is. Group and grid are also correlated with a society's attitudes toward the body, identity, and the nature of the cosmos, as well as purity and impurity. Strong group is also found to be associated with highly formalized speech and gestures, even in cases of a loss of control such as crying, spitting, or nursing a child. Table 1 presents Douglas's conclusions about the nature of strong group – strong grid societies.

Table 1. Mary Douglas's Typological Model[4]
Strong Group and Strong Grid

> *Purity*: strong concern for purity; well-defined purification rituals; purity rules that define and maintain social structure
> *Ritual*: a ritualistic society; ritual expresses the internal classification system
> *Magic*: belief in the efficacy of symbolic behavior
> *Personal Identity*: a matter of internalizing clearly articulated social roles; individual subservient to but not in conflict with society
> *Body*: tightly controlled but a symbol of life
> *Trance*: dangerous; either not allowed or tightly controlled and limited to a group of experts
> *Sin*: the violation of formal rules; focus on behavior instead of internal state of being; ritual (magic) efficacious in counteracting sin
> *Cosmology*: anthropomorphic; non-dualistic; the universe is just and non-capricious.
> *Suffering and Misfortune*: the result of automatic punishment for the violation of formal rules; part of the divine economy

According to this group-grid model, the Qumran community was a

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2003), Douglas revises these definitions somewhat. However, I find her initial descriptions more useful, and will therefore follow them.

[4] Taken from the charts in Sheldon R. Isenberg and Dennis E. Owen, "Bodies, Natural and Contrived: The Work of Mary Douglas," *RelSRev* 3 (1977): 7-8 and Bell, *Ritual*, 45, based on Douglas, *Natural Symbols*. For a slightly modified and developed version, see also Malina, *Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology*, 14-15.

strong group society that maintained strict boundaries and separation from all non-members. The very fact that the community referred to themselves as the Yahad, which means 'united' or 'together,' highlights their strong group orientation. This community also held themselves to a high standard of purity, both ritual and moral. They were the pious elite who separated themselves, both physically and ideologically, from the world of wickedness, in order to live according to God's revealed law. Their texts indicate a strong embeddedness and a sense of communal obligation, together with a recognition that the world outside failed to live up to the ideals prescribed by God. Inside the community, members were forced to conform to the strictly hierarchical social order, led by the priests.[5] Upon entrance into the community, and every year thereafter, all members were ranked according to their knowledge and their deeds.[6] These rankings determined where members could sit and how and when they might participate whenever they gathered for communal meals or assemblies.[7] As we would expect from such a strong group-oriented society, the Yahad's religious life was highly ritualized and controlled.

The Yahad was also highly regulated by a strong grid of symbolic constructions. The life of the community was driven by divinely ordained laws that limited the behavior of its members. They were primarily concerned with purity, holiness, and living a life of perfect righteousness. This life entailed adherence to the pure solar calendar, as well as the practice of regular and proper liturgical prayer, according to God's eternal precepts revealed to the community. They committed to be prepared for the day when God would come and the war to wipe wickedness off the face of the earth would begin, restoring them to their place of prominence in the Temple. This preparation required perfection of way, obedience to the strict hierarchy of the community, and continued vigilance in the areas of calendar, purity, study of the law, and communal identity.

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[5] The precise designation of the priests varies within the texts: Sons of Aaron (1QS 9:7); Sons of Zadok (1QS 5:2, 9). These references to the Sons of Zadok are lacking from some of the Cave 4 manuscripts of the *Rule of the Community*.

[6] 1QS 2:19-23; 5:20-24. See Chapter 2 – Rites of Passage for a complete description of these occasions.

[7] See Chapter 3 – Feasts and Fasts. If someone wished to speak in the assembly before their turn had come, he had to be approved by the membership (1QS 6:11-13).

1. GROUP IDENTITY

Found among the texts discovered in the Qumran Caves – or in the case of the *Damascus Document* (CD) also in a medieval manuscript from the Cairo Genizah – were a number of legal texts that, despite their similarities, do not represent the same social realities. The *Temple Scroll* (11QT[a]) and 4QMMT are generally considered to describe systems that served as forerunners to the Qumran community.[8] The *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa) and the *War Scroll* (1QM) explicitly claim to apply especially to the future messianic age.[9] The texts most relevant for our discussion of the Qumran community's social reality are the *Rule of the Community* (1QS and 4QS[a-j])[10] and the *Damascus*

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[8] For the *Temple Scroll* see, Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll, Three Volumes and Supplement* (Jerusalem, 1983); Elisha Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Judean Desert Studies; Beer Sheva - Jerusalem: Ben Gurion University of the Negev Press and Israel Exploration Society, 1996); Devorah Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature: The Temple Scroll," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. Stone; Assen-Philadelphia, 1984) 526-530; Sidnie White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000). For 4QMMT see Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Place of 4QMMT in the Corpus of the Qumran Manuscripts," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (eds. John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein; SBL Symposium Series 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 81-98; John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein, eds, *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (SBL Symposium Series 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

[9] Even though they are primarily descriptions of what will be in the future, these texts do shed some light on the real life situations of the community. For 1QSa see Charlotte Hempel, "The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996) 253-269; Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (CCJCW 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For the *War Scroll* see Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (trans. Batya and Chaim Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[10] William H. Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes," *BASOR* (1951): 1-60; Matthias Klinghardt, "The Manual of Discipline in the Light of Statutes of Hellenistic Associations," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (eds. Michael O. Wise et al.; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994) 251-270; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*; A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966); Licht, Jacob, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll of the Wilderness of Judaea (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965); Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997); P. Wernberg-Møller, *The*

Document (CD and 4QD[a-h]).[11] These two texts have served as the foundation for all studies of the nature of the Qumran community.[12] However, despite the terminological and ideological similarities between them, they also present some clear discrepancies regarding social organization.[13]

Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction (STDJ 1; Leiden: Brill, 1957).

[11] Magen Broshi, ed. *The Damascus Document Reconsidered.* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992); Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[12] For discussion of the differences between the Cave 1 and Cave 4 versions of the *Rule of the Community* see Metso, *Textual Development*; and Markus Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community (1QS/4QS)," *RQ* 18 (1998): 541-560. Klinghardt also noted that many of the statutes of Hellenistic associations showed the similar literary non-uniformity, which resulted from changes being made through the years. Some of the statutes in Hellenistic associations were annual and so needed to be rewritten again each year, while others were replacements or enlargements of earlier stages of the statutes because of changes made in the statutes themselves. This does not explain how texts such as 4QS[b,d] could represent earlier stages of the text but have been copied after 1QS. He claims that 1QS represents one synagogue community, while the 4QS manuscripts represent other nearby and similar communities. Klinghardt, "Manual of Discipline," 259.

[13] The differences between the two texts have been often discussed. See Sidnie White Crawford, "Not According to Rule: Women, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (eds. Shalom M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 127-150; Charlotte Hempel, "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter Flint and James VanderKam; Vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 67-97; Hartmut Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes - Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (eds. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11 1; Leiden/New York/Koln: Brill, 1992) 83-166; Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin, 1997). Some scholars have explained these differences as a process of a development within one community over time. For example, the Gröningen hypothesis sees the *Damascus Document* as representing an Essene community that served as the parent to the Qumran community described in 1QS. Florentino García Martínez, and A. S. van der Woude, "A 'Gröningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RQ* 14 (1990): 521-541. Kruse and Regev have both argued for the reverse chronology: Colin G. Kruse, "Community Functionaries in the Rule of the Community and the *Damascus Document* (A Test of Chronological Relationships)," *RQ* 10 (1981): 543-551; Eyal Regev, "The Yahad and the *Damascus Covenant*: Structure, Organization and Relationship," *RQ* 82 (2003): 233-262. However, both texts have been dated initially to the beginning of the first century B.C.E. and show evidence of development in their various manuscripts, which indicates that they likely represent concurrent development of separate, though related, social realities.

For example, the *Rule of the Community* describes a strictly bounded and separated community, and lacks any mention of women or family life, or participation in the Temple sacrifices. The *Damascus Document*, in contrast, contains sections that prescribe regulations for those living in camps in various cities and towns throughout the region, and also presumes both the presence of women (CD 7:6b-9a; 15:5-6; 16:10-12; 11:11; 12:1-2; 14:12-16)[14] and participation in sacrifices (CD 9:13-14; 11:17-21; 16:13; 4Q266 frg. 6 2).[15] The *Rule of the Community* describes the sharing of property (1QS 1:11b; 3:2; 5:17, 19-20, 22), while the *Damascus Document* implies private ownership (CD 9:10b-16a; 13:15-16; 14:12-13). The two texts also present slightly different procedures for admission (1QS 6:13b-23; CD 15:5b-16:1a) and use different terminology for their leaders, and for the group itself.[16]

In order to focus on a more controlled social environment, this study is concerned with the community that lived at Khirbet Qumran in particular. Therefore, we will rely on the *Rule of the Community*,

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Unfortunately the precise relationship between them, and the degree and type of interaction between them remains somewhat unclear.

[14] For discussion of the possible presence of women, see Crawford, "Not According to Rule," 127-150; Philip R. Davies, and Joan E. Taylor, "On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996): 223-235; Eileen Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter Flint and James VanderKam; Vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 117-144; Eileen M. Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (eds. Michael O. Wise et al.; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994) 115-131; John Strugnell, "More on Wives and Marriage in the Dead Sea Scrolls: (*4Q416* 2 ii 21 [Cf. *1 Thess* 4:4] and *4QMMT* B)," *RQ* 17 (1994): 537-547; Joseph E. Zias, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?" *DSD* 7 (2000): 220-253.

[15] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (Qumran) Scrolls," *HTR* 46 (1953): 141-160; Robert A. Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics: Sacrifice and the Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 90-112; Hermann Lichtenberger, "Atonement and Sacrifice in the Qumran Community," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism, Vol. 2* (ed. William Scott Green; Brown Judaic Studies 9; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1980) 159-171; Eileen Schuller, "Worship, Temple, and Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Judaism in Late Antiquity, Part 5 1; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 125-143.

[16] See especially Hempel, "Community Structures"; and Sarianna Metso, "Qumran Community Structure and Terminology as Theological Statement," *RQ* 20 (2002): 429-444.

rather than the *Damascus Document*, as the primary witness to this community.[17] We shall use the community's self-designation, "Yahad," to indicate this narrow community, which is more clearly defined and more accessible to us than the communities living in the camps.[18] Also, by focusing on the Yahad, we can use the archaeological evidence from the Qumran site, when relevant, to provide further context for the practices described in the texts.[19] However, since we recognize the similarities of thought and goals of the two parts of the movement, we will, in some cases, use material from the *Damascus Document* to support our description of the ideology of the Qumran community. The connection between the Yahad, as described in the *Rule of the Com-*

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[17] Only rarely will we bring in evidence from the works of Josephus and Philo concerning the Essenes and the Therapeutae. These descriptions show sufficient similarities with those in the Qumran texts to support some identification with the Essenes. We must be cautious, however, about relying too heavily on them, given that they were written by outsiders and for outsiders. For a clear elaboration of the evidence for and against an Essene identification see James VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 71-98. For a challenge to the connection between the scrolls and the Essenes see Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (New York: Scribner, 1995). For modifications to the Essene Hypothesis, see Gabrielle Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); Lawrence Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Doubleday, 1994); and Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes."

[18] This is in contrast to others who use Yahad to describe the entire movement. See John J. Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (eds. Shalom M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 97-111; Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes"; Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and Christianity," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (eds. Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam; CJA 10; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 3-24. For this broader entity, I propose to use עדה or congregation, a term that appears 12 times in CD and 23 times in 1QSa. In contrast, this term appears only twice in 1QS and in neither case is it self-referential. 1QS 5:1 requires separation from the congregation of wickedness and 1QS 5:20 advocates uniting with the congregation of holiness.

[19] For a description of the archaeology of the Qumran site as the community center for the religious group described in the scrolls, see Jodi Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002). In this work, she discusses and dismisses the various alternate theories of the site as a villa, a manor house, or a commercial entrepôt.

munity, and the various liturgical practices represented by the scrolls will be the primary task addressed by this book.[20]

1.1. *Self-designations*

The primary defining characteristic of the Qumran community was its emphasis on the communal life. It is no surprise, therefore, that the members selected a self-designation, יחד Yahad, that not only expressed their unity, but also distinguished them from everyone outside their community. Outside of Qumran, the term is most often read as an adverb indicating unity and togetherness.[21] The use of the term Yahad, which occurs some sixty times in the *Rule of the Community* alone, as a designation for the community was unique to Qumran. Comparisons have, however, been made with the use of the Greek term *koinon* or *koinonia*, especially in the New Testament, to indicate a group or an ideal state of relationship – communion and community (1 Cor 1:9; Acts 2:42; 2 Cor 13:13; 1 John 1:3, 6, 7).[22] The term, Yahad, was much more than a simple name for their community, it was central to their sense of purpose. This is made clear by their predilection for using the term as an adverb, even when not referring to the community.[23]

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[20] It will be important to keep in mind the difficulty inherent in attempting to describe the real-life community on the basis of its foundational texts. We must assume that the texts present an idealized version of the reality. This task is made all the more complicated given the complex, composite nature of the *Rule of the Community* in its various manuscripts, and the various attempts to understand its diachronic development.

[21] Another noun from this same root, היחיד , meaning either only one or beloved one, is found in CD 20:1, 14, and 32 in phrases that have led scholars to correct it to היחד. This confusion may also indicate a connotation of chosenness to the term.

[22] Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 2; Fribourg-Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986) 13-14. See also B. W. Dombrowski, "*Hayahad in 1QS and to koinon*. An Instance of Early Greek and Jewish Synthesis," *HTR* 59 (1966): 293-307; Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Qumran *yahad* - A Biblical Noun," in *The World of Qumran from Within* (ed. Shemaryahu Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 53-60; and Metso, "Qumran Community Structure," 431-432.

[23] Falk claims "this is due, in part at least, to the concern for union in activity and with the angelic community" (*Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 25 n. 25).

Another prominent community self-designation was עצה, which was used to mean either counsel or council.[24] In the first case, the term fit into the complex of values relating to knowledge, wisdom and understanding. In the second, it was used as part of two self-designations: עצת היחד, the council of the Yahad, and עצת אל, the council of God.[25] These two meanings are not independent, but rather show that the Yahad considered itself to be the community that could claim to have access to God's perfect wisdom. They were a community who lived according to divine counsel and who were counted among the divine council.

The community's rhetoric regarding outsiders reinforced its sense of self as a close-knit community, sharing common purpose with God. Members were defined not only by their place within the Yahad, but also by their rejection of the dominion of wickedness that was all around them. The rhetoric associated with the initiation of new members in 1QS 1:1-15 and 1QS 5-6 is dominated by boundary language.[26] Those who wanted to join the Yahad were taught to view the world as made up of two kinds of people, the sons of light ('us') and the sons of darkness ('them').[27] Joining the Yahad meant loving only the ones that God loved (the sons of light) and hating the ones God despised (the sons of darkness).[28] If one successfully separated from the men of wickedness, he could be united with the Yahad in Torah and wealth, and could enter the waters of purification to attain the purity of the

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[24] In biblical usage, this term only refers to counsel. However the related term, סוד, which is also found in 1QS, carries both connotations both in Qumran and in the Bible.

[25] עצת היחד appears 28 times in 1QS, although there is some confusion whether the entire Yahad is indicated, or a smaller body of leaders. See 1QS 8:1, which explicitly describes the council as a group of three priests and 12 laymen. See Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Duodecimal Courts of Qumran, Revelation, and the Sanhedrin," *JBL* 95 (1976): 59-78; Regev, "The Yahad and the *Damascus Covenant*." עצת אל appears in 1QS 1:8, 10; and 3:6 as a designation for the members of the community, perhaps with the connotation of standing in conjunction with those servants of God in the angelic realm.

[26] For a thorough discussion of this ceremony see Chapter 2 – Rites of Passage.

[27] This dualistic view of humanity is frequent, although it sometimes uses different designations for the two sides. The doctrine of two spirits extends this dualism to the cosmic realm, indicating that humans are actually governed by the warring spirits of truth and wickedness. Our concern here is not the dualism itself, but that it is enacted in the social boundaries erected by the Yahad.

[28] 1QS 1:4, 9.

men of holiness.[29] Even the community leader designated the *Maskil*, or sage, whose role within the Yahad included instruction of new members, was required to keep his knowledge hidden from those outsiders. He could not even enter into debate with them or rebuke them for their failure to live according to proper understanding of God's laws.[30]

The relationship between the members of the Yahad and those represented by the *Damascus Document* as living in the camps, is much more difficult to determine. The evidence shows that the Qumran community preserved at least ten different manuscripts of the *Damascus Document* ranging in date from the end of the second century B.C.E. through the middle of the first century C.E.[31] This range, which matches closely the dates for the extant *Rule of the Community* texts, indicates that the relationship between the two was continual and congenial. Contact between these two social groups could have been carried out in both directions. Members of the Yahad may have ventured out to serve as priests among the meetings of those in the camps, and/or members from the camps came to assemble at Qumran on some specific occasions.

The most likely occasion for members of the broader movement to come to Qumran would be to participate in an annual assembly, probably associated with the covenant renewal ceremony in the third month.[32] Such an assembly may be described in 1QSa 1:25-27:

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ואם תעודה תהיה לכול הקהל למשפט או

לעצת יחד או לתעודת מלחמה וקדשום שלושת ימים להיות כול הבא

עת[יד ל]הנה אלה ה<א>נשים הנקראים לעצת היחד

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[29] 1QS 5:1-2, 10. See also 1QS 2:25-3:6; 7:22-23. Members could have no contact whatsoever with someone who refused to enter the community or with former members who had backslidden and left the Yahad.

[30] 1QS 9:16-17. For more on the *Maskil* see Hempel, "Community Structures"; Carol A. Newsom, "The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the *Maskîl*," in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (eds. John G. Gammie and Leo G. Perdue; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 381-382.

[31] For a survey of the *Damascus Document* manuscripts see Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) 21-23. For the *Rule of the Community* texts see Metso, *Textual Development*.

[32] Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 44-45.

> And when the whole assembly is summoned for judgment, or for a council of the Yahad, or summoned for war, they shall sanctify them for three days that everyone who comes may be prepar[ed for the coun]cil. These are the men who shall be called to the council of the Yahad...[33]

This text identifies who from among the congregation can go, when summoned, to an assembly led by the council of the Yahad. In order to go, one must be a wise man of the congregation, learned and intelligent, a leader, judge, or officer. "These are the men of renown, the members of the assembly summoned to the council of the community in Israel before the sons of Zadok, the priests" (1QSa 2:1-3). Here we have evidence of the relationship between the congregation and the council of the Yahad. The council is associated with the Yahad, and members of the congregation are summoned to appear before the council.

1.2. *Women*

One of the ongoing debates regarding the social boundaries of the Yahad is the question of the presence of women among the membership.[34] As we have mentioned, the *Rule of the Community* contains no

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[33] The similarities between 1QSa and CD have long been discussed. Most frequently, however, the relevance of this text for understanding the present social reality of the congregation is questioned because of its explicit self-designation as a rule for the last days. John Collins argues an intermediate position that 1QSa describes the congregation in the messianic age, which is at least in part still in the future since there is no messiah now ("Forms of Community," 99). As such the text longs for the time that the whole congregation will be like the sect. In saying this he recognizes that there is some reality behind this text, although he seems to be saying that it represents the Yahad today with the hopes that the whole congregation will one day be like this. Charlotte Hempel has argued that the central section of 1QSa (1:6-2:11a) was actually an early earthly Essene text that represented the congregation (*Edah*) also described by the *Damascus Document* ("The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa"). This section was later taken into 1QSa and submitted to the same kind of Zadokite recension that is found in 1QS. Materials relating to the end of days, or to the Messianic age were then added as well. Hempel argues that this middle section of legislation represents real legislation associated with the congregation.

[34] For recent surveys of the evidence see Crawford, "Not According to Rule"; Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Flint and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*; Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Wise et al., *Methods of Interpretation*. Part of the difficulty surrounding this issue stems from Josephus's primary description of the Essenes as celibate, with recognition that there are some who also marry (*War* 2.120, 160-161).

references to women or marriage at all. However, such references do occur in a number of legal texts connected to the broader movement, such as the *Damascus Document*, the *Temple Scroll*, 4QMMT, and the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa). These texts legislate the age one can marry and the kinds of marriages that were permitted or prohibited, and they do not prohibit or discourage marriage.[35] Women are not listed among the categories of people who were prohibited from entering the congregation because of some defect or affliction.[36] In fact, women and children are explicitly mentioned in a few of the liturgical texts (e.g. 4Q502, 4Q512, 4Q414), and as attending the assembly to hear the laws read to them, and to receive instruction (1QSa 1:4-5).[37]

At the same time, purity concerns limited the interaction between men and women. All those who were impure had to be physically separated, not only from the pure, but also from each other. Chief among the causes for such impurity were sexual discharge, menstruation, and childbirth. Areas outside each city were to be designated for the menstruating women, who were to be kept apart from men and women who had a genital discharge.[38] According to CD 12:1-2 and 11QT[a] 45:11-12, sexual behavior was prohibited from the city of the sanctuary altogether. The *War Scroll* (1QM 7:3-4) also restricted women and children from the war camp in order to prevent impurity due to sexual intercourse.

Based on the evidence from the scrolls, the community did not have an ideological agenda of celibacy.[39] Women were certainly part of the communities in the camps. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether women could have been considered members of the Yahad. The fact that women are mentioned in connection with purification liturgies does not necessarily indicate that they could achieve full

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[35] For the marriage age, see 1QSa 1:10. For acceptable marriage choices, see CD 5:9-11; 4Q271 frg. 3:7-15; 4Q266 frg. 9 iii 4-7; 11QT[a] 16:9; 57:17-19; 4QMMT frgs. 80-82; 4Q513 frg. 2 ii; 4Q251 frg. 7.

[36] 1QSa 2:3-10; 4Q266 frg. 8 i 6-9. Notice that 4Q266 includes minors in this list.

[37] The remains of women and children were found in one of the peripheral cemeteries around the Qumran site, although their date and relevance to the Yahad have been disputed. See Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 163-187; Zias, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy," 163-187.

[38] 11QT[a] 48:14-17; 4Q274 frg. 1 i 6.

[39] Strugnell argues that the references to celibacy and the harsh language concerning the nature of women in Philo and Josephus can be understood as a way of explaining purity concerns to their Greek readers ("More on Wives," 547).

membership.[40] Access to the water for purification from menstrual im-
purity has no bearing whatsoever on the potential for access to the wa-
ter of purification associated with initiation into the Yahad. However,
it may indicate some interaction and involvement with women. The
presence of women at the assembly in the *Rule of the Congregation* for
the last days also indicates that they could imagine women among
them. [41] However, it seems that their overwhelming purity concerns
during the dominion of Belial would have made it pragmatically diffi-
cult for them to accept women to be ranked among the members of the
Yahad.[42] In addition to purity concerns, the priestly identity of the Ya-
had, and their self-conception as representing "a house of holiness,"
mitigates against the possibility that women were counted as members.

1.3. *Corporate Identity and Hierarchy*

One of the hallmarks of strong group societies is a system that exerts
extensive pressure on its membership to conform to the group's expec-
tations. The Yahad employed just such a system of communal pres-
sure. The initiation process for new members was marked by the grad-
ual relinquishing of one's assets into the control of the community.
According to 1QS 1:11-12, וכול הנדבים לאמתו יביאו כול דעתם וכוחם
והונם ביחד אל "all who freely offer themselves for God's truth shall
bring their knowledge, strength, and wealth into the Yahad of God." If
they did so, the text continues, their knowledge would be purified,
their strength would be used to perfect their way, and all their wealth
would be used according to God's righteous counsel. Similarly, 1QS
6:18-23 describes the gradual transfer of the initiate's property into the

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[40] Contrary to Crawford, "Not According to Rule," 147. It also does not indicate
that women participated in other liturgical practices such as daily prayers. Schuller's
methodological point, however, is well taken, that if women were present, then general
texts that do not explicitly mention women would also be relevant to a discussion of
women's lives.

[41] There is a debate whether women could choose to join, or were only accepted
when their husbands joined. See Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Flint
and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 129-130; and Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectar-
ian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Jacob Neusner; Brown Judaic Studies; Chico,
CA: Scholars Press, 1983) 57.

[42] Crawford discusses the role of purity in limiting the involvement of women at
Qumran ("Not According to Rule," 148).

stores of the community. First, the property is turned over and re-corded, but not mixed together with the community's collective pos-sessions. Then, once the initiate achieved full member status, his prop-erty was merged and he offered his counsel and judgment within the assemblies of the membership.[43] It is essential to recognize that the expectation that the members shared their property extended to what might be called their intellectual property: their knowledge, counsel, and judgment.[44]

The community was also characterized by pressure to have all its members recognize their primary identity, not as individuals, but as a part of the corporate body of the Yahad.[45] 1QS 6:2-3, 7-8 indicates that their regular daily activities, such as eating, praying, taking counsel, reading the laws, and studying were to be carried out together.[46] These activities were not based on communal equality, but rather adhered to an established social hierarchy. Each year during the covenant cere-mony, the members were examined and ranked, according to their spiritual excellence and their behavior during the previous year.[47] These annual examinations required that members were careful to live up to what was expected of them in order not to be demoted the next time around. Members were also expected to rebuke one another and bring infractions to the attention of the community, although there were controls in place to keep people from bringing forth mean-spirited rebukes in order to get ahead.[48]

Once the rankings were established for the year, they governed all aspects of their communal life. Those of lower rank were expected to

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[43] Weinfeld claims that turning over of the initiate's property during the initiation process was comparable to the entrance payment found in the Hellenistic associations (*The Organizational Pattern*, 23).

[44] For more on knowledge as a commodity required by the community, see Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 73-75.

[45] Newsom recognized that the person who is cursed in 1QS 2:11-18 may have been cursed primarily because he was speaking to himself. That is he was attempting to maintain his own individual view about what he could or could not do. The Yahad could not tolerate someone like this in their midst (*Self as Symbolic Space,* 121).

[46] The adverb translated here as 'together' is יחד, which obviously has connotations associating these practices with the membership of the Yahad.

[47] 1QS 2:19-25; 5:23-24. Priests were always given priority and ranked first. Every gathering must also contain, and be presided over, by a priest.

[48] 1QS 5:25-6:1. See also Chapter 2 – Rites of Passage.

obey their superiors in all situations.[49] When the entire community
gathered for meals or for an assembly, the members sat in order of
their ranking and were allowed to speak only when their turns came.[50]
When community decisions were being made, those of highest rank
were first to speak, thereby imposing an exceptional amount of pres-
sure on those of lower rank to follow their decisions.[51] Strict adherence
to this hierarchical procedure would have assured that those at the top
stayed at the top. The discipline and hierarchy that dominated the Ya-
had's life constantly exerted pressures on the members to identify first
and foremost as members, and to conform to the will of the commu-
nity. It is hard to imagine a society with a stronger group orientation.

2. GRID OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUCTURES

The Yahad's strong group orientation was consistently reinforced by a
strong grid: an ideological framework that gave authority and meaning
to their common life. According to Douglas, communities character-
ized as having a strong grid exhibit a highly developed system of rules
and an ideological system that reinforces the importance of that sys-
tem. It is not difficult to recognize that the Qumran community was
first and foremost a community of rules. They distinguished them-
selves from the leaders in Jerusalem based on their proper interpreta-
tion of God's laws.[52] They were the "doers of the Torah," i.e. those
who actually lived according to God's commands.[53] In addition to the
interpretation of God's laws from the Torah, the community produced
numerous texts that delineated the rules governing community life.[54]

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[49] 1QS 5:23; 6:2. The latter explicitly requires obedience in matters of work and
wealth.

[50] 1QS 6:4-5, 8-13.

[51] Compare the rabbinic model where, in judgments of capital cases, those at the
bottom of the hierarchy were first to speak in order to relieve them of the influence of
those at the top.

[52] 4QMMT preserves a letter sent from the community (or its forerunners) to the
Temple leadership in Jerusalem, attempting to persuade them to restore the sanctity of
the Temple by abiding by the rules according to their interpretation.

[53] 1QpHab 7:11. The introductions of both major sections of 1QS begin with simi-
lar exhortations to live according to all that God has commanded (1QS 1:2; 5:1).

[54] In addition to the so-called *Halakhic Letter* (4QMMT) and the penal codes of the
Rule of the Community and the *Damascus Document*, we also have rule texts associ-

These rules, though not quite equal in weight with the revealed laws of the Torah, הנגלות, were considered הנסתרות, the hidden rules made known only to them.[55] Absolute obedience to all the laws of the community was required from all who wanted to be a part of the Yahad.[56]

2.1. *Righteousness and Holiness*

The expectations for members of the Yahad went beyond the explicit laws spelled out in the legal texts. Members were expected to live up to the highest ideals for righteousness as expressed in Mic 6:8. In this text, Micah explains that God's expectations and requirements have been fully disclosed to humanity: כי־אם עשות משפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת עם־אלוהיך "Only doing justice and loving kindness, and walking modestly with your God."[57] The Qumran community seems to have understood Micah to be proclaiming what God expects regarding the proper functioning of the community.[58]

Why was it necessary for the Yahad to live up to such a high standard of righteousness? The answer may be found in their self-conception as a priestly community whose attention to holiness had significant consequences for the atonement of the people and the land. Hannah Harrington has described Qumran religious law as a pursuit of

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ated with purity (4Q274, 4Q276-278), eschatological rules (1QSa, 1QM and its parallels, 4Q285), and miscellaneous rules (4Q265, 4Q159, 4Q513-514, 4Q251).

[55] Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 15.

[56] "Election is reinterpreted so that being chosen means being obliged to live according to the law and being devoted to the study of Torah...What 1QS seems to imply is that the covenant is built on a timeless legal principle, rather than a relationship between God and humanity in past, present and future." Ellen Juhl Christiansen, *The Covenant in Judaism and Paul: A Study of Ritual Boundaries as Identity Markers* (AGJU 27; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 158.

[57] The phrase, הצנע לכת, traditionally translated "walk modestly" appears in the Bible only in Mic 6:8, yet it is quoted three times in 1QS. There remains no consensus on the meaning of the root צנע. The ancient versions also disagree. Koehler-Baumgartner provides possibilities including: 'be ready,' 'be careful or cautious,' 'attentive,' 'clear,' or 'prudent'. The concepts of modesty and humility come from a possible connection with צנועה or Jewish Aramaic צניעא meaning 'modest,' 'chaste,' or 'clear.'

[58] Allusions to Micah's description play a central role in a number of key texts emphasizing the importance of righteousness over and above the legal formulations. See 1QS 2:24-25; 4:5; 5:3-4; 8:1-4; 10:25-26.

perfect holiness.[59] She lists more than ten different phrases used as self-designations by the community that refer to holiness.[60] She proposes that something like a "mission statement" for the members of the community can be found in 1QSb 4:28, which reads נזר [וישימכה] לקודש קודשים כיא [אתה תק]דש לו ותכבד שמו וקודשיו "[May you] dedicate yourself for the holy of holies, for [you are made] holy for him, and shall glorify his name and his holiness."[61] Each member of the community was responsible to ensure that he was diligent in maintaining his own holy character in order that the community as a whole would remain worthy of the holy of holies. This was done, first and foremost, by strict obedience to divine laws and to the interpretations of the community.

If such perfect holiness was maintained at the time when God came to judge the world, the community would be prepared to take up its priestly role of blessing and granting atonement to the chosen, and of judging the wicked. When the council of the Yahad was truly established they would be "an eternal planting, a house of holiness for Israel and a council of the holy of holies for Aaron, witnesses of truth for justice and for the chosen ones of favor to atone for the earth and to repay the wicked their lot" (1QS 8:5-7). When the members of the community would "walk with all measure of truth and the pattern of time" (1QS 8:4) they would succeed in making the community holy. They believed that doing the right things at the right time, according the laws of the community, achieved holiness, which was capable of bringing atonement to the land and judgment for the wicked.[62]

Not only were the members of the Yahad expected to remain holy; they were in fact required to be perfect. The word תמים, perfect or blameless, is used ten times in 1QS and five times in CD, describing the members of the community. The legal system of the community

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[59] Hannah K. Harrington, "The Halakah and Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 74-89.

[60] Harrington, "Halakah and Religion," 81. Some examples include: "a house of holiness for Israel and a council of holy of holies for Aaron" (1QS 8:5), "house of holiness for Aaron" (1QS 9:6), "holy assembly" or "holy community" or "holy council" (4Q286 frg. 1a iib 4; 1QHᵃ 15:10; 1QSa 1:9, 2:9), etc.

[61] Harrington, "Halakah and Religion," 81. Her translation.

[62] See also the connection between holiness and atonement and purification in 1QS 9:3-6 and 1QS 3:6-12.

enforced this demand by expelling anyone who deliberately or defiantly transgressed the laws of Moses or the laws of the community.[63] Even those who sinned inadvertently were temporarily removed from their rank and returned to the status of an initiate.[64] Perfection was not just an ideal to be strived for by the members of the community, it was the law. The person's intention was relevant in determining whether he could ever return, but regardless of intention, the person lost his status as a member of the community. Thus, those who were members of the community could truthfully be called "the men of perfect holiness" (1QS 8:20).[65]

1QS 9:3-4 continues: בהיות אלה בישראל ככול התכונים האלה ליסוד רוח קודש לאמת עולם לכפר על אשמת פשע "When those in Israel (live) according to all these norms in order to establish a spirit of holiness for eternal truth, they shall atone for guilt of wickedness and for sinful unfaithfulness." Given that this description of atonement follows on the description that emphasized the perfection of the members who did not sin even once (even inadvertently), we should imagine that they are not atoning for their own transgressions. Instead, the community's perfect holiness allows them to act as priests to atone for the sin of the people, and for the land itself.

2.2. *Calendar*

The Yahad, as a pious community with exclusive membership, distinguished itself from other Jewish groups through the use of a different calendar. Most scholars call upon the issue of the calendar to explain, at least in part, the origins of the Qumran community and their antago-

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[63] 1QS 5:12 and 1QS 8:16-18 prohibit deliberate sinners from participating in initiation. 1QS 8:20-23 describes the expulsion of a member who sins deliberately.

[64] See 1QS 9:1. For more on the practice of rebuking and expelling those who failed to live up to this perfection, see Chapter 2 – Rites of Passage.

[65] Notice also that David is called "perfect in all his ways" in 11QPs[a] 27:3 despite his adultery with Bathsheba. CD 5:1-6 explains that David is cleared of transgressing Moses's command that the king must not multiply for himself wives (Deut 17:17) because "David did not read the sealed Book of the Torah which was in the ark because it was not opened in Israel from the death of Eleazar and Joshua, and the elders who served the Ashteroth. It was hidden (and not) revealed until Zadok arose." Such an explanation justifies the significant role of David as a prophet for the community.

nism to the Jerusalem priesthood. The calendar attached to 4QMMT, if accepted as part of the letter, strongly supports this claim.[66] Further evidence for the calendar discrepancies between the Yahad and the Temple was recognized early on by Talmon in his interpretation of *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab).[67] Talmon argues that the Wicked Priest (presumably the High Priest in Jerusalem) came to harass the Teacher of Righteousness (the leader of the community at Qumran) on the Day of Atonement. The Wicked Priest, as High Priest of the Temple in Jerusalem, could not have traveled out to Qumran on the Day of Atonement, unless the day in question was only considered the Day of Atonement according to the Qumran community's reckoning, and not according to the calendar followed by the Temple. As such, he took advantage of the fact that the communities had different calendars to try to make the Teacher of Righteousness stumble on such an important day.[68]

Qumran texts that describe the Yahad's community identity and requirements for its members also betray an attachment to proper adherence to the calendar. The *Rule of the Community* repeatedly mentions appointed times, as it identifies the ideals to be followed by its members. The first example is found in 1QS 1:7-11:

ולהבי את כול הנדבים לעשות חוקי אל בברית חסד להוחד בעצת אל
ולהתהלכ לפניו תמים כול הנגלות למועדי תעודותם לאהוב כול בני אור איש
כגורלו בעצת אל ולשנוא כול בני חושך איש כאשמתו בנקמת אל

> to bring all those who have freely devoted themselves to observe God's precepts into the covenant of lovingkindness, that they may be united with the counsel of God and may walk perfectly before God *all the revealed laws concerning their appointed times for assembly*, and that they may love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in God's counsel, and hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in God's vengeance.

Here in the context of describing who may join the community, and

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how they decide to join the community, we have three elements: observance of God's precepts, living according to the appointed times, and loving the sons of light and hating the sons of darkness. Adherence to the proper calendar was considered an essential element of the group's identity. It also provided an ideological framework upon which to base their communal religious practice.

Maintaining the proper times is also mentioned in 1QS 3:9-11:[69]

<div dir="rtl">

ויהכין פעמיו להלכת תמים

בכול דרכי אל כאשר צוה למועדי תעודתיו ולוא לסור ימין ושמאול ואין

לצעוד על אחד מכול דבריו

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> Let him order his steps to walk perfectly in all the ways commanded by God *concerning the times appointed for them*, and stray neither to the right nor to the left and transgressing none of his words.

This text associates walking perfectly according to God's ways with appointed times. Similar language is found in 1QS 1:13-15:

<div dir="rtl">

ולוא לצעוד בכול אחד

מכול דברי אל בקציהם ולוא לקדם עתיהם ולוא להתאחר

מכול מועדיהם ולוא לסור מחוקי אמתו ללכת ימין ושמאול

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> They shall not depart from any of the words of God *concerning their times; they shall be neither early nor late for any of their appointed times*, they shall not turn aside either to the right or to the left of any of his true precepts. (emphasis added)

This text draws upon biblical covenant language of not turning to the left or to the right as an expectation to follow the laws of God. This passage of 1QS indicates that the community believed the appointed times were explicitly commanded by God, and that part of the essence of what it meant to be in the community of God was to celebrate the events at the precise times prescribed by the covenant.[70]

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[69] James C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (London: Routledge, 1998) 46.

[70] In terms of an historical backdrop for this discussion we should note here Daniel 7:25, which in the context of describing what the little horn of the fourth beast will do says להשניה זמנין ודת "he shall attempt to change the times and the law." This is often understood to say that Antiochus IV attempted to change the festivals, that is, to outlaw the practice of Jewish festivals and replace them with Hellenistic festivals. However, this can also be understood as an attempt by Antiochus IV to replace the solar calendar of the Temple with a Hellenistic lunisolar calendar. James C. VanderKam,

Talmon also points to CD 6:17-19 as further evidence that the cal-
endar was an important identity boundary for the larger congregation
living within the camps.[71] "They shall keep the seventh day according
to its exact interpretation, and the feasts and the day of fasting accord-
ing to the finding of the members of the new covenant in the land of
Damascus." This regulation is found in the context of a discussion of
the Temple that explains why the members of the covenant must be
careful to act according to the exact interpretation of the law, to sepa-
rate from wickedness, and the like. This text provides further evidence
that the community considered its practice of these days, Sabbath, fes-
tivals, and *Yom Kippur*, as unique and essential for its identity.

The Yahad considered those outside the covenant, that is, those in
Jerusalem and elsewhere who followed different rules, to be misinter-
preting the Torah and therefore not fulfilling their obligations to these
specific laws of God. In keeping with our other examples, CD seem-
ingly refers to the specific dates and times for these festivals to be
practiced. However, it is also possible that the polemic here is about
how to practice these events. Correspondingly, the list begins with
Sabbath, which was not dependent upon the issue of the calendar. Both
the solar and the lunar calendars would maintain the seventh day at the
same time.[72]

"Calendrical Texts and the Origins of the Dead Sea Scroll Community," in *Methods of
Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities
and Future Prospects* (eds. Michael O. Wise et al.; New York: New York Academy of
Sciences, 1994) 384.

[71] Talmon, "Calendar Controversy," 386. We can assume that obligations for ritual
practice among those living in the towns would also have applied to the more strin-
gent, pious members of the Yahad.

[72] Talmon argues that the reckoning of the day beginning in the morning rather
than in the evening is the basis for including the Sabbath in lists that either criticize
others for not practicing correctly or challenging the members of the community to
observe the Sabbath appropriately. His claim is that according to the Qumran view of
time the Sabbath would begin in the morning and continue until sunrise of the follow-
ing morning. As such those outside of Qumran would have been observing Sabbath
beginning Friday night incorrectly, and then profaning the Sabbath during Saturday
night until sunrise on Sunday. The rabbinic understanding that the day begins with
nighttime is associated with Deuteronomy 6 that says first when you lie down and then
when you rise up. In contrast, 1QS 10, which alludes to Deuteronomy 6, presents these
items in a different order. It begins with stretching out hands and feet going out, then
coming in, sitting, standing and then lying in bed. CD 10:14-15 contradicts this view
by explicitly ruling that no one shall work on the sixth day from the moment the sun's
orb is distant. With this explicit legal statement, how can one continue to assert that it

It is also relevant that CD 16:2-4 claims some authority for the *Book of Jubilees*. "As for the exact determination of their times to which Israel turns a blind eye, behold it is strictly defined in the book of the divisions of the times into their Jubilees and weeks." This is in fact the title that the *Book of Jubilees* gives to itself.[73] Despite the fact that there are some discrepancies between CD and *Jubilees*, it is clear that CD indicates that this community considered itself to be within the tradition of *Jubilees*, and therefore was dependent upon it for its calculation of the calendar.[74] CD 3:14-15 mentions holy Sabbaths and glorious feasts in addition to other laws as "hidden matters in which Israel had gone astray." Sabbaths and festivals are also mentioned in *Jubilees* in this context, although not described as hidden. The legislation in CD 12:3-5 indicates the importance of upholding the Sabbath and the feasts. Anyone who profanes them shall be held in custody, and if he is healed of his error, he shall be released after seven years to once again approach the assembly.[75]

2.3. *Proper Speech*

Another aspect of the life of the Yahad that was tightly controlled by a grid of community laws was their use of language, especially public speech.[76] The legal code governing community behavior in 1QS 6-7 contains a lengthy description of the rules for speaking during the assembly.[77] Of the list of precepts to be judged by the assembly, more

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would have started in the morning? Talmon argues that this statement from CD is added later. Compare VanderKam, *Calendars*, 62-63; and Shemaryahu Talmon, "Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem, 1958) 162-199.

[73] *Jub.* 1:29.

[74] However, unlike *Jubilees*, which criticizes any use of the lunar calendar, the calendrical texts from Qumran preserve attempts to correlate the solar and lunar calendars.

[75] This is interesting in light of the biblical requirement for stoning someone who profanes the Sabbath in Ex 31:14-15, 35:2; Num 15:32-36. Perhaps there was an understanding that the real dispute over this practice of the calendar required a lengthy training process.

[76] Newsom recognized the importance of speech and the regulation of speech for the community. "The essential activities that gave the Qumran community its identity are almost all associated with language" (*Self as Symbolic Space,* 1).

[77] 1QS 6:8-13.

than half apply to some form of improper speech. They include: lying about property, answering stubbornly or impatiently, uttering God's name under any circumstances, speaking in anger against the priest, lying, deceiving or insulting a companion, laughing loudly, speaking foolishly or out of turn, slandering another or grumbling against the authority of the community. All three of the banishable offenses also fall in this category: speaking God's name, slandering the community, or grumbling against its authority.[78] These laws show that the community was greatly concerned that all members strictly control their tongues and it severely punished those who failed to do so.

William Schniedewind characterizes Qumran Hebrew as an anti-language, a type of linguistic code that served to separate the members of the Yahad from other Jewish sects.[79] According to Schniedewind, the unique system of Qumran orthography was devised in an attempt to mimic God's speech found most frequently in biblical poetry. By mimicking God's own language, the Qumran community asserted its authenticity as the true and faithful remnant of biblical Israel.[80] Such a desire to copy God's language places additional restrictions on the speech of the members. They were forced to remember to follow certain rules in addition to the normal rules of grammar. In a way analogous to their intensification of the laws of purity, they generated a system of rules to further restrict the members' self-expression.[81]

The Qumran community's ideology goes a step further by asserting that its words were not only given by God, but were actually preordained before the creation of the world. The Qumran community best captures this ideology of preordained speech in its use of the term קן.

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[78] 1QS 6:27-7:2; 7:16-17; 7:17.

[79] Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage"; Schniedewind, "Linguistic Ideology."

[80] For example, 1QH[a] 15:10 reads, "you [established my mouth] in your covenant and my language is as one of your disciples."

[81] Steven Weitzman draws on ritual studies of communities in Madagascar, to say that formal, political language used a limited form and vocabulary in an attempt to limit individuality and improve social cohesion. He calls this formalized language "impoverished" because the options are severely limited. "The social function of such formalization is to limit the options available to individual speakers, to rule out disagreement, personal agenda or nonconformity, and thus to promote social unity" ("Revisiting Myth and Ritual in Early Judaism," *DSD* 4 (1997): 45). See also Maurice Bloch, *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society* (London: Academic Press, 1975).

According to Schniedewind, the community uses קן to describe the primordial archetype for language and speech. For example, 1QH[a] 9:27-29 reads:

> You created breath in the language and you know its words. You determined the fruit of the lips before they came about. You appointed words by archetype (קן) and the utterance of the breath of the lips by calculation. You sent forth archetypes (קוים) for their mysteries, and the utterances of spirits for their plan…

The use of קן in Ps 19:2-5 in connection with divine speech at creation, and its use in Isa 28:10-14 in the context of the ability or inability to understand the divine oracle, come together in Qumran to symbolize the primordial words revealed and understood only by the community.

As a subset of the community's practice of speech, the language of prayer was also further restricted by their emphasis on proper speech. First, the community believed the times for prayer had been decreed by God and fixed according to the cycles of the heavenly bodies.[82] 4Q408 reflects on God's creation of the morning and evening as boundaries between light and darkness in order that God's holy name would be blessed. These two daily times are just one part of the lists of the proper times for prayer that can be found in 1QH[a] 20:3-11 and 1QS 10:1-6. *Hodayot*'s list includes the beginning and end of every age and every season. The hymn from 1QS specifically mentions prayer twice daily, at the beginning and end of the monthly and yearly seasons, during the appointed festivals throughout the year, and coordinated with the yearly cycles culminating in the Jubilee year. In both of these lists, these prayers are described as being appointed by God.[83] That these laws were considered binding on the members of the community is

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[82] There is no indication that the times for prayer are explicitly tied to the times for the offering of sacrifices. Instead all texts indicate that the astronomical cycles of the calendar determined the moments decreed for prayer. The only liturgical text that links the recitation of the liturgy with a sacrificial setting is the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The last section of 11QPs[a], known as *David's Compositions*, claims that David wrote songs to accompany the daily, Sabbath and festival offerings throughout the year.

[83] "when their appointed statute is fulfilled" (1QS 10:6-7); "by the certain law from the mouth of God" (1QH 20:9).

supported by the discovery of liturgical texts that provide prayers to be said at these appointed times.[84]

Second, the language, and perhaps the wording of the members' prayer, was expected to follow certain rules, which were also considered to have divine authority. The hymn from the *Rule of the Community* expresses this authority by describing the blessing as an engraved precept (חוק חרות):

במועדיהם תרומת שפתים הברכנו כחוק חרות לעד
ובכול היותי חוק חרות בלשוני לפרי תהלה ומנת שפתי

> at their appointed times I will bless him with the offering of the lips according to the precept engraved for ever …
> All my life the engraved precept shall be on my tongue as the fruit of praise and the portion of my lips. (1QS 10:6, 8)

The phrase, 'engraved precept,' recalls the original engraved precepts: the Ten Commandments spoken directly by God at Mount Sinai and engraved on the tablets of stone. In fact, the term חרות appears only once in Biblical Hebrew, in Exodus 32:16, where the tablets given to Moses on Mount Sinai are described as והלחת מעשה אלהים המה והמכתב מכתב אלהים הוא חרות על־הלחת "The tablets were God's work, and the writing was God's writing engraved on the tablets." By analogy, the words offered up by the members of the Qumran community are also God's work and God's writing.

3. SUMMARY

The Yahad, represented by 1QS, formed a discrete society that set itself apart from those around it in significant ways. It was established by a strong sense of community belonging, what Mary Douglas calls group. This community belonging provided clear boundaries separating members from non-members. These boundaries were reinforced by self-designations emphasiz-ing unity and chosen-ness, by the use of dualistic language (e.g. love the sons of light, but hate the sons of darkness, 1QS 1:9-10), by the concern for ritual and moral purity, and

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[84] Liturgical texts were found for morning and evening (4Q503), for the days of the week (4Q504, 506), for each Sabbath (4Q400-407), and for festivals (1Q34, 4Q507-509). See Chapter 4 – Calendrical Rites.

by strict adherence to a distinct calendar not shared with the authorities in Jerusalem. Each of these aspects of the Yahad's social identity was believed to be an expression of God's perfect law. The sense of divine determination both established and confirmed the community's election as God's lot and the rightness of their interpretation and application of God's laws. The grid, which attributed community practice to divine precept, gave assurance that the community's election depended upon the continuation of its communal life.

One aspect of the Yahad's grid that is particularly important for our study of its liturgy is its concern for proper speech as the hallmark of righteousness. The members' language was restricted in order to conform to speech fit for God's disciples. Speech was restricted in assemblies, at meals, and on the Sabbath. The prayers and hymns associated with the turning points of the cycles of time are described as being offered כחוק "according to the precept." The abundance of recorded liturgies found at Qumran supports the conclusion that the community treated its prayers and liturgies as similarly governed by divine precept.

CHAPTER TWO

RITES OF PASSAGE

As a community with a strong communal identity, the Yahad required a means for establishing the boundaries concerning membership and validating each member's status within the society. For a community such as the Yahad, the most fundamental type of ritual marks an individual's transition from one stage in life to another, such as birth, initiation into adulthood, marriage, and death. Such rituals are called rites of passage. Arnold Van Gennep describes the basic characteristic of the ritual process as a means of moving from one status or role within the community to a new status.[1] He describes each separate status as a room in a house connected by corridors. The purpose of the rite of passage is to successfully transport the participant out of the old room, through the corridor, and into the new room. The corridor represents what is known as the liminal or threshold phase in the rite, and is marked by ambiguity and danger. As a voluntary community, the most important transition for the members of the Yahad, initiation, was governed by a long probation and examination process to successfully transport those selected for membership through this liminal phase.

Victor Turner develops Van Gennep's description of liminality, highlighting the breakdown of societal norms and concerns for status during the period of transition.[2] The individuals are stripped of their previous status and remade to inhabit their new status. Turner also describes the strong communal bonds, which he called *communitas*, that forms among the initiates because of their shared experience of transition. In this way, even though the rite of passage is often undertaken by an individual, the successful completion of the rite of passage

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[1] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (trans. M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

[2] Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982); Victor Turner, "Liminality and Communitas," in *Readings in Ritual Studies* (ed. Ronald Grimes; Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1996) 511-519; Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process* (London: Routledge, 1969).

serves as a powerful force for establishing and reinforcing communal identity.

Surprisingly, we have found no evidence among the Qumran texts for any rituals associated with birth, despite the importance of circumcision in Judaism,[3] or death, despite the discovery of large cemeteries found immediately adjacent to the site.[4] Although 4Q502 has been described as a marriage ritual, this attribution is at best difficult, and probably does not apply to the community that lived at Qumran.[5] The primary rites of passage for the Yahad were initiation and covenant renewal. The *Rule of the Community* (1QS 5-6) describes the process by which potential members were made to undergo an elaborate process of instruction and testing before they could be brought into association with the Yahad.[6] The same text (1QS 1-2) also describes the ceremony by which these potential members were brought into the covenant, and by which the covenant was renewed with the Yahad through the ranking of its membership, according to their knowledge and deeds. This ritual played a central role in delineating the boundaries strictly upheld by the Yahad between righteousness and wickedness, light and darkness, and the lot of God and the lot of Belial.[7]

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[3] The lack of reference to birth and circumcision is perhaps not so surprising if the members of the Yahad had little contact with women.

[4] For discussion of the archaeological evidence from the cemeteries see Rachel Hachlili, "Burial Practices at Qumran," *RQ* 16 (1993): 247-264; Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*; Zias, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy," 220-253. The simplicity of the burials provides little information about possible rites associated with burial.

[5] See Baillet, DJD VII, 81-105; Joseph M. Baumgarten, "4Q502, Marriage or Golden Age Ritual?" *JJS* 34 (1983): 125-135; Michael L. Satlow, "4Q502 A New Year Festival?" *DSD* 5 (1998): 57-68.

[6] Christiansen, *Covenant in Judaism and Paul*, 184, claims that this is not a rite of initiation because the boundary changes are within Israel and merely represent a change in commitment. This misunderstands the role of a rite of passage. Although an observer might not recognize the change in status taking place here, the members of the Yahad recognized this passage as movement from darkness to light, from the lot of Belial to the lot of God.

[7] Newsom expects that, at Qumran, "the cultivation of a language of the self would have been crucial both for the formation of its own social cohesiveness and for its role in contesting other constructions of meaning in the discursive community of second Temple Judaism" ("Apocalyptic Subjects: Social Construction of the Self in the Qumran *Hodayot*," *JSP* 21 (2001): 5). As a voluntary sectarian community, Qumran had to develop ways to reconstruct a person's identity, to separate them from their old identity within the mainstream of society, and create for them an identity that situated them within the Qumran community. One's understanding of themselves as having some

1. INITIATION AND COVENANT RENEWAL CEREMONY

The annual initiation and covenant ceremony, elaborately described in 1QS 1-6, seems to have been the central ritual in the life and identity of the Yahad.[8] Through it, the examinations of potential members and the rankings of current members were proclaimed and established as the hierarchy that would govern the Yahad's communal life for the year to come. The evidence seems to indicate that this ceremony took place in connection with the festival of *Shavuot* (Weeks) in the third month.[9] The outline and discussion that follow divide the ceremony into six main elements: preparation, entrance of new initiates, blessings and curses, entrance into the *serekh*,[10] purification and instruction, and rebuke and dismissal.

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control over their behavior in the past is replaced by a sense of forces acting upon the person, thus separating them from their prior life, because it was not really theirs, they were the object of the battle between the spirits.

[8] Although 1QS provides quite a bit of detail about this ceremony, it does not provide a complete account of the liturgy. In addition, there remains a debate whether 1QS 1-2 and 1QS 5-6 should be taken to represent one ceremony or two separate events based on a number of terminological differences between them. Stephen Pfann, "Essene Yearly Ritual Ceremony and the Baptism of Repentance," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 337-352. The difficulty is compounded by the redactional evidence that these two sections originated separately and were brought together. For issues of redaction see Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology ," 541-560; Sarianna Metso, "The Redaction of the Community Rule," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (eds. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000) 377-384; Metso, *Textual Development*. Although we will discuss some of these differences, the entire section will be treated as referring to one ceremony, albeit one that likely developed over time. For further discussion of the covenant connections of cols 3-4, see Klaus Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary in Old Testament, Jewish and Early Christian Writings* (trans. David E. Green; Oxford: Blackwell, 1971).

[9] See 4Q266 frg. 11 ii; 4Q270 frg. 7 ii; and Jub 6:17-19 for the connection between covenant renewal and Shavuot. *Jubilees* also indicates that Abraham's covenant of circumcision was also enacted in the third month on the festival of firstfruits (Jub 15), and that Moses received Torah on the 16th of the third month (Jub 1:1). See Pfann, "Essene Yearly Ritual Ceremony," 337-352.

[10] The *serekh* is used here to designate full membership in the Yahad.

Preparation

1. Initiate volunteers to join the Yahad and is examined and instructed by the one appointed over the Many (1QS 6:13-15) or the *Maskil* (1:1-15)
2. If accepted by the Many, he begins first year of instruction without turning over his property and with no access to the purity (6:15-17)
3. If accepted again, his second year of instruction consists of giving over property (which is not yet disbursed), and access to the purity but not the drink (6:18-21)
4. If accepted again, initiate obtains full membership (6:21-23)

Entrance of New Initiates

5. Those entering cross over before God to do what God commands (1:16-17)
6. Priests and Levites bless the God of deliverance for deeds of truth (1:18-19)
7. Those crossing into the covenant say "Amen, Amen" (1:20)
8. Priests recount God's righteousness; announce mercy toward Israel (1:21-22)
9. Levites recount sins of Israel and transgression in dominion of Belial[11] (1:22-24)
10. Those crossing into covenant confess after them (1:24-2:1)

Blessings and Curses

11. Priests bless the men of the lot of God with adapted priestly blessing (2:1-4)
12. Levites curse the men of the lot of Belial with negated priestly blessing (2:4-9)
13. Those crossing into covenant say "Amen, Amen" (2:10)
14. Priests and Levites add curse for those who enter insincerely (2:11-17)
15. Those entering answer after them "Amen, Amen" (2:18)

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[11] Nitzan (following Licht) assumes that the ceremony would also have included the ungratefulness of the people, justice of the divine verdict, and punishment due to those who violate it, just like in Psalm 105-106 and Neh 9. They were presumably not mentioned because the sect had nothing to add to the formulations there (*Qumran Prayer,* 132).

Entrance into the *Serekh* (full membership)

    16. Priests cross over into *serekh* according to spirit one after an-
        other (2:19-20)
    17. Levites cross over after them (2:20)
    18. All the people cross over third into *serekh* one after another
        (2:21-25; 6:22; 5:23)

Purification and Instruction (1QS 2:25-4:26)

    19. Someone who refuses to enter cannot access purification (2:25-
        3:6; 5:13-14)
    20. Purification is available for members of upright and humble
        spirit (3:6-12)
    21. Members are instructed regarding the two spirits (3:13-4:26)

Rebuke and Dismissal[12]

    22. Members rebuke one another (5:24-6:1)
    23. Rebukes spoken by the priest (4Q266 frg. 11 2:8)
    24. Rebuked recite blessing for God's righteous judgment (4Q266
        frg. 11 2:9-15)
    25. Dismissed member leaves and is cut off from contact (4Q266
        frg. 11 2:15)

1.1. *Preparation*

The preparation phase of the initiation process established the expecta-
tions of one who had chosen to enter the covenant of the Yahad (1QS
1:1-15).[13] Initiates who wanted to join the community offered them-

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    [12] Although the practice of rebuke and dismissal is explicit in 1QS, that text does
not include a description of a liturgy for that purpose. Such a practice is present, how-
ever, in 4Q266, one of the Cave 4 manuscripts of the *Damascus Document*. Rebuke
and dismissal of members who have failed to uphold the community's standards is also
discussed in CD 20:1-8 and may be the setting for the list of rebukes in 4Q477.
    [13] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space,* 109, describes the rhetorical power of this sec-
tion to establish the required intentions of potential members through the use of infini-
tives. The individual must come "in order to seek God...to do what is good...to love...to
hate...to keep away...to cling...to conduct oneself."

selves to "enter the covenant of God" (1QS 5:8),[14] the first step toward membership. These initiates were expected to have rejected the ways of wickedness and to freely offer themselves[15] to perfect obedience to the laws of God[16] with a total commitment of their strength, knowledge, and wealth for the benefit of the community (1QS 1:11-12). [17] 1QS 5:8 indicates that their commitment to obedience was enacted by taking on a binding oath.[18]

In this introduction to the ceremony (1QS 1:1-15), Newsom points out a rhetorical structure that expresses the precise transition being described from outsider to insider.[19] She divides it into two distinct sections that are separated by the reference in 1:7-8 to the community,[20] bringing all those who are willing to do the statutes of God into the

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[14] This precise phrase is not found in 4QS^{b,d} but a similar concept is found in 1QS 1:7-8, which refers the initiates as "all who offer themselves to do the statutes of God in the covenant of lovingkindness."

[15] This root נדב is used in both 1QS 1 and 5, although in different forms, to indicate those coming to inquire about joining the Yahad. Bilhah Nitzan, "The Concept of the Covenant in Qumran Literature," in *Historical Perspectives from the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, and Daniel R. Schwartz; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 85-104, cites Licht, *The Rule Scroll*, 192-193, as recommending that *nadav* here solves the dilemma of free will and predestination in the concept of the covenant because "it points toward the willing acceptance of a predestined fate by each of its members" (Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 99). See also 1QS 9:24, which says, "and in all that befalls him he shall delight willingly." Christiansen describes the importance of the term *nadav* "one who freely devotes himself" as the term of identity. It has a priestly cultic context of sacrifice and may refer to consecration. "Used in and by the community as a self designation it refers to a group of dedicated priests who through perfect lives are a sacrifice for God, like an atonement, they therefore see themselves to have both a special dedication and status" (*Covenant in Judaism and Paul*, 172 n. 120).

[16] 1QS 5:2, 9 explicitly indicate that initiates are to follow the law as interpreted by the sons of Zadok, the priests, and the men of the Yahad. Two of the manuscripts of the *Rule of the Community* from Cave 4 lack explicit reference to the sons of Zadok, but retain reference to the interpretive authority of the men of the Yahad. For more information about the differences between the Cave 1 and Cave 4 manuscripts see Metso, *Textual Development*.

[17] This exhortation is reminiscent of the three-fold commitment in the *Shema* (Deut 6:5). Notice also the reference in 1QS 1:2 to heart and soul, and the contrast between love and hate.

[18] CD 15:12-13 also indicates that an oath was sworn when the candidate enters into the community (Christiansen, *Covenant in Judaism and Paul*). No oath is mentioned in 1QS 1, although it is possible to understand the liturgy of entrance, including the recital of confession, as essentially equivalent to the oath described here. The hymn of commitment in 1QS 10 may also be relevant here.

[19] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space,* 113.

[20] Or perhaps the *Maskil* is the subject of the causative verb here.

covenant, to be united (להיחד) to the council of God.[21] The first half of the introduction provides general terms of obedience and seeking God: loving what God loves and hating what God has rejected. The second half uses some of the same verbs, but it applies them in distinctly sectarian ways. Here, they are to love the children of light and hate the children of darkness, to be united in the council of God, and to walk in perfection. Newsom claims, "What the introduction models in its structure is that as persons are brought into the community, so is their language."[22] This indicates that, in this preparation phase, potential members were taught what obedience means in the particular world of the Yahad. In other words, they were taught how to interpret the phrases of commitment from Deuteronomy employed in the first half of the introduction. In other words, for the Yahad, to love what God loves, means to love the children of light and hate what God has rejected means to hate the children of darkness. To stop walking in the stubbornness of your heart, means to walk in perfection according to what God has revealed. In this way new members' language is transformed as their understanding of the traditional phrases is changed.

The primary requirement for someone to begin the process of initiation into the Yahad was repentance. Repentance played a significant role in the identity of Qumran community. In fact many of the key sectarian Qumran texts explicitly identify the members of the Yahad as those who repent. The term שבי ישראל "repentant of Israel," which appears four times in CD (4:2; 6:5; 8:16; 19:29), set the members apart as those who left Judah, left the way of the people, and dwelt in Damascus as God's elect. The members of the Yahad are also frequently referred to as the שבי פשע "those who turn from transgression."[23] It is important to note that repentance was most strongly emphasized here in the first stage of the initiation of prospective members, marking clearly the boundary between those who are inside (the repentant) and those who are outside (the wicked).

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[21] Entrance into the covenant became synonymous with entrance in the Yahad to follow the laws according the interpretations revealed to the Yahad. See also 1QS 5:7-8 "Anyone who enters the council of the Yahad shall enter into the covenant of God." Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space,* 71; Metso, "Qumran Community Structure," 435.

[22] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space,* 113.

[23] CD 2:5; 20:17; 1QS 10:20; 1QH^a 6:24; 10:9; 14:6; 4Q400 frg. 1:16; 4Q512 frgs. 70-71:2.

Repentance was undertaken on two fronts. First, a person who offered himself to join the Yahad was expected to "turn from all evil…and to separate from the congregation of the men of wickedness" (1QS 5:1-3).[24] Second, he was to return to the covenant (1QS 5:22), to the Law of Moses (1QS 5:8), and to the truth (1QS 6:15). This is not an expression of ongoing repentance for daily sins, but rather repentance here is described as making a decision about which path one chose to walk in following God. In other words, repentance was about choosing to live according to God's laws as understood by the Yahad. Someone who refused to enter this covenant was to be cut off and no members were to have any contact with him (1QS 2:25-3:2; 5:13-18). This language indicates that repentance was a boundary issue; no one who had not completed their repentance could be considered a member and participate in the rest of the ceremony.[25] As such, the ceremony was a ritual enactment of the rite of passage (from darkness to light) that marked the transformation of one's social identity made possible by one's repentance.

Once the potential member's repentance was assured, he was examined in preparation for each year's ceremony, to determine his level of participation in the ceremony and in the community for the next year (1QS 6:13-23).[26] During the first year he received instruction in the laws of the community, but had no access to the "purity of the

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[24] See also 1QS 5:10-12 and 1QS 1:13-14 for other examples of turning from evil and from the men of darkness.

[25] The fact that the Yahad settled in the wilderness, in fulfillment of Isa 40:3 (1QS 8:14; 9:20), may indicate that they viewed themselves as living in a liminal state outside of the normal structure of society in order to complete the transition to a renewed covenant. As such, the entire community would experience the strength of the community bond and the separation from society described by Victor Turner as *communitas*.

[26] The initial examination was undertaken by "the one appointed to lead the many" (האיש הפקוד ברואש הרבים). On each successive occasion for examination, the membership participated by casting lots to determine the outcome. There are two ways to understand the relationship between these stages of initiation and the ceremony. One possibility is that each year during their probationary period the initiates took part in the first two parts of the ceremony (Entrance into the Covenant and Blessings and Curses) as indicated by the designation "those crossing over." It is also possible that only those who had completed all three stages of initiation could participate as "those crossing over" and then also participated in the ranking by being entered into the *serekh*. In either case, participation in the ceremony ritually confirmed each person's standing within the community, first among the new initiates, and then among the full members.

Many,"[27] nor could his property be mixed with that of the community. After participating in the ceremony a second time, after a year of instruction, he joined in the water of purification and the meal, and turned over his property to the Overseer,[28] although it still could not be used by the community. However, he was still restricted from touching the drink of the community. Only after completion of his second year of training was he accepted as a full member of the Yahad, and could be written and ranked in the *serekh*.

1.1.1. *4Q298 Words of the Maskil to all Sons of Dawn*[29]

This short fragmentary text, written in an esoteric script, recorded an address from the *Maskil* to the 'sons of dawn,' who were presumably those on their way to becoming sons of light.[30] The phrase 'sons of dawn' may be attested in CD 13:14: איש מכול באי ברית אל אל ישא ואל יתן לבני השחר כי אם כף לכף "No one who enters the covenant of God shall buy or sell to the sons of dawn except for hand to hand."[31] Pfann argues that the unusually small height of the scroll (8.470 cm and only

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[27] This is often taken to refer to the pure meal of the community, as in Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, but it may also imply access to the water purification of the *mikva'ot*. See also Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*; Pfann, "Essene Yearly Ritual Ceremony," 337-352. Christiansen, *Covenant in Judaism and Paul*, 176 n. 136, recommends that the primary connotation of exclusion from the purity of the many related instead to grades of membership, or to ranking of members, in other words, the disciplinary means by which the community keeps its standards high, and its boundaries narrow. Clearly this exclusion had consequences that affected a person's ranking in the community, but these were more likely consequences of the exclusion. See also Chapter 3 – Feasts and Fasts.

[28] המבקר. For more on this role see Metso, "Qumran Community Structure," 429-444; John F. Priest, "Mebaqqer, Paqid, and the Messiah," *JBL* 81 (1962): 55-61; and Barbara Thiering, "*Mebaqqer* and *Episkopos* in the Light of the *Temple Scroll*," *JBL* 100 (1981): 59-74.

[29] Stephen Pfann, "4Q298: The Maskil's Address to All Sons of Dawn," *JQR* 85 (1994): 203-235; Menahem Kister, "Commentary to 4Q298," *JQR* 85 (1994): 237-249; Stephen Pfann and Menahem Kister, "Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn," in *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (DJD XX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 267-286.

[30] Pfann, "4Q298," 225. Kister proposes that the initiates may also be designated by the term 'pursuers of righteousness' from frg. 1-2 i 2, based on reference to Isa 51:1, and the term 'knowers of righteousness' used in CD 1:1 and Isa 51:7 ("Commentary to 4Q298," 239).

[31] Broshi, *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*, 35, indicates that either השחר, 'the dawn' or השחת, 'the pit' could be read here.

ten lines) indicates that it was one of the portable scrolls, intended to be easily carried.[32] He proposes that this scroll was carried by the *Maskil* when he went outside the settlement to speak to the initiates who were not allowed inside.[33] The use of esoteric script ensured that if lost, there would be little fear of its contents being deciphered, and of the community's secrets being revealed.[34] "Thus all Essene teaching, even the foundational principles, was treated as crucial, even mystical knowledge, and hence was worthy of concealment from non-members."[35]

The most extensive section of the text (frg. 3-4 ii) contains a list of qualities that the new initiates are meant to gain and concludes with the important recognition that the goal for these new initiates is that they understand the times and learn the cycles of time.[36] As in 1QS 5:4-5 and 8:2, the expectations for the new members is drawn from Mic 6:8. 4Q298 refers to adding over and over again virtues such as learning, strength, humility, and knowledge. In general, this presents a more positive view of initiation, as compared to other examples in 1QS that emphasize turning away from the wickedness of the world. This text focuses primarily on going toward knowledge, understanding, righteousness, and light.

1.2. *Entrance of New Initiates (1QS 1:16-2:1)*

The liturgy for bringing new initiates into the covenant involved three parties: the priests, the Levites, and the "ones crossing over into the covenant." The ceremony began with the initiates crossing over into

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[32] Pfann, "4Q298," 213. He provides a list of other short scrolls of less than 15 lines per column, many of which he claims are associated with festivals. See especially n. 14.

[33] The *Maskil* is associated with instructing the members in 1QS 1:1 (reconstructed); 3:13; 9:17-21; and perhaps CD 13:7-8 (Kister, "Commentary to 4Q298," 237). Elsewhere the *Maskil* is associated with examining the spirits of the initiates and the ranking the members (1QS 9:14-16) and with liturgical texts (1QS 9:26; 1QH^a 20:4; 4Q510-511; *4QShirShabb*).

[34] See 1QS 9:16-17, where the *Maskil* was required to hide his knowledge from the men of wickedness.

[35] Pfann, "4Q298," 225.

[36] 1QS 1:13-15 also concludes the exhortation with emphasis on the importance of recognizing the times.

the covenant before God. While they were being taken across, the
priests and Levites together offered blessings to God for deliverance
and for God's deeds of truth.[37] The ones crossing over responded to
these blessings with "Amen, Amen." The cycle of address repeated
when the priests, alone this time, recounted the righteousness of God
and announced mercy toward Israel. The Levites followed with a re-
counting of the sins of Israel, especially within the dominion of Belial.
Then the initiates responded with a confession.

The priests and Levites were full members of the Yahad who aided
in the transition of these new initiates.[38] The initiates participated, in
the first cycle, only by affirming the blessings of the priests and Le-
vites. The language of crossing over, especially the reference to bless-
ings recited while he caused them to cross, indicates a concrete act of
crossing over some boundary. The initiates, identified explicitly as
those crossing over, were physically enacting the transition that had
taken place during the phase of preparation.[39]

Rodney Werline, in his book *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple
Judaism*, highlights the formal similarities between the liturgy of this
ceremony and the penitential prayer tradition.[40] Both include a recount-
ing of God's past deliverance, Israel's history of sin and transgres-

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[37] Pfann, "Essene Yearly Ritual Ceremony," 337-352, proposed specific psalms to
correlate with the themes of the recitals of the priests and Levites, here and in the cycle
that follows. For this blessing of the God of salvation, he proposed Ps 103 and
4QBarkhi Nafshi. For the recounting of God's might acts he proposed Ps 104-105 and
136, and for the sins of Israel, Ps 106.

[38] It is unclear if the priests and Levites here were in fact hereditary designations.
CD 3:20-4:4 identifies the priests, the Levites, and the sons of Zadok from Ezek 44:15
with the members of the community. "'The priests' are the repentant of Israel who go
out from the land of Judah, and ('the Levites' are) those who were joined to them.
'The Sons of Zadok' are the chosen ones of Israel, called by name, who shall stand in
the last days." Philip S. Alexander claims that all the elect of Israel in the last days,
whether of Zadokite descent or not, were referred to as sons of Zadok by Ezekiel
("The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *RQ* 17 (1994): 452 n. 34).
If these were no longer hereditary designations, they were probably retained as distinct
categories in order to follow the biblical models for covenant ceremonies in which the
priests and Levites performed complementary roles.

[39] If those crossing over were, in fact, only those entering the community for the
first time, then there was no role in this part of liturgy for the general population of
Israelite members.

[40] Rodney Alan Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The De-
velopment of a Religious Institution* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998).

sions, and a confession of sins.[41] Werline concludes that 1QS followed the form of the penitential prayer tradition, but transformed it into a liturgy by dividing up the parts to different participants in the ritual.[42] However, we recognize that the use of the structure of penitential prayers for this liturgy does not necessarily mean that we should understand it as an example of penitential prayer. There are a number of other characteristics of this liturgy that differentiate it from the penitential prayer tradition.

Unlike the main postexilic penitential prayers associated with covenant renewal (Neh 9, Ezra 9, 1 Kgs 8), Qumran's ceremony for the initiation of new members into the covenant contained no explicit petitions by, or on behalf of the new initiates.[43] In fact, the initiation ceremony, as described in 1QS, contained no direct address to God. Even the recitation of the confession of sin by those entering the community lacked petition. The new initiates confessed:

נעוינו פ[שע]נו [חט]אנו הרשענו אנו ו[א]בותינו מלפנינו בהלכתנו [...] אמת
וצדיק [...]משפטו בנו ובאבותינו[ו] ורחמי חסדו גמל עלינו מעולם ועד ועולם

> We have strayed, we have [trans]gressed, we [have sinned]. We have done wickedly, we and our [fa]thers before us, by walking [contrary to] truth and righteousness[...] His judgment against us and against ou[r] fathers. He has granted us the mercies of his kindness from eternity to eternity. (1QS 1:24-2:1)

This formulaic confession acknowledges the collective sinfulness and transgression of the people and their ancestors. The form of this confession shows similarities with Lev 16, 1 Kgs 8, Lev 26, and other texts associated with the penitential prayer tradition.[44] The formula contains repetition of verbs describing sin (נעוינו פשענו חטאנו הרשענו) and an explicit connection with the sinfulness of the ancestors (אנו ואבותינו). Although fragmentary, it is clear that the confession also in-

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[41] For examples of this threefold structure see Neh 9, Pss 78, 105, 106, Isa 63:7-64:12.

[42] A similar transformation of this prayer tradition is found in the Testament of Moses.

[43] Following Eileen Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 42 n. 43, in contrast to Werline, *Penitential Prayer,* 137.

[44] See for example Ps 106:6 and Dan 9:5.

cludes an assertion of God's justice in applying punishment on the
people for breaking the covenant, as well as thanksgiving for God hav-
ing bestowed mercy on them.

It differs from these examples of penitential prayer, however, in that
it contains no petition that God would hear their confession and grant
forgiveness.[45] In fact, this liturgy contains three parts that correspond
to three of the four stages in the Deuteronomic cycle: sin – punishment
– repentance – deliverance. The Qumran confession omits reference to
the stage of repentance, removing any association between human
cries for deliverance and God's kindness and deliverance.[46] This omis-
sion is striking when contrasted with other prominent Second Temple
period penitential prayers, such as Neh 9, Dan 9, and Bar 1, that re-
peatedly emphasize the importance of repentance and pleas for deliv-
erance in leading God to restore the people and their place in the cove-
nant.[47] The Qumran practice of confession is further distinguished
from the tradition of penitential prayer when we acknowledge the lack
of evidence at Qumran for fasting or mourning practices, such as sack-
cloth and ashes, which are so commonly associated with repentance
elsewhere.[48]

The Qumran community avoided the use of petition in the cere-
mony, and removed repentance from the confession, because of their
deterministic view of the world. In such a view, deliverance could not
be requested, but was determined by God's preordained plan. The

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[45] Similarly, CD 20:28-30 places the recital of a traditional confession formula in a
long list of the behaviors of those "going and coming according to the Torah, who hear
the voice of the Teacher." Such people, who do all these things properly, receive re-
wards, including atonement. These rewards are not granted because God heard their
cry, but seemingly because they acted as required of them.

[46] Notice that I am making a distinction between confession, which is the act of re-
citing a formula that claims responsibility for sins, and repentance, which has various
connotations but within the Deuteronomic cycle and the penitential prayer tradition; its
main element includes pleas for forgiveness and deliverance. Although these are often
complementary, this phase of the ceremony employed the confession while ignoring
the efficacy of such pleas for forgiveness.

[47] See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 222.

[48] The practice of fasting is only mentioned at Qumran in connection with the Day
of Atonement. See the excursus at the end of Chapter 3 – Feasts and Fasts. For a com-
plete list of activities associated with penitential prayers, see Mark J. Boda, *Praying
the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9* (BZAW 277; Ber-
lin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999) 39. None of these is present in Qumran's
covenant ceremony (except the assembled group).

community believed that God's deliverance would come to the sons of light, but they knew not when it would happen, and had no influence on it.

A profound example of such Qumran determinism, found in 1QH[a] 9:21-26, provides further evidence that the community recognized the inability of confession to truly affect God and to precipitate deliverance or restoration.[49] The author reflects on the low nature of his human form, describing his depraved and sinful condition. He recognizes that he dwells in a realm of wickedness. Then he asks:

מה אדבר בלא נודע ואשמיעה בלא סופר הכול חקוק לפניכה בחרת זכרון
לכול קצי נצח ותקופות מספר שני עולם בכול מועדיהם ולוא נסתרו ולא נעדרו
ל {כו} 'מלפניכה ומה יספר אנוש חטאתו ומה יוכיח על עוונותיו ומה ישיב ע
משפט הצדק על

> What can I say without it having been known, or (what can) I declare without it having been recorded? (For) everything is inscribed before you on an engraved memorial for all everlasting ages and numerous cycles of endless years with all their appointed times. They are not hidden nor withdrawn from before you. What shall a man recount concerning his sin? And what shall he plead concerning his iniquity? And how shall he respond concerning righteous judgment?

The author's questions reflect on the essential issue at hand here: Is God affected by prayers of repentance? If, as this author claims, everything is already written on God's engraved memorial, then it seems, contrary to the penitential prayer tradition and Lev 26, that confession of sin is of little effect for addressing this situation and delivering the righteous from affliction and exile. God has established words to be spoken, but the proper words are words of praise, not confession. God's great goodness would deliver some from these judgments, but this was not because they cried out in prayer. In such a deterministic

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[49] In discussing *Hodayot*, Werline, *Penitential Prayer,* 143, indicates that penitence continued to function as an integral part of community practice and community thought. However, we should be careful to avoid assuming that a prayer that describes the huge moral gap between God and humans is an act of penitence. *Hodayot*, in emphasizing the insignificance of humanity before God, is at the same time affirming that all is in God's hands, and our petitions are irrelevant. Werline is right to say that they taught that penitence was a drastic transformation from sin to righteousness, but that transformation was essentially associated with the entrance into the covenant.

view, petition of any kind was of no effect.[50]

If the recital of the confession formula was not meant to move God to action on behalf of the community, then what could it have meant to them? As with many ritual practices, this confession had meaning on a few different levels. First of all, new initiates who had come to join the Yahad recited the formulaic confession not as an act of repentance (which had already been completed during the preparation phase described above), but as a public declaration of this act. In this context, it was not a somber act of remorse, but a proud declaration of their identity as one of the sons of light, i.e. one who repents of transgressions.[51] The prominence of the sectarian boundary between "us" and "them" turned the initiates' confession of sin into proof of their election and superiority. This was further reinforced by the blessings bestowed on the sons of God and curses sent on the sons of Belial that immediately followed the confession.

The similarity of the covenant ceremony confession with that of CD 20:28-30, also associates the recital of the confession with the original founding of the community. According to this section of the *Damascus Document*, those who went out to separate from the holy city at the time of the rebellion of Israel were those who held fast to the covenant and listened to the Teacher, confessing before God and submitting to the statutes and judgments of God. Given the association between this confession and the community's founders, each person who stood before the community and applied for entrance into the covenant by reciting a confession was following in the way of the founders.

Given the community's identity as a holy, priestly community, we must consider the significance of Lev 26 on their view of confession. Leviticus 26:39-42 indicates that confession of the people's sins, and the sins of their fathers, is required for restoration from exile and for the atonement of the land. The community seems to have taken the requirement for confession in Lev 26:40 seriously, although the penitential language of remorse and humbling oneself that surrounds it in

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[50] In rabbinic descriptions of prayer, petition is not allowed for an event that has already happened. For example a person cannot pray, upon approaching the village and seeing smoke coming from his neighborhood, that his house not be on fire. For Qumran, all events fell in the category of things that had already happened, that is they were written in God's divine plan.

[51] See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 222-223.

verses 39 and 41 is absent from 1QS.[52] In this way, the confession was not an act of repentance, but rather an act of obedience to the Torah of Moses, which required confession from the chosen remnant for atonement of the land to take place. Even here, however, I suspect that they did not believe their confession actually brought about the atonement.[53] Rather, they considered it their duty as priests to act on behalf of the land and on behalf of the rest of the people.

1.3. *Blessings and Curses (1QS 2:1-18)*[54]

After the confession of the initiates, the priests and Levites recited covenant blessings and curses that were interpretive expansions on the priestly blessing from Num 6:24-26.[55] The ones crossing over again

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[52] In Lev 26, as elsewhere in the penitential prayer tradition, כנע indicates a very physical humbling oneself after sinning. However, at Qumran, the term for humility, ענוה, should be understood as humility before God's laws, i.e. obedience.

[53] This is also true of those cases that discuss both repentance and purification or atonement. For example, 1QS 3:1-6 actually indicates that one who rejects the righteous judgments is unable to repent and therefore is prohibited access to the counsel of the community. 1QS 3:6 goes on to say that it is the spirit of true counsel that brings atonement. Here, membership in the community and access to the instruction in God's true counsel mediate between repentance and atonement.

[54] Nitzan has described the collection of blessings and curses found in *4QBerakhot* (4Q286-290, and perhaps 4Q280) as an alternative version of the blessings and curses from the covenant ceremony. See Nitzan, "The Benedictions from Qumran," 263-271; Bilhah Nitzan, "The Laws of Reproof in *4QBerakhot* (4Q286-290) in Light of their Parallels in the *Damascus Covenant* and Other Texts from Qumran," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (eds. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez and John Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 149-165. While these manuscripts certainly show similarities with the blessings and curses from 1QS, they lack the emphasis on initiation and community identity central to this ceremony. There are no blessings directed to the community, and the curses are directed toward Belial and his associates rather than the men of his lot. The Amen responses after some of the blessings and curses are not attached to the initiates and the key terms 'covenant' and 'crossing over' are not extant. Rather than an alternative version of the covenant ceremony, these texts contain blessings and curses influenced by the covenant ceremony that were employed on other occasions. They will be treated further in our section on curses in Chapter 5 – Rites of Affliction.

[55] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 134, claims that the use of the priestly blessing after the confession of sin indicates that they thought of the confession as corresponding to the sin offering offered in the Temple before the recital of the priestly blessing. However, the context here is a covenant ceremony, not a tamid sacrifice or Day of Atonement.

responded "Amen, Amen." In striking contrast to most other examples
of covenant blessings and curses,[56] these blessings were spoken over
the men of the lot of God, while the curses applied only to the men of
the lot of Belial.[57] The priests and Levites then added a second set of
curses, also affirmed by the initiates, this time directed against those
who had entered the covenant insincerely. Clearly, the blessings were
directed toward the members of the Yahad. The content of the bless-
ings indicates the community's core values. The initiates, hearing the
blessings, learned of the Yahad's emphasis on obtaining understanding
and wisdom. The blessings also reinforce the members' identity as the
lot of God, and generate a kind of *communitas* among the members,
especially those just entering the community.

The first set of curses was primarily addressed to those not present,
that is, to anyone who remained outside the elect community. The ab-
solute contrast between the blessings and curses not only reinforced
the boundary between insiders and outsiders, but also underscored the
belief that one's lot was predetermined by God and could not be
changed. It is noteworthy that the members of the Yahad adapted the
priestly blessing, which was originally given to Aaron to bless all of
Israel, in a ritual designed to distinguish themselves from the rest of
the Jewish communities. In doing so, they asserted that those outside
the Yahad were presumably no longer considered worthy of God's
blessing or God's name.

Eileen Schuller describes these blessings and curses as nearly peti-
tion, based on the presence of jussive verbs.[58] However, the jussive
verbs used here are required by the formal dependence upon the origi-

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(*m. Tamid* 5:1; 7:2; *m. Ta'an* 4:1). In addition, this is not formally a recital of the
priestly blessing, but rather a set of blessings and curses associated with the covenant.

[56] Deut 27; Lev 26; Jos 24; covenant renewals without blessings and curses 1 Sam
12:6-19; 2 Kgs 22:22-23:5; Neh 9-10.

[57] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 222. Rodney A. Werline claims that
the curses were not based on Num 6, but rather on a tradition of penitential prayers
said by condemned groups that receive no response in *1 Enoch* 12-16, 62-63; *Jub.* 23
("The Curses of the Covenant Renewal Ceremony in 1QS 1:16-2:19 and the Prayers of
the Condemned," in *For A Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Is-
rael, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (eds. Randal A. Argal et al.; Harrisburg,
Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2000) 280-288).

[58] Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer," 42.

nal priestly blessing.[59] In fact, the reason for the inclusion of such a set of blessings can be explained by the self-described significance of the priestly blessing, that the act of reciting this blessing is one of the priests' obligations. According to Num 6:27, if the priests recite the blessing properly, invoking God's name over the people, then God would bless them. From the point of view of the priestly Qumran community, the very act of pronouncing these blessings and curses was required of them. By doing so, they fulfilled their priestly role as descendents of Aaron, serving Israel.

The pronouncement of the second set of curses addressed the dangerous possibility that some who claimed to be of the lot of God, might actually be shown otherwise. This was a warning to any initiates who held onto any thoughts about maintaining their independence within the Yahad. Membership in the Yahad required complete submission to its authority and discipline in all things. For someone to keep apart by telling himself privately that he would be okay, even though he "walked in the stubbornness of his heart,"[60] indicated that he did not belong to the sons of light in the first place. His deeds would show him to be of the lot of Belial and deserving of the curses directed toward that lot. In this way, this second curse reframed the first. The curse that seemed to be directed only against the evil outsiders might have actually applied to some of those crossing over. Every one of them was required to be on their guard against falling away from the path of righteousness.

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[59] It is also worth noting that there is no blessing here assuring the new member that God would hear him when he calls. In contrast, the wicked are assured that God would not heed them when they call. Nitzan indicates that the curse is based on the sectarian blessing, but it seems as if it could have emerged based on the biblical blessing, since the curse against God hearing and granting forgiveness opposes the graciousness and mercy from the biblical blessing more directly than the wisdom and knowledge from the sectarian blessing (*Qumran Prayer,* 151).

[60] Deut 29:18-19 is quoted here.

1.4. *Entrance into the Serekh*[61] (1QS 2:19-25)

A new phase of the ceremony began with the crossing over of the
priests, the Levites, and then the people, into the *serekh*. Within each
of these categories, the members crossed over, one after another, ac-
cording to their spirits (1QS 2:20), or according to their knowledge and
deeds (1QS 5:21).[62] This ranking of all the members was to take place
every year during the dominion of Belial. The members, after being
examined and ranked, were written in the *serekh*, according to each
one's ranking.[63] The ranking established the community's internal hi-
erarchy that governed speaking in the assembly, eating and blessing
during meals, and obedience concerning all matters of law. Once set
for the year, one's rank could not be altered either up or down until the
ceremony the following year.

During the first part of the ceremony discussed above, the initiates
crossed over into the covenant, while the priests and Levites pro-
nounced blessings and curses. In this second part, the priests and Le-
vites now began their own procession before the people.[64] Just as in the

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[61] The scrolls use the term *serekh* with at least four different meanings: 1) A book
that contains a list of the members in order of their rank, and perhaps contains the rules
themselves. As such it was used for 1QS. 2) Developed out of its sense as the list of
the rules, is the idea that *serekh* is the covenant, or the boundary of the community in a
metaphorical way so that someone could enter into the *serekh*. In this way the book is
a record of the reality of membership according to spirits. 3) A heading for a section of
instructions for a particular group. In these texts it can be the Yahad, the man of the
Yahad, the whole congregation of Israel, or all the hosts of the congregation. 4) A
grouping, probably a military grouping or line (1QSa and 1QM). See Schiffman, The
Halakhah at Qumran (SJLA 16; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 60-68; Weinfeld, *The Organiza-
tional Pattern*, 10-13.

[62] Newsom looks to the work of Foucault on disciplinary institutions in her discus-
sion about the process of examination of the individuals on regular occasions. Foucault
argues that the examination of such individuals actually plays a significant role in
forming the identity of that an individual. The examination highlights, both for the
examiners, and for the individual being examined, the person's basic nature and char-
acteristics. The person's own view of himself has been affected by this examination,
and he essentially becomes that individual, given that he has no control over the inter-
pretation or judgment of the examination, but is essentially determined by the commu-
nity's judgment (Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space,* 139).

[63] For reference to being written in the *serekh*, see 1QS 5:23 and 6:22.

[64] Precisely who was included in 'the people' is somewhat unclear. The connection
between the procession and the ranking of members indicates that only full members
of the Yahad could participate. However, the division of the people into thousands,
hundreds, fifties, and tens has led some to conclude that those from the camps must

earlier part, this description gives the impression that this was an active ritual, that the people were actually walking across some boundary, in a line according to rank, one after another. Entering this way ensured that everyone knew precisely where he stood, and where everyone else stood, in the community of God.[65] The Yahad, when properly ordered, was to exhibit "truth, humility of goodness, love of kindness, and righteous intentions toward one another in a holy council, and as sons of an eternal council" (1QS 2:24-25).

1.5. *Purification and Instruction (1QS 2:25-4:26)*

The next two columns of 1QS describe two of the primary correlates of membership in the Yahad: purification and instruction. Not only were these benefits available upon entrance into the community, they were *only* available to members of *this* community. Anyone who refused to enter the Yahad cut himself off from "the foundations of knowledge, i.e. the laws of righteousness" (1QS 3:1). His rejection of the community's authority to access the foundations of knowledge made him unable to repent. As a result, he, his knowledge, his strength, and his wealth were all cut off from the council of the Yahad.[66] As an outsider he was denied access to the justification and atonement that came with membership, and also to the waters of purification. His impurity, ex-

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have been included in this procession as well (Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," 1-60). Vermes cites as evidence for this conclusion, the reference to ranking in CD, the animal bones found throughout the site, and the presence of women in the cemetery (*Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 43-45). 1QSa 1:4-5 also indicates a connection with this ceremony as it refers to:

> all of those of the congregation of Israel when they gather together themselves to the community to walk according to the judgments of the sons of Zadok the priests and the men of their covenant to turn away from walking in the way of humanity, they are the men of his council who keep his covenant in the midst of wickedness to atone for the earth when they come they will assemble all about the ones coming whether children or women, and they will read in their ears all the laws of the covenant to make them understand all their judgments lest they err in their errors. (1QSa 1:4-5)

[65] Unfortunately, our limited information does not allow us to determine whether they were crossing over the threshold into the compound, into the dining hall for the communal meal, or perhaps directly into the waters of purification.

[66] 1QS 3:1-2. Notice the exact replication of the expectations of potential members in the preparation phase of the ceremony (1QS 1:11-13).

pressed in language reminiscent of the laws for those with contagious
skin disease,[67] would remain for as long as he rejected God's laws and
the Yahad's discipline.

By contrast, those who embodied the spirit of the true counsel of
God, the spirit of holiness, and the spirit of uprightness and humility,
could achieve atonement for all their sins and purification for their
flesh (1QS 3:6-9).[68] These three spirits, which represented the basic
characteristics associated with membership in the Yahad, indicate that
atonement and purification were part of the community's inheritance.
Atonement was not required of those coming to join the Yahad, but
rather was considered secondary to membership. Access to the purify-
ing waters (1QS 3:9),[69] and acceptance as a sweet smelling atoning
offering before God (1QS 3:11), were also consequences of living per-
fectly, that is, according to the Yahad's interpretations, according to all
that God had commanded.[70] The ultimate outcome of successful navi-

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[67] Compare 1QS 3:5, טמא טמא יהיה "Unclean, Unclean shall he be," with Lev
13:45, where one diagnosed with skin disease was required to wear torn clothes and
cry out "Unclean, Unclean." Notice here that the Yahad has blurred the lines between
ritual and moral impurity. Someone with skin disease was considered impure until the
disease was gone. For the Yahad, both ritual and moral impurity remained as long as
the person rejected God's laws. For more on the relationship between ritual and moral
impurity see Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford
University Press, 2000); Eyal Regev, "Abominated Temple and A Holy Community:
The Formation of the Notions of Purity and Impurity in Qumran," *DSD* 10 (2003):
243-278.

[68] Humility, here, is synonymous with submitting to accept God's law as the right
path for one's future, rather than as confession, remorse, and repentance for one's past
sin.

[69] Christiansen challenged the argument by Otto Betz, "Die Proselytentaufe der
Qumransekte und die Taufe im Neuen Testament," *RQ* 1 (1958-59): 216-220, that the
first washing had a special significance as an act of initiation. Betz proposed 1QS
2:25-3:12 as a sermon aimed at novices, warning them against the magical understand-
ing of the ritual washings and emphasizing inner cleansing. Christiansen argued that
since the sermon was addressed to those who refused to enter the covenant it addressed
the issue of renewal not initiation.

[70] The priority of boundary issues over issues of purification is expressed by
Christiansen: "When these two meanings are taken together, ritual washings become
symbols of status, either by being symbols for crossing the boundary from unclean to
pure, or by preparing for holiness. Because they are practiced within a closed commu-
nity of converted Jews they become associated with belonging inasmuch as their valid-
ity depends on right attitude. Conversely, wrong attitude causes both sin and impurity,
and characteristic of those who are outside, without access to purification. From the
perspective of boundaries, the point to note is that boundaries are drawn, first of all,
according to right or wrong attitudes" (*Covenant in Judaism and Paul*, 165).

gation in this process of purification was becoming a part of "the eternal covenant of the Yahad" (1QS 3:11-12).

For the members of a close community such as Qumran, such instruction in the ways and thoughts of the community is undertaken both formally and informally. Thomas Csordas's work on the genres of discourse in Catholic Pentecostal communities provides useful tools for understanding this process of instruction and indoctrination of new members. He describes the process by which the leader of a group discussion would reframe the expression of a member's experiences "into the terms of the movement's ritual discourse...subsequently reinforcing appropriately formed utterances with a knowing look and a smile or by sharing similar experiences of his own."[71] In this way, new members were taught, both directly and indirectly, the appropriate terminology and perspective from which to describe their experience as a member of the community.

The process of initiation into the Yahad was designed to similarly reframe the members' speech, and their basic framework for understanding their experience.[72] The *Maskil*'s instruction concerning the doctrine of the two spirits (1QS 3:16-4:26), and perhaps the whole of 1QS,[73] provided a clear framework for new initiates to understand their

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[71] Csordas, "Genre, Motive, and Metaphor," 450, based on Meredith McGuire, "Sharing Life in the Spirit: The Function of Testimony in Catholic Pentecostal Commitment and Conversation." (Paper presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1975) 8. The example Csordas gives consists of a member saying "I want to change my mind." The leader responds, saying: "Only God can change your mind. He will show you, you don't need to worry." Through this correction, the members learned to look for God's active hand in the world and in their lives, rather than lean on their intuition.

[72] Newsom describes this process of becoming a sectarian, in part, through the process of engaging with an entering into figured worlds, that is the ideal and ideological structures and/or perceptions of the institutions of the given community. "Whether the process is formal or informal, persons enter into figured worlds as novices and become both more proficient and more shaped by the worlds as they continue to engage in their discourse is an practices" (*Self as Symbolic Space,* 94). "Making a sectarian is, above all, a matter of remaking the language he speaks" (*Self as Symbolic Space,* 91-92).

[73] See Newsom's analysis of the whole of 1QS as designed for identity formation of the *Maskil*, and through him, of the whole community. "Thus what seems to underlie the selection and shaping of materials for the Serek ha-Yahad is a concern for instilling in the sectarian the character that is receptive to the community's discipline, the knowledge that makes the discipline both necessary and desirable, and a sense of how disciplines produce a community 'perfect in all that has been revealed from the whole law' (8:1-2)" (*Self as Symbolic Space,* 188).

experience of the world outside and the life of the community.[74] The *Maskil*'s instruction, which is surrounded by descriptions of the initiation and covenant ceremony (1QS 1-3 and 5-6), also exhibits similarities with covenantal texts.[75] It likely served as a sermon given to the membership after they crossed over in the *serekh*. The *Maskil* used it to instruct all the sons of light so that they would understand the nature of humanity according to their various spirits, and the signs, deeds, and outcomes that accompany each spirit.

The members were instructed by this sermon that the God of knowledge was the absolute source for all things, and that all of life's events were designed and established before they were created. Human experience within this world was to be understood as the battleground for the spirits of truth and wickedness. These spirits were associated with the realms of light and darkness, the angels who ruled over those realms, and the positive and negative characteristics that would befall those who walked according to them. As such, the impact of the sermon would have been similar to the liturgy of the blessings and curses recited earlier in the ceremony. Members were confronted by a world of polar opposites, in which the two sides were deliberately and indefinitely set in conflict with one another.

From this instruction, the members learned that their behavior and their fate were dependent upon the relative balance of these spirits. They learned that their past transgressions were to be understood as the work of the Angel of Darkness, who led them astray. They also recognized that their ability to sustain the life of the community was dependent upon the relative balance of the two spirits that they had inherited.[76] They could only hope that they were destined to maintain holiness in Israel until the time arrived for God to destroy wickedness altogether. This cosmic dualism formed the basic structure through which all of their experience was described and understood.

In order for instruction of this kind to successfully reframe the members' experience to the point that it would become accepted and natural, the new language had to maintain sufficient continuity with

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[74] We shall see in Chapter 7 – Rites of Communion that the *Hodayot* served a similar function of identity formation through framing one's experience of life.

[75] Baltzer connects 1QS 3-4 with the covenant descriptions of the ANE and the Bible (*The Covenant Formulary*). Notice especially the allusions Ex 34 and Mic 6:8.

[76] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space,* 85.

the language used to describe their previous experiences. To facilitate this transition, the Qumran community extensively employed allusions to the sacred texts of their shared tradition. By developing its own texts through the complex interweaving and adaptation of phrases and images borrowed from traditional texts, the lines between old and new became blurred. As a result, the members came to learn "how to speak a language saturated with the power and holiness of scripture, and also how to see in scripture references and allusions to the life and values of the sect itself."[77]

1.6. *Rebuke and Dismissal*

The final ritual associated with the covenant ceremony was the procedure for rebuking members for their transgressions of the community's laws, and in some cases expelling them from their midst.[78] The concern about the proper rebuking of fellow members was based on Lev 19:17, which reads, "you shall not hate your brother in your heart; you shall surely rebuke your neighbor, and you shall bear no sin because of him."[79] 1QS 5:24-6:1 elaborates on this and requires that fellow members be admonished "in truth, humility, and loving kindness for each other." As with the passage from Leviticus, the primary concern in 1QS was for the attitude and motives of the one bringing the rebuke. The proper rebuke could not be done in anger or with jealousy, had to be completed on the same day as the infraction, and required witnesses before being brought before the community.[80] In a community whose entire communal life was determined by ranking, it is not surprising that the members – especially those near the top – had to be protected from hateful rebukes designed to alter the hierarchy for the year to follow. At the same time, the high standards of perfection required of the community, in order to fulfill its role as "a house of holiness," made

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[77] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space,* 111.

[78] Rebuke and dismissal is associated with the covenant ceremony in both 1QS 5:24-6:1 and 4Q266 (4QD^a) frg. 11 17-18.

[79] This practice is also mentioned in Sir 19:13-17 and *T. Gad* 6:1-5.

[80] Similar requirements are found in CD 9:2-4 "any one of those who enter the covenant who brings a charge against his neighbor without reproof before witnesses, but brings it in his burning wrath or tells it to his elders to put him to shame; in taking vengeance and bearing a grudge...."

rebuke a necessary part of its communal life.

A few texts have been discovered that seem to indicate the presence of a formal procedure for rebuking members.[81] Unfortunately, it remains difficult to determine the precise relationship of these texts to one another, or to the description of rebukes described above. CD 9:16-20 describes a process by which a member was reported to the *mevaker*, often translated overseer, for transgression against the Torah. The witness to the transgression told the *mevaker*, who recorded it. If the member transgressed again, presumably repeating the same offense, it was recorded again. If caught a third time, "his judgment is complete." Two elements of this description are important for comparison with our next example, 4Q477. First, the rebuke was brought by an individual witness. Second, the member was dismissed, if that is indeed what is described here, after committing the same transgression three times.

Esther Eshel originally published 4Q477 under the title, "The Rebukes by the Overseer."[82] This fragmentary text contains a list of personal names, followed by the infractions for which 'they' rebuked each one. Eshel associates this text with the overseer due to his role in writing down the rebukes in CD 9. The list in 4Q477 contains at least two complaints against each person, but it is unclear if a third could have been listed as well. Attempts to harmonize the numbers of the transgressions between these two texts assumes that CD 9 refers not to judgment of the same transgression repeated three times, but rather any three transgressions against the covenant.[83]

Stephen Reed argues that since the *mevaker* is not mentioned in 4Q477, and the text repeats that a plural subject, 'they,' rebuked each

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[81] 4Q477; CD 9:16-20; 5Q13.

[82] Esther Eshel, "4Q477: The Rebukes by the Overseer," *JJS* 45 (1995): 111-122; Esther Eshel, "Rebukes Reported by the Overseer," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD XXXVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 474-483. See also Charlotte Hempel, "Who Rebukes in 4Q477?" *RQ* 16 (1995): 655-656.

[83] Since the three strikes law from CD 9:16-20 refers only to capital cases, it might be possible to read the three infractions as three separate capital sins. The transgressions mentioned in 4Q477 include: short temper, a haughty spirit, disturbing this spirit of the Yahad, mixing, something about evil, loving his near kin, and loving the goodness... (perhaps the fair neck as in Hosea 10:11 and CD 1:18-19). Unfortunately, none of these infractions matches up precisely with rules presented in the Yahad's penal code. There are some parallels, however, in some of the passages of admonition in these rule texts.

of the individuals, we are not dealing with the rebukes of the overseer, but rather with a record of the rebukes made by the community against some of its members.[84] Reed also notices that all three of the extant proper names share the same root, חנן. As a result, he speculates that this text may have provided a list of rebukes arranged alphabetically in order to make it easy to locate specific items. He proposes that the list functioned as an aid for ranking the members during the covenant renewal ceremony. It is also worth mentioning that 4Q477 contains no clear indication that any of these individuals were expelled because of these transgressions. 4Q477 frg. 1 2 may demonstrate that the motivation for this text was "to call to mind their offenses."[85] This might indicate that the text was a list of rebukes compiled throughout the year to be read out during the covenant ceremony, in order to ensure proper ranking of individuals.[86]

The process for the expulsion of a member was also driven by the need to maintain the holiness of the community. One of the Cave 4 copies of the *Damascus Document*, 4Q266 frg. 11 preserves a prayer to be recited by the priest appointed over the Many concerning one being dismissed.[87] The prayer emphasizes God as creator of all things and God's control over all things. Even so, it continues, God chose our ancestors and gave them the statutes of truth.

וגבולות הגבלתה לנו אשר את עובריהם ארותה ואנו עם פדותכה וצון
אתה ארותה את עובריהם ואנו הקימונו מרעיתך

> and you established boundaries for us, which those who transgress them, you curse, but we are the people of your redemption and the flock of

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[84] S. A. Reed, "Genre, Setting and Title of 4Q477," *JJS* 47 (1996): 147-148.

[85] Eshel claims that the first section of this text reserves a general introduction, which may have repeated or recorded the basic guidelines for rebukes in the community. As such a reference to calling to mind their offenses, may not be the motivation for this text, but rather a general statement about the purpose of recording rebukes, or the purpose of the assembly ("Rebukes Reported by the Overseer," 474).

[86] Eshel connects the series of rebukes in 4Q477 with the part of the ceremony that describes the man who refused to enter the covenant of God (1QS 2:25-3:6). Based on two lines of overlap with 5Q13 frg. 4, she claims that this rebuke was recited by the overseer ("Rebukes Reported by the Overseer," 475-476). There is nothing explicit in 1QS that indicates that the overseer was involved, and the text in 5Q13 is quite fragmentary and although it does include a line about standing before the overseer, it does not clearly indicate a series of rebukes.

[87] The prayer contained a speech formula and a blessing formula, indicating that it was likely used liturgically in connection with the ceremony of expulsion.

your pasture. You curse those who transgress them, when we uphold it. (4Q266 frg. 11 12-14)[88]

The community maintained that God had chosen to reveal to their ancestors the laws and statutes that lead to life. These laws were seen as boundaries that, if transgressed, would call down curses from God. These references to God cursing the transgressors surround an allusion to a traditional formulation of chosen-ness taken from Ps 100:3.[89] The prominence of this contrast between the flock that God leads and the nations that God leads astray supports reading the boundaries described in this text, in terms of social entities.

Expulsion from the Yahad meant that the person was really one of the sons of darkness and did not belong to the sons of light.[90] The introduction to the prayer indicates that "anyone who rejects these laws,[91] which are based on those statutes found in the Torah of Moses, can not be counted with all the sons of his truth" (4Q266 frg. 11 5-7). We have already seen two similar situations in which membership was withheld: first, from the insincere initiate (1QS 2:11-17), and second, from the one who refused to submit to the Yahad's discipline (1QS 2:25-3:6). What all three of these situations share in common is the certainty that no one who refuses to live according to the laws of the community can be considered part of the lot of God. If someone who was living among the Yahad could actually reject God's law, this meant that the social boundary God had established to keep the Yahad separate from wickedness had been breached. Expulsion of the guilty party from their midst, and prohibitions against having any contact with him, were required in order to maintain the level of perfection to which they were called.

The Yahad's legal codes provide further evidence for the expulsion of anyone who deliberately or defiantly transgressed the laws of Moses

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[88] Baumgarten, DJD XVIII, 77 translates the final phrase "You cursed their transgressers but preserved us."

[89] For evidence of the importance of Ps 100:3 for conceptualizing chosen-ness after the exile, see William M. Schniedewind, "'Are We His People Or Not?' Biblical Interpretation During Crisis," *Biblica* 76 (1995): 540-550.

[90] Aharon Shemesh, "Expulsion and Exclusion in the Community Rule and the Damascus Document," *DSD* 9 (2002): 44-74.

[91] I.e. the rules governing the community's life together, as in the previous fragment 4Q266 frg. 10 ii, which parallels 1QS 7:8-16.

or the laws of the community.[92] 1QS 8:16-18 reads, "And any of the men of the community, the covenant of the community, who deliberately (ביד רמה) turns aside from all that is commanded, in any matter whatsoever, he shall not touch the pure meal of the men of holiness and shall not know any of their counsel until his deeds are purified from all wickedness to walk in perfection of way."[93] Any deliberate sin, even against the laws of the community not specified in the Torah, prohibited someone from participating in the initiation process until it was clear that he was able to walk in perfection. He was excluded from the meal and also from the counsel. Once the community judged that this had taken place, the member could begin the process to finally be admitted to the ranks of the community.[94]

1QS 8:20 goes on to describe the perfection that was required of those who had begun the process to enter the council of holiness. If he deliberately (ביד רמה), deceitfully, or negligently (through laziness or idleness) transgressed the Torah of Moses in any way, "[he] shall be sent away from the council of the community and shall return no more" (1QS 8:22-23).[95] Even his material goods became off limits and had to be separated from those of the community. If, on the other hand, he had acted inadvertently, he was still removed from his position as a member of the community, and it was as if he returned to the beginning of the initiation process. He was excluded from the meal and endured two years without access to the community's counsel. If in that

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[92] There is biblical precedent for this practice in Num 15:30, where one who sins defiantly (ביד רמה), literally with a raised hand, against the LORD is to be cut off from among the people. See Shemesh, "Expulsion and Exclusion," for more on the distinctions between deliberate and inadvertent sins at Qumran.

[93] 1QS 5:12 also describes deliberate sin as keeping someone out of the community. Also, judgment, vengeance, and wrath will come on them so that they will leave no remnant.

[94] This is similar to the requirements of 1QS 3:5-6. One who rejected the judgments of God was excluded from instruction and counsel, and since it is the spirit of true counsel that brings atonement, he was thereby considered unclean. Compare also 1QS 7:19. In that case one who trembled before the authority of the community and either turned away from this behavior or returned to the community after having left, underwent a 2-year process of reinstatement that mirrored that of new initiates.

[95] This final phrase of judgment is a double entendre. It indicates that the sinner is expelled from the community, never to return, but it also means that it is impossible for him to repent (שוב) again. Such a person has shown himself to be a member of the lot of Belial. For him there is no hope.

time his way became perfect, he could be restored upon the completion
of two years, provided he committed no further inadvertent sin.[96]

   These texts show that perfection was not just an ideal to be strived
for by the members of the community, it was the law. Conversely, one
who chose to defy the laws of the community showed himself to be
one of the sons of darkness. Given the strong determinism of the
community, the members must have concluded that he never should
have been counted among them. He was also denied any possibility for
return, as no amount of repentance could change his lot.

2. SUMMARY

We have shown that the complex initiation and covenant ceremony
functioned at Qumran as a rite of passage establishing the legal, social,
and ideological boundaries of the community.

   Repentance, in the sense of turning toward the true path of God's
laws, was an essential requirement for potential initiates, and provided
identity for the whole community. The community's belief that both
God's actions and humanity's actions had already been determined
according to the divine plan, however, dissociated the people's repen-
tance from the arrival of God's mercy and deliverance. Similarly, puri-
fication and atonement were dependent primarily on membership in
the community, although it is clear that repentance was required for
that membership. Inside the Yahad, since the members were expected
to maintain a life of perfection, the need for repentance was also essen-
tially obviated. A member's deliberate sin revoked his membership
either permanently or temporarily, and returned him to the status of
either an outsider or a prospective initiate, thus maintaining a commu-
nity of those who walk in perfection.

   The ceremony provided a rite of passage for initiates to gradually
become members, being introduced to more and more of the life and
thought of the community. They were taught the community's laws
and were instructed concerning the dualistic nature of the universe and

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[96] 1QS 9:1 also says that one who sinned inadvertently, even once, returned to ini-
tiate status. He had to go through the 2-year penance to be restored to purity. However,
one who sinned deliberately was expelled never to return (Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*,
170-171). See also CD 20:1-8.

their role as the chosen, living within the cosmic battle between the spirits of truth and wickedness. For initiates, as well as for members, the annual ceremony provided an opportunity for examination and advancement in rank within the membership. The fact that all members participated in the ceremony every year indicates that even members saw themselves in a liminal state, on the way to becoming perfect. They recognized that there was always a danger of falling off the wagon, so to speak. Each one had to remain diligent and to regularly reassert his commitment to the covenant, by yearly reenacting that crossing over. The crossing over was never fully complete, but would be repeated until the end came and all were made perfect.

The ceremony also provided yearly reassessment and reassertion of the internal rank of its members and the status of initiates. It revealed the powerful grid at work within the various hierarchies of the community. Throughout each stage, the behavior of each participant was restricted by their particular role with the community. First, we have potential members coming to be examined by one of the leaders, and confirmed by the Many. During the first half of the ceremony there were roles for the priests, the Levites, and the initiates. The absolute hierarchy that would govern community life for the following year was established for all members according to their divisions (priests, Levites, and people; further broken down into thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens). The expectation of rebuking one another also reinforced the internal pressure to submit to the Yahad's discipline, and to live the life of perfection to which they were called.

The ceremony warned against betrayal and reemphasized group identity, by offering curses against those who entered insincerely, those who refused to enter, and those who sinned deliberately against the community's laws. These failures identified such people as the members of the lot of Belial, but their presence in the ceremony indicated the constant threat of infiltration and pollution. The Yahad's strong external boundaries were established in order to try to recognize and weed out the "other," who was clearly defined in the ritual, and was literally demonized.

CHAPTER THREE

FEASTS AND FASTS

Meals are powerful events in the life of any community. They serve many functions beyond simple physical sustenance. Whether such meals are associated with holidays such as Thanksgiving or Passover, or are common daily meals enjoyed within a family, significant elements of meaning are conveyed by the practice of eating together. Especially in communities, such as the Yahad, where members gather to eat together on a regular basis, meals take on many layers of meaning.[1] Such meanings can be expressed through the rules governing who is permitted to participate and in what order. The types of food and drink that are served, the types of actions that accompany the meal, and the location and occasion for the meal are also significant. Understanding the nature of the meal also requires understanding the symbolic explanations or, in our case, the associations with prominent traditional images of the community's religious life. Within the Yahad, purity concerns add further significance to the types of food being served, the utensils used, and the status of those present. Meals, being ubiquitous in the life of the community, bring about traditions and routines that easily develop into rules a community is expected to follow.

Often the meanings of communal meals are closely tied up with a community's fundamental identity and structures of social status. As such, this type of ritual contains elements associated with political rites and rites of communion, to be discussed below in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively. On the one hand, communal meals are typically presided

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[1] For a sociological discussion of the significance of meals, see Bell, *Ritual*, 120-128; Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," in *Implicit Meanings: Selected Essays in Anthropology* (2nd ed.; London: Routledge, 1999). See also Per Bilde, "The Common Meal in the Qumran Essene Communities," in *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World* (eds. Inge Nielsen and Hanne Sigismund Nielsen; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1998) 145-166, for a discussion of the significant elements of common meals that go beyond eating and drinking. He lists 1) material culture, 2) traditions and history, 3) social context, and 4) feelings values and expectations.

over by the leadership of the community, thus reinforcing its established hierarchy and social structure. Where one sits is often a reflection on his or her status, as all who have been "banished to the kids' table" at a large family gathering can attest. On the other hand, gathering around the table for a meal is an expression of a common bond of membership, and in some cases it establishes clear boundaries and identity for the community.

This chapter examines the ritual practice of communal meals at Qumran, in light of these issues. After discussing the archaeological and textual evidence for meals at Qumran, we will bring these findings together and describe the meals' liturgical context. We shall see that Qumran's meals exhibited connections with both the sacrificial system from the Temple and the community's eschatological expectations. However, the real power of the meals in the life of the community came from their influence in the formation of communal identity and their political implications regarding authority and hierarchy. We will conclude with a brief discussion about the surprising lack of evidence for the practice of fasting at Qumran.

1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR COMMUNAL MEALS AT QUMRAN

1.1. *Dining Rooms*

Excavation of the Qumran site revealed that the Qumran compound included a dining hall (L77), which measured 22 meters long and 4.5 meters wide.[2] It contained means for easy cleaning and was directly adjoined by a pantry that held some one thousand pottery vessels. In addition, a kitchen with several fireplaces was found nearby. Inside the dining hall, there were no benches for reclining, which supports Schiffman's claim that they sat while eating according to biblical custom rather than following Graeco-Roman practice of reclining.[3]

The adjoining pantry was destroyed in the earthquake of 31 B.C.E.

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[2] See illustrations of the remains of the Qumran site in Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, Figs. 5-8.

[3] Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 199. This may be further supported by Josephus in *War* 2.130, who describes the Essenes using a term for sitting (*kathisanton*) rather than a term for reclining (such as *klino*).

Among the plates and bowls, there were also serving dishes and pitchers, indicating that it included a full set of the necessary utensils. It is likely that the Yahad maintained individual plates in order to ensure purity, rather than using communal dishes, as was common in other groups. Purity concerns also led the Yahad to produce their own pottery.

Based on the location of the animal bone deposits to be discussed below, Magness proposes that a second dining room was added to the site toward the end of period 1b, after the earthquake. This dining room was located in the northwest area, on the second floor over locations L111, 120, 121, 122, and 123. A second room containing dining pottery (L114) was located next to the circular cistern. There was also a large baking oven and two *mikva'ot* in the area.[4] The presence of *mikva'ot* at the entrances to both dining rooms supports the practice of ritual washing prior to entering the dining hall for a meal.

Both of the dining rooms probably remained in service through period II, based on the bone deposits in those layers. The large dining hall was likely reconstructed after the earthquake on the second floor, as the south entrance was closed, the water channel used to clean the floor was blocked up, and pillar bases and a staircase were built.[5]

1.2. *Animal Remains*

Several deposits of animal bones were discovered at various locations around the site. The bones were buried in large sherds of pitchers or pots or intact jars with their lids on.[6] De Vaux claims that the careful burials indicate a "religious preoccupation." The fact that no altar or cult place has been found at Qumran, in combination with the evidence of the texts regarding sacrifice, leads to the conclusion that these were

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[4] Jodi Magness, "Communal Meals and Sacred Space at Qumran," in *Shaping Community: The Art and Archaeology of Monasticism* (ed. Sheila McNally; 941; Oxford: BAR International Series, 2001) 21; Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran.*

[5] Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 122-123.

[6] Multiple deposits were found in each of seven locations. See Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran,* 117, for more detail on the types of animals found in each location. The presence of bones that contained no meat indicates that they were not just the remains of a meal. Bones of ox and cow indicate that they were not related to the celebration of Passover.

not the remains of sacrificial rites. It is difficult to understand the burial of these bones since there is no literary evidence for any such Jewish sacrificial or religious rite. Schiffman claims that the bones were buried in order to keep dogs from scattering them throughout the site and defiling the members.[7] Magness claims that the bones had been used for some special meal and could not be discarded, but also that they needed to be buried in order to avoid accidental impurity by touching them.[8]

2. TEXTS ABOUT MEALS[9]

2.1. *1QS 6:1-8*

There are two texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls that mention common meals explicitly. The first is found in 1QS 6:1-8:

לה 2 יתהלכו בכול מגוריהם כול הנמצא איש את רעהו וישמעו הקטן ᵃב{}
לגדול למלאכה ולממון ויחד יואכלו

3 ויחד יברכו {לה}ויחד יועצו ובכול מקום אשר יהיה שם עשרה אנשים
מעצת החיד (היחד) אל ימש מאתם איש

4 כוהן ואיש כתכונו ישבו לפניו וכן ישאלו לעצתם לכול דבר יהיה כיא יערוכו
השיל{}חן לאכול או התירוש

5 לשתות הכוהן ישלח ידו לרשונה להברך הראשית הלחם או התירוש
לשתות הכוהן ישלח ידו לרשונה

6 להברך בראשית הלחם והתירוש ואל ימש במקום אשר יהיו שם העשרה
איש דורש בתורה יומם ולילה

7 תמוד עליפות <חליפות> איש לרעהו והרבים ישקודו ביחד את שלישית

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[7] Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea* Scrolls, 338. Schiffman bases his conclusion on a passage from 4QMMT (4Q397 frgs. 58-59) that prohibits dogs from entering the city because they might eat the remaining meat off some of the bones. As Magness notes, this text does not explain why the Qumran community would not simply discard the bones outside the site, thus keeping dogs away from the site (*Archaeology of Qumran,* 120).

[8] Magness cites Jean Duhaime, "Remarques sur les depots d'ossements d'animaux a Qumran," *RQ* 9 (1977-1978): 245-251, regarding the bone deposits as the remains of the covenant renewal meal. See also Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 44-45.

[9] A methodological note: Rather than discuss the works of Josephus and Philo as providing evidence for Qumran's meals, we will base our description on Qumran texts and only reference these Hellenistic authors to highlight connections or comparisons.

כול לילות השנה לקרוא בספר ולדרוש משפט
8 ולברך ביחד

> In these things they shall walk at all their dwellings/sojourns all who are
> located each with his neighbor. And they shall hear/obey from the small-
> est to the largest regarding work and money.[10] And together they shall
> eat and together they shall bless and together they shall take counsel. In
> every place which there are there ten men from the council of the Yahad,
> there shall not cease from with them a man who is a priest and each ac-
> cording to his plan they shall sit before him and thus they shall ask for
> their counsel for everything or on any matter. And when they shall set
> the table to eat or the new wine to drink, the priests shall send his hand
> first, to cause to bless[11] the firstfruits of the bread and the new wine. And
> there shall not cease, in any place which there are ten men, a man who
> interprets the Torah day and night always alternating one with his
> neighbor. And the Many shall watch over together a third of every night
> of the year to read in the book and to interpret judgment(s) and to bless
> together.[12]

Before we can discuss what this text indicates about Qumran meals,
we are confronted with a key interpretive question. Does this section of
1QS describe life in the Yahad or that of the broader Essene movement
in the camps?

Knibb claims that 1QS 6:1c-8a contains regulations directed at
members of the Essene movement who did not live at Qumran, but
rather amongst their fellow Jews, based on the collection into groups
of ten.[13] He considers this passage to have been taken from a different
source than the surrounding material. Leaney also understands the sec-
tion to be dealing with members of the community who lived in small,
scattered groups and who came together for some meals.[14] The evi-

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[10] 4QS[i] has the more common term for wealth הון instead of ממון. Leaney attributes
the change to the unthinking use of the more common word (*The Rule of Qumran and
Its Meaning*, 181).

[11] The form of the verb "to bless" is unusual. Should it be understood as a *Hiph'il*
or a *Niph'al*? In Biblical Hebrew it appears most commonly in *Pi'el* and only appears
three times in *Niph'al*, meaning bless oneself, and once in *Hiph'il*, meaning make
them kneel. Brownlee translates the verb to invoke a blessing ("The Dead Sea Manual
of Discipline," 22).

[12] Lines 5-6 include a section that is exact duplicate of parts of lines 4-5, and has
been deleted from the translation. The scribal error is attributed to *homoioarchon*.

[13] Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 115. He notes a comparison with the *havurot* of
the Pharisees. See also the description of gathering in groups of ten found in CD 12-
13, although that text does not refer to gathering for meals.

[14] Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, 180-181.

dence for this is clear from the reference to dwellings and an injunction to act together, which he claims would surely have been superfluous at Qumran.

At the same time, we must account for the incorporation of these regulations into the *Rule of the Community*.[15] The repetition of the term יחד, including explicit reference to the council of the Yahad indicates that these regulations applied to the communal life at Qumran. For the members of the Yahad, these regulations would have reinforced the righteousness of their decision to join the true Community that eats, blesses, and deliberates together every day.

Given the importance of the ranking and ordering of members within the covenant ceremony, and also within the general assembly, we can assume that Qumran's meals were presented in an orderly fashion, and that the members sat according to rank and ate according to rank. We can also assume that the priests presided over the assembly, and that the priest was the first in line to make a blessing.[16] Given the prominence of these characteristics at Qumran, it is more likely these requirements were designed to assure that gatherings outside of Qumran maintained something of the character of the Qumran meals, that is an ordered, communal gathering led by a priest.

What is the nature of the ritual meal as described in this text? Schiffman argues that the various events mentioned here – eating, blessing and deliberating – are to be understood as independent occasions on which the members acted in unity.[17] The section contains a few sentences each that refer to meals, times of communal prayer, and occasions of study and discussion. The strongest support for Schiffman's position is found in the last line, which refers to the requirements for study and blessing throughout the night as clearly independent from the meal.

Conversely, Klinghardt sees the description that the people should eat together, bless together, and take counsel together, as an example

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[15] The Cave 4 versions of the *Rule of the Community* indicate that this section was integral to the text.

[16] Priestly precedence here is based on the obligation to give the firstfruits one's produce to the priests before enjoying its benefits. See 11QT^a 19:5.

[17] Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Communal Meals at Qumran," *RQ* 10 (1979): 45-56.

of the typical form of a gathering of Hellenistic associations.[18] He claims that the assemblies of Hellenistic voluntary associations always consisted of three parts: a meal, libation that included singing hymns in unison, and the symposium, a drinking party that included honoring members, counseling disciplinary cases, and often learned conversation and teaching. The lines that follow support the conclusion that all three of these elements occurred as part of a single event. Lines 3-5 form a unified description of a gathering that includes discussion and inquiry of the members, followed by a meal blessed by the priest.

In conclusion, 1QS 6 provides evidence for Qumran's regular common meal, presided over by a priest, in which members sat and were questioned according to rank on some matter. The priest invoked a blessing before partaking of the food,[19] which was bread and new wine, although it is certainly possible that these objects serve as metonymies for other types of food.[20] There is no indication here of any blessing taking place after the meal, unless we understand the nightly study and blessings to remain directly connected as a continuation of the meal.[21] Overall, the ritual emphasized the unity with which the members undertook these important activities. It also reinforced priestly authority and the established hierarchy of membership.

2.2. *1QSa 2:17-22*

The second text that describes a ritual surrounding a meal is found in the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa 2:17-22):

17 ...ו[אם לשול]חן יחד יועד[ו או לשתות הת]ירוש וערוך השולחן

18 היחד [ומסוך ה]תירוש לשתות] אל ישלח [איש את ידו ברשת

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[18] Klinghardt, "Manual of Discipline," 28-29, also draws connections between Qumran meals and Hellenistic symposium feasts.

[19] The *Maskil*'s hymn at the end of 1QS includes, within the list of times appropriate for blessing God, a reference to blessing before eating. "I will bless him with the offering of that which proceeds from my lips from the midst of the ranks of men, and before I lift my hands to eat of the pleasant fruits of the earth" (1QS 10:14-15). This is further evidence for prayer before eating as described in 1QS 6. It also alludes to the ranking of the members at the meal.

[20] Notice the similar use of "the table" in line 4 referring to the food to be eaten.

[21] Similarities with the symposium attached to the end of the meal in Hellenistic associations may support this notion. See Klinghardt, "Manual of Discipline," 28-29.

19 הלחם ו[התירוש] לפני הכוהן כיא[הוא מ]ברך את רשית הלחם

20 והתירו[ש ושלח]ידו בלחם לפנים ואח[ר יש]לח משיח ישראל ידיו

21 ש[¹] בלחם [ואחר יבר]כו כול עדת היחד א[יש לפי] כבודו וכחוק הזה יע

22 לכול מע[רכת כי יו]עדו עד עשרא אנש[י]ם [

And if they gather for the table of the Yahad or to drink the new wine, and the table of the Yahad is set and the new wine to drink is poured, a person shall not send out his hand to the firstfruits of the bread and the new wine before the priest for he blesses the firstfruits of the bread and the new wine and sends forth his hand on the bread before them. And afterward the messiah of Israel shall send forth his hand on the bread and after they shall bless, all the congregation of the Yahad, each according to his glory and according to this statute he shall do for all the array/row/rank that appointed up to ten men.

Despite the explicit indication that the *Rule of the Congregation* applies primarily to the last days, the meal description shows significant similarities with the text from 1QS. As in 1QS, the members sit according to rank, according to their place, in the order of their dignity. The food served is similarly described as the firstfruits of the bread and the new wine, although they spell 'firstfruits' differently. In both cases, people are restricted from touching the bread before the priest has made a blessing. The present social structures of the community are mirrored in what is envisioned to take place in the eschatological future.

The *Rule of the Congregation* explicitly indicates that after the priest's blessing, a blessing is recited by the Messiah of Israel, and then by each of the members present in order. There is no mention in 1QSa of the discussion or study in relation to the meal, unless we understand such a discussion to be implied by the reference to "those called to the assembly."[22] The members act in order of their ranking, although here they recite a blessing instead of being questioned concerning some matter of law. In addition, these regulations are explicitly reserved for gatherings of more than ten members.

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[22] 1QSa 2:11. The text reads קריאי מועד, which could refer instead to a festival or appointed time rather than an assembly. This might indicate in the context of 1QSa, that this meal is taking place in connection with the covenant renewal ceremony during *Shavuot* and as such, serves as the connection between the members of the Yahad with those from the camps who are called to the assembly. Vermes sees this supported by the discovery of female remains in one of the cemeteries (*Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 44). However, neither of these meal texts contains any reference to the covenant.

Once again we must ask whether this description provides evidence of the Yahad's practice of communal meals. Unlike 1QS, 1QSa presumes a mixed community of men, women and children. As such, it could be understood to apply primarily either to the broader Essene movement, or to a time in the future when many would come to join the Yahad. In either case, the close similarities with 1QS indicate that this eschatological banquet was based on the regular communal meals of the Yahad.[23] 1QSa 2:22 indicates that this was the procedure for *all* meals at which there were more than ten people present. We should assume that all meals at Qumran included at least ten members, and would therefore follow this pattern.

2.3. *Tohorat HaRabim*

The *Rule of the Community* contains a number of references to טהרת הרבים, "the purity of the Many."[24] Access to this purity is designated as reserved for only those initiates who have successfully completed one year within the Yahad (1QS 6:16-17). Most scholars interpret this as referring to the food of the community, by analogy with משקה הרבים, "the drink of the Many," which is reserved for more advanced initiates.[25] In this way, the purity of the Many symbolizes partial membership within the community. Full membership is symbolized by access to the drink of the Many and the complete transfer of one's belongings to the community. The distinction between food and drink is based on the greater susceptibility of liquids to transmit impurity.[26]

Access to the purity of the Many is also prominent in the penal code. For example, someone who lies deliberately in matters of prop-

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[23] Note that 1QSa 2:17-18 calls the meal השולחן היחד "the table of the Yahad."

[24] 1QS 6:25; 7:3, 16, 19.

[25] See Friedrich Avemarie, ""Tohorat ha-Rabbim" and "Mashqeh ha-Rabbim" - Jacob Licht Reconsidered," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (eds. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 220-221, for a discussion of the various interpretations of the phrase. Dupont-Sommer connects the 'purity' with ritual washing, and the 'drink' with the meal ("Culpabilité et rites de purification dans la secte juive de Qumran," Semitica 15 (1965): 61-70).

[26] See Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Liquids and Susceptibility to Defilement in New 4Q Texts," *JQR* 85 (1994): 91-101.

erty was to be excluded from the purity of the Many for one year, and was forced to give up one-quarter of his food.[27] This description indicates that the purity of the Many is more complicated than simply solid food. A member who was punished was excluded from the purity of the Many, but was not at the same time cut off completely from the food. He was only required to forfeit a portion of his ration. From what, then, was he excluded? He certainly was not excluded from all food.

An alternative interpretation associates the purity of the Many with the communal meal, and not to the food in particular. In this scenario, we are faced with a situation in which mid-level initiates were granted access to the common meal, but were restricted from partaking of anything to drink. Even if they were seated, according to rank, at the far end of the room, would not their very presence still have put the members at risk of impurity because liquids were present? It is difficult to imagine that the members would have been willing to subject themselves to such a ready potential source of impurity on a regular basis.

The most compelling explanation understands the purity of the Many and the drink of the Many as referring to levels of purity that had many consequences for the social interaction between members and initiates.[28] Those who could not touch the purity of the Many were severely restricted from contact with the full members of the community for fear of defiling them. Not only were they excluded from the meal itself, but also from ritual purification. Pryke understands the purity of the Many to refer also to "the whole life of correct handling of food, vessels and contacts with persons."[29]

One who could not touch the drink of the Many had greater opportunity for social interaction with the members, but remained restricted from contact with any liquids or fruits that could, if squeezed, produce juices that could carry his impurity.[30] As we discussed above, one who was not allowed to come in contact with liquids would scarcely have

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[27] 1QS 6:24-25. Column 7 continues with a series of offenses and similar punishments of exclusion from the purity of the Many and rations of one's food.

[28] For a further discussion of this understanding, see Avemarie, ""Tohorat ha-Rabbim"," 215-229.

[29] John Pryke, "The Sacraments of Holy Baptism and Holy Communion in the Light of the Ritual Washings and Sacred Meals at Qumran," *RQ* 5 (1966): 544.

[30] Avemarie, ""Tohorat ha-Rabbim"," 225.

been allowed to participate in a meal in which new wine was served. In effect, then, exclusion from the drink of the Many would have also meant exclusion from the communal meal.[31] In this case, access to the meal is reserved only for those who have completed their process of initiation, and as such the meal serves as an expression of full membership in the community.[32]

2.4. *Was there Grace after Meals?*

The descriptions of meals from 1QS and 1QSa both refer to blessings recited by the priest, and perhaps by each of the members, before partaking of the meal. However, these texts do not mention any blessings after meals. In spite of this, Moshe Weinfeld has suggested that such blessings were part of the Qumran community's daily liturgical practice, based on a liturgical interpretation of 4QDeut[n,j]. He also has found an example of such a liturgy in 4Q434 frg. 2.[33]

Weinfeld finds support for the practice of blessing after meals in two manuscripts that contain a selection of texts from Deuteronomy (4QDeut[n,j]).[34] He claims that these selections all represent liturgical contexts, and as such provide a basis for grace after meals by their in-

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[31] The term משקה could also be taken to mean meal or feast, as it is the common Aramaic rendering of משתה.

[32] Josephus, in *War* 2.129-133, describes the Essenes' daily meal as reserved exclusively for the membership. He indicates that they purified themselves and changed clothes before entering the dining hall, "as to some sacred shrine."

[33] Moshe Weinfeld, "Grace after Meals in Qumran [4Q434]," *JBL* 111 (1992): 427-440. See also Josephus, *War* 2.129-133: "When breakfast is ended, he pronounces a further grace; thus at the beginning and at the close they do homage to God as the bountiful giver of life."

[34] See also the following works on these Deuteronomy manuscripts. Sidnie Ann White, "4QDeut[n]: Biblical Manuscript of Excerpted Text?" in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism and Christian Origins, Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (eds. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin; New York/London: University Press of America, 1990) 13-20; Julie A. Duncan, "Considerations of 4QDt[j] in Light of the 'All Souls Deuteronomy' and Cave 4 Phylactery Texts," in *The Madrid Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (eds. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1992) 1:199-215.

clusion Deut 8:5-10.[35] These verses describe the good food of the land
that God is giving the Israelites, and ends by telling them that they will
eat and be satiated and bless God.[36] Weinfeld claims that 4Q434 frg. 2
represents an example of grace after meals recited at Qumran. He
originally separated 4Q434 frg. 2 from the collection of the *Barkhi
Nafshi* hymns (4Q434-438), based on proposed parallels with three
passages of the Babylonian Talmud, which describe grace after meals
in a house of mourning.[37] However, in *DJD* 29, Weinfeld and Seely
conclude that fragment 2 is part of the same skin as fragment 1, and
therefore should not be separated from the collection of *Barkhi Nafshi*
hymns.[38]

There is no indication within the *Barkhi Nafshi* collection that these
prayers should be associated with particular occasions in the life of the
community, and in the absence of evidence for reciting blessings after
meals, we cannot use these comparisons to posit a practice of grace
after meals at Qumran.[39] In conclusion, the only clear examples of lit-
urgy at meals are blessings recited before reaching out to touch the
food and drink of the meal mentioned in 1QS 6:4b-6; 10:14b-15a; and

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[35] For example 4QDeut[j] contains: Deut 5-6 (Decalogue, *Shema* and *tefillin*); Deut
11 (*tefillin*); Ex 12-13 (*tefillin*); Deut 8:5-10 (meals); and Deut 32 (according to *b. Roš
Haš.* 31a and *y. Meg.* 3:6, 74b, this was recited by the Levites in the Temple. Deut 32
was also divided into seven sections for the days of the week and recited by the
ma'amadot).

[36] He argues that the *vacat* in 4QDeut[n] betrays an awareness of a debate later taken
up by the rabbis as to whether it was necessary to say a grace only after bread or after
eating any fruit of the land. According the Weinfeld, the blank space in the text indi-
cates that only bread is associated with the requirement for blessing. Since only bread
is mentioned as food in the Qumran scrolls, this cannot be further verified. Is it possi-
ble that the Qumran community understood Deut 8:10 as requiring a blessing, but not
indicating that it had to be after the meal? It does say you shall eat and be satisfied and
bless God. It would be difficult to reverse them.

[37] Moshe Weinfeld, "Grace after Meals at the Mourner's House in a Text From
Qumran," *Tarbiz* 61 (1991): 15-23; Weinfeld, "Grace after Meals in Qumran
[4Q434]." The key passages are *b. Ber.* 44a, 46b, and 48b. The key parallel themes
are: 1) food for all creatures, 2) the land, 3) Jerusalem and the Messianic line, and 4)
the good one who does good. Weinfeld further claims that these same elements are
present in the *Didache*'s grace after meals.

[38] Moshe Weinfeld and David Seely, "Barkhi Nafshi[a]," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Po-
etic and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 267.

[39] See Edward M. Cook, "A Thanksgiving for God's Help (4Q434 II-III)," in
Prayer from Alexander to Constantine: A Critical Anthology (ed. Mark Kiley; London:
Routledge, 1997) 14-17, for an alternative reading of this fragment in the context of
Barkhi Nafshi.

1QSa 2:17-21. Unfortunately, we have no information about the wording associated with such blessings.

3. LITURGICAL CONTEXT

Only full members of the Yahad were allowed to participate in the meal at Qumran, whereas all others were categorically excluded.[40] Those being initiated into the community, and those being punished for breaking the rules of the community, were excluded until they successfully completed their (re)instatement. The *Rule of the Congregation* also indicates that those with an affliction or any physical handicap were prohibited from entering the congregation because of the exalted holiness associated with the presence of angels in their congregation (1QSa 2:4-9). It is reasonable to assume that this restriction also applied to the community's meals.

Our texts describe meals at which at least ten men were present. It is unclear whether this implies a requirement that all meals have a minimum of ten present, or if, when ten are present, a priest was required to lead the meal.[41] In either case, the communal nature of the Yahad makes it likely that all meals at Qumran met this threshold and, therefore, would have followed this structure.

Qumran's meals indicate a prominent leadership role of the priest, as he is described as the first to bless the meal and to begin eating.[42] The *Rule of the Congregation* even indicates the priest's priority over the Messiah of Israel at the messianic banquets, at the end of days. The superiority of the priesthood is, as we know, quite prominent in Qumran literature, but there are two issues that contribute to the priest's priority with regard to meals. First, the food served at the meal is described as firstfruits, which biblical law requires be presented first to the priests at the Temple (Ex 23:19; Lev 23:10). Second, there is evi-

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[40] It seems that similar meals may have taken place outside of Qumran that were more inclusive, and perhaps less regular. However, our concern here is only for the life of the community at Qumran.

[41] If the latter, attempts to see here a connection with the concept of a *minyan* as the minimum number for a community are misguided.

[42] Chaim Rabin discussed the priestly priority at meals in rabbinic law (*Qumran Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957) 33). See *b. Git.* 59b. In that case, another can recite the blessing if he begins with "by the permission of the priest."

dence that the priests were responsible for guaranteeing that the food served was pure.[43] The implications of these explanations will be addressed below.

Preparation for participation in the Qumran meal likely included purification in water before entering into the dining hall.[44] All members who were allowed access to the meal entered and sat in order of their rank. Before the start of the meal, the priest likely led a discussion or inquiry on some matter of importance, in which each member was questioned. Once the table was set, the priest would invoke a blessing for the firstfruits of the bread and new wine.[45] The members would follow with blessings of their own, again in order. Although the process of eating is not described in the scrolls, presumably the members received their food in order and ate in order. It is possible, but not certain, that the meal concluded with further blessings.

Rabin claims, based on comparative examples, that such a meal of more than ten members would have met on communal ground or in special buildings.[46] In *m. Zabim* 3:2, the synagogue is suggested as a place for such a meal, and there may also be connections with Passover meals. The New Testament descriptions of both the last supper and the meal in the upper room may represent a similar practice. At Qumran, the rooms identified as dining halls could easily accomodate such communal meals. The main dining room (L77), especially, was centrally located and set off from the rest of the site by *mikva'ot* used for purification in preparation for the meal. It also was equipped with means for easy cleaning and drainage.

How often did such meals occur? Klinghardt claims that the simi-

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[43] See Bilde, "The Common Meal," 161. To support the connection between the priests and the purity of the food he cites Josephus Antiquities 18:22: "They <the Essenes> elect by show of hands good men to receive their revenues and the produce of the earth and *priests to prepare the bread and other food*..." ("The Common Meal," n. 46), Bilde's italics.

[44] For the association of ritual baths before meals see 1QS 5:13; Josephus *War* 2.129; Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, 85; VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 85; Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Purification Rituals in DJD 7," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (eds. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 203-206.

[45] 1QS 6:5; 1QSa 2:18-20. The order of the blessings (bread / wine) matches that found in Gen 14:18 and the last supper in the synoptic gospels. In Jewish tradition today, however, the order is reversed. See Magness, "Communal Meals," 17 n. 13.

[46] Rabin, *Qumran Studies*, 33.

larities of structure between the Qumran meal and meals in Hellenistic voluntary associations indicate that Qumran's meals must also have taken place only periodically.[47] However, such a conclusion is not obvious. Just because the Qumran meal follows a basic pattern similar to that of Hellenistic associations, it does not follow that it could not have occurred more frequently in a close-knit community like Qumran. There is no clear evidence from the texts about the frequency of such meals. Our only indication comes from 1QSa 2:21-22, which states: וכחוק הזה יע]ו[>ש< לכול מע]רכת כי יו[עדו עד עשרא אנש]ים ["they shall act according to this statute for every meal in which ten men are gathered." If we take 1QS 6:2-3 to represent a prescription for the Yahad to "eat, bless and take counsel together," then we should conclude that they ate together on a regular basis, at least daily.[48]

   The central feature of the meal ritual is the strict ordering of the events based on the rank of the members present. Participants enter and take their seats according to rank.[49] The pronouncement of a blessing before touching the food also proceeds according to rank, starting with the priest and progressing down through the entire membership. Josephus indicates that they may have also been served according to rank. This ranking was based on the annual examination and ranking of members according to their knowledge and their deeds (1QS 5:23-24).[50]

4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEAL

Now that we have described the details of the ritual surrounding Qumran's communal meals, we turn to the discussion of what such practice represented to the members. What type of action is a communal meal in the life of the Yahad? Much of the past discussion of this question

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[47] Klinghardt, "Manual of Discipline," 261-262.
[48] Note also that Josephus describes the Essenes' communal meal as a daily gathering.
[49] Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," 23 n. 9, mentions that the word *tikkun* used in 1QS 6:4 to refer to the seating arrangement is peculiar to the Dead Sea Scrolls. 1QSa refers instead to each member's dignity (כבודו).
[50] For more on the ranking of members see Chapter 2 – Rites of Passage. See also 1QS 7:20, where offending members were required to sit in the back, behind all the men of the Yahad.

has revolved around the question of whether or not Qumran's meals should be considered "sacred," "cultic," or "sacramental."[51] Typically, such a determination is based on comparisons with the early Christian practice of the *Eucharist*. While such comparisons are interesting in terms of the history of religious practice, similarities of form with Christian communal meals do not provide evidence that the meal carried similar meaning in a different social and ideological environment. For our purposes, we once again must focus on what our texts indicate about the meals, which will be characterized in four areas: associations with the Temple cult, messianic expectations, communal identity, and hierarchy.

Four aspects of Qumran's communal meals find parallels in the practice of the Temple cult: purification of the participants, restricted access to the meal, priestly leadership role, and food designated as firstfruits.[52] The Qumran texts are clear that only those members in good standing with the community are allowed to touch the food and drink of the meal. In the *Rule of the Community*, the meal is described in connection with the levels of purity achieved by new initiates. Given the prominence of the *mikva'ot* surrounding the dining halls, it is likely that before entering the room for the meal, all members passed through the *mikveh* for purification.[53] 1QSa 2 explicitly restricts any with physical handicaps or impurity from coming into the assembly, just as the inner courts of the Temple precincts were off limits to such peo-

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[51] Bilde, "The Common Meal," 145-166; Karl Georg Kuhn, "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. Krister Stendahl; Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975) 65-93; Magness, "Communal Meals," 15-28; Pryke, "The Sacraments of Holy Baptism," 543-552; Johannes van der Ploeg, "The Meals of the Essenes," *JSS* 2 (1957): 163-175. The main challenger of such designations is Schiffman, "Communal Meals at Qumran," 45-56. Also Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, 182-184. Sorting out the various positions presented in the above articles requires deciphering how each author defines these terms. Given the theologically charged nature of such terms, and the lack of their clear use at Qumran to describe the meals, we will leave this discussion for another occasion.

[52] Yadin also argues for communal meals as substitutes for sacrifice based on the use of similar phrases related to setting the table found in 1QM 2:5-6 and in the descriptions of the communal meals at Qumran. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*, 200. Schiffman argues that the language goes the other way, that it is actually meal terminology that is used in connection with sacrifices in the Ancient Near East as a way of describing sacrifices as a sort of meal, for or with a god(s) ("Communal Meals at Qumran," 52).

[53] Ritual washing before the meal is explicitly described by Josephus, but 1QS 5:13 can be read to indicate entrance into the waters as the precursor to joining the meal.

ple.[54] The penal codes exclude members who have sinned, thereby be-
coming impure both morally and ritually.[55] As in the Temple, all as-
pects of the ritual were led by the priest, and the priest was allowed
priority in terms of access to the food.[56]

Do these similarities indicate that the Qumran community saw its
meals as substituting for the act of sacrifice in the Temple? Not neces-
sarily. They considered their whole community to be functioning as a
Temple, and their righteousness and perfection in following God's
laws, as revealed to them, to be their part of fulfilling the covenant,
and assuring their eventual deliverance. The strong priestly character
of the Yahad and their sense of themselves as a "house of holiness"
contribute to the development of a ritual meal that contains elements of
the Temple cult. However, it does not follow that they considered their
meal to directly replace the sacrifices, or to act as a means for gaining
atonement.[57]

The one clear symbolic or theological connection that the Qumran
texts make is in regard to the eschatological future.[58] Comparison be-
tween the *Rule of the Community* and the *Rule of the Congregation*
provides evidence that there was some connection between the regular
meals of the community and the meal to be presided over by the
priestly messiah, and the messiah of Israel in the last days. The mem-
bers of the Yahad may have considered themselves to be living in the
last days, on the edge of the messianic era.[59] At the very least, their
regular communal meal anticipated the day when God would act on
behalf of the elect, when the two messiahs would be there together.[60]
Therefore, the symbolic significance of the meals should be seen as an

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[54] It is also possible that the exclusion of non-members was based on the laws for
the Passover meal (Ex 12-13), in which only those who were circumcised could par-
take of the meal, rather than the purity laws of the Temple.

[55] For further discussion of the connection between moral and ritual impurity at
Qumran see Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*; Regev, "Abominated Temple."

[56] For more on connections between meals and sacrifice see Magness, "Communal
Meals," 15-28. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*, 200-201; Schiffman,
Sectarian Law, 46, 52; Bilde, "The Common Meal," 161.

[57] Interpretations that depend heavily on Josephus and/or the Christian eucharist
tend to overemphasize the sacred and sacramental aspects of the meal. See for example
Kuhn, "The Lord's Supper," 65-93.

[58] See Schiffman, "Communal Meals at Qumran," 45-56.

[59] Schiffman, "Communal Meals at Qumran," 53.

[60] Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 116.

expression of messianic expectations, rather than as a substitute for the sacrificial cult of the Temple, which they believed would be restored to purity under their leadership in the last days.

In many societies, communal meals play a highly significant role in the formation of community identity, both in terms of distinguishing between insiders and outsiders, and also in defining relationships between members of the society. Meals at Qumran were no different.[61] As we have described above in Chapter 1, the Qumran community exhibited a strong communal identity with strict external boundaries and a strict hierarchy that controlled the behavior of the members within the group. The Yahad's communal meals strengthened both of these characteristics.[62]

Qumran's communal meals were restricted only to members in good standing. Initiates, those being punished, and of course non-members were all excluded from participation. Those who could participate were constantly reminded of the importance of acting together as a community. The passage of the *Rule of the Community* that describes the meal employs the term יחד six times, indicating communal activity. The members ate together, blessed together, and took counsel together. The combination of these activities reinforced the members' shared experience and united them around common goals and a common identity.[63]

At the same time that the communal meals strengthened the Yahad's group identity, they ritually enacted the hierarchical ranking that served to keep members in line. The priest's ultimate authority was not to be questioned or usurped, even by the messiah of Israel who was to come. Each member's place within the community was daily reinforced by where he sat, when he gave a blessing for the food, and

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[61] Bilde, "The Common Meal," 153. Bilde says that communal meals also served as symbols of membership in Judaism and in Pauline Christianity and cites 1 Cor 5:11.

[62] See, for example, Bilde, "The Common Meal," 162. "At all events, the common meal in the Qumran-Essene communities seems to have had a crucial position as possibly the most tangible expression, not only of the communal character of the group but also of its "purity" and its genuine "priestly" stamp, in other words, of its collective identity."

[63] "The common meal appears to have been a strong expression of the Qumran-Essene communities common history, experiences, identity and solidarity. It manifested the congregation as the only legitimate expression as the "true," "pure," "holy" chosen people" (Bilde, "The Common Meal," 162).

when he could eat.[64] These constant reminders of the ranking ensured that members would take seriously the annual examinations that were part of the covenant ceremony. As such, Qumran's meals must be understood in connection with other political rites to be discussed in Chapter 6.

5. SUMMARY

References to the communal meals of the Yahad are surprisingly limited, both in number and in details about the symbolic meanings of these gatherings. The passages that explicitly refer to meals (1QS 6:1-8 and 1QSa 2:17-22) provide some basic information about the procedure of the meal, but lack any direct discussion of their significance. We know that these rituals were designed for meals where more than ten men had gathered. They were led by a priest, who recited a blessing before the meal.[65] The buried deposits of animal bones presumably were associated with meals, but they are not mentioned in any of the texts, and therefore remain a mystery. The texts do provide, however, some clues to extrapolate some likely conclusions regarding the meals' functions.

The descriptions of meals reveal that a primary function of the meal was to reinforce the social structures of the community. The priest maintained priority of place, even over the future Messiah of Israel. The priest was first to stretch out his hand to recite blessings over the bread and wine before eating. The rest of the members were arrayed around the table according to their rank, and were permitted to bless only when their turn arrived. As such, every meal would have been a reminder of the authority of the priest and of one's status in relation to the rest of the members.

Purity concerns were also significant for the practice of communal meals at Qumran. Initiates who had not reached a certain level of purity, and those who had failed to live up to their ritual or moral obliga-

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[64] It is interesting for our purposes to note that the nature and purpose of the blessing before eating seems to have been completely overshadowed by the importance of maintaining the proper order according to the ranking.

[65] Weinfeld's claim that they also recited a grace after meals is plausible, but by no means certain.

tions were excluded from participation. Liquids were especially sus-
ceptible to transferring impurity, and as such were further restricted
with regards to access. The Yahad's use of individual bowls rather
than eating from communal dishes appear also to be a protection
against the possible transfer of impurity, even among the members.

Finally, the meals' significance came from their association with
two powerful symbols in the religious life of Israel: the Temple, and
the coming of the Messiah of Israel. While the meals did not represent
a replacement of the Temple sacrifices, the language of firstfruits, the
authority of the priest, and the purity concerns regarding participation
all support the claim that the Yahad's religious ideal was to serve as a
living Temple. The correspondence between the Yahad's meals and
the meals to take place in the last days, when the Messiah of Israel
would be present, indicates that these were occasions in which the
members were reminded of their place in the eschatological future. In
that day, they would continue to serve as a community, with their
priest presiding over the proceedings. The only difference appears to
be that the battle would have been fought and wickedness vanquished.

6. EXCURSUS: THE ROLE OF FASTING AT QUMRAN

The Second Temple period saw fasting become a prominent element in
the personal and communal piety of the people.[66] For example, Matt
9:14-15 reveals that Jesus's disciples are considered unusual because
they do not fast regularly, like the Pharisees and John's disciples do.
Given this context, the descriptions of the religious life of the Qumran
community contain surprisingly few references to fasting, most of
which refer only to *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement.[67] Why would
the Yahad, who considered the Pharisees to be lax on issues of piety,
make no mention of fasting as part of its discipline? Before turning to

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[66] See Dan 9:3; Joel 1:14; 2:12; Jonah 3:5; Jdt 4:9, 13; Bar 1:5; 1 Macc 3:47; 2
Macc 13:12; 1 Esdr 8:73; Matt 9:14-15; Luke 18:12; Acts 13:2-3. See also Philo's
descriptions of the regular fasting of the Therapeutae in *De Vita Contemplativa* 34-35.

[67] 1QpHab 11:6-8 refers to *Yom Kippur* as the day of the fast (צום), their Sabbath
rest. CD 6:18-19, 4QpPs^a frgs. 1-10 ii 8-11, iii 2-5, and 4Q508 frg. 2 2-6 all seem to
use the term (תענית) for *Yom Kippur*, a usage not found outside Qumran. The rest of
the references (4Q509 frg. 16 3; 4Q510 frg. 1 4-8; 4Q511 frg. 8 5, frg. 121) are am-
biguous and in the latter two texts plural, and are often translated as afflictions.

this question, we must look at the few references to fasting that are present.

The most explicit reference to a ritual fast is found in 1QpHab 11:6-8. In this text the Wicked Priest pursues and antagonizes the Teacher of Righteousness on the מועד מנוחת יום הכפורים "festival of the resting of the Day of Atonement" and ביום צום שבת מנוחתם "the day of fasting, the Sabbath of their resting."[68] The combination of *Yom Kippur*, fasting, and Sabbath language is taken from Lev 16 and 23, although only Lev 23 refers to it as a festival (מועד).

According to CD 6:18-19, those who enter the renewed covenant are required to observe precisely the Sabbath, the appointed times, and the day of the fast (יום תענית). Given that the calendar in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs[a] 27:7-8) presents a similar sequence, ending instead with the Day of Atonement, Hacham concludes that the day of the fast must also be *Yom Kippur*.[69]

The term for a fast, תענית, also appears twice in 4QpPs[a] (4Q171) frgs. 1-10 ii 8-11 and frgs. 1-10 iii 2-5. Both of these occurrences contain the phrase "season of the fast," or perhaps better, "festival of the fast" (מועד התענית).[70] In the first instance, the congregation of the poor ones is made up of those who accept the season of the fast, which saves them from the snares of Belial. The second text indicates that God keeps them alive in famine, in the season of the fast, while others do not go out with the congregation of the elect.[71] The same phrase

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[68] This is the only significant use of צום in the scrolls apart from the citation of Joel 2:12 in 4Q266 frg. 11:5.

[69] Noah Hacham, "Communal Fasts in the Judean Desert Scrolls," in *Historical Perspectives from the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, and Daniel R. Schwartz; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 129. This is despite the fact that outside of Qumran the term תענית is never associated with *Yom Kippur*, but only with other fasts. See David Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 194-205.

[70] For discussion of this phrase, see Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1979) 206-207; and Robert B. Coote, "MW'D HT'NYT in 4Q171 (Pesher Psalm 37), Fragments 1-2 Col. II, Line 9," *RQ* 8 (1972): 81-86. Coote argues for a double meaning of fasting as well as affliction.

[71] David Flusser connects this with the historical famine in the reign of Herod, in which those who observed the season of the fast survived the famine while those who did not join the sect were afflicted with famine and plague. He claims that a regular communal fast was instituted in memory of this deliverance ("Qumran and the Famine during the Reign of Herod," *Israel Museum Journal* 6 (1987): 7-16). Given other ref-

appears in one of the *Festival Prayers* (4Q508 frg. 2 2-6). This prayer begins with a plea: "Remember, O Lord, the season of your mercies," and then goes on to say, "you have established it for us, as a season of a fast, an eter[nal] precept." According to the description of *Yom Kippur* as an eternal precept (חוקת עולם) in Lev 23:31, 16:31, 34, *Yom Kippur* is likely the only fast that could be described as having been established as an eternal statute.[72]

These texts that mention מועד התענית highlight not only the importance of *Yom Kippur* as a fast required by God's eternal law, but also its connection to group identity. The congregation of the elect, who chose to accept the calendar regarding the festival of the fast, received a good reward and were saved from famine and plague. The fast, despite its limited use, became a significant marker for sectarian identity.

The *Songs of the Maskil* contain six occurrences of a plural form of התענית (4Q510 frg. 1 7-8; 4Q511 frg. 8 5; frg. 10 4, 6; frg. 121). Hacham argues that these texts also refer to *Yom Kippur*, despite the fact that many scholars understand התעניות here as referring not to fasts, but rather afflictions.[73] Hacham's arguments for connecting these references to *Yom Kippur* are not entirely convincing, but neither is there any indication that these texts describe a practice of fasting on any other occasion in the life of the community.[74] The rest of the evi-

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erences to the snares of Belial and famine and plague, perhaps the season of the fast could be a symbolic description of the state of exile.

[72] Falk supports the attribution of this text with *Yom Kippur* based on an assumption that מועד תענית is equivalent to יום תענית in CD 6:18-19. He also notes the phrase "who had mercy on us" in the apparent conclusion to the prayer in 4Q508 frgs. 22 +23. See also 4Q509 frg. 16 3: "Have mercy on them for their fasting." These festival prayers have been partially reconstructed by Baillet, DJD VII, 178-179, and Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 168, based on proposed connection between this text and 1Q34 frg. 3 ii. The texts share common themes, but the latter text does not explicitly refer to a fast. See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 178-180 for further references.

[73] For alternative translations, see Hacham, "Communal Fasts," 135 n. 38. Alternative translations include: "suffering of sons of light" Baillet; "times of trouble and oppression" Nitzan; "distress" Ta-Shema. This last is the standard definition given by Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 97, 115.

[74] Hacham uses *m. Ber.* 1:1 as an example to show that a plural reference to time can indicate a regularly recurring time ("Communal Fasts," 136). However, in *m. Ber.* 1, the text refers to every evening and every morning. By analogy, this text would mean every fast, and as such would not rule out the possibility that there are fasts once or twice a week. In addition, the references to *taaniyot* are not in the context of a de-

dence discussed above supports his claim that *Yom Kippur* alone was retained as a fast because it alone had biblical authority as an eternal precept.

Although we must remain cautious about the argument from silence, we should consider some possible explanations for the lack of fasting in the Yahad. One possibility is to understand the punishments of loss of rations as a type of forced fasting, perhaps meant to mimic repentance.[75]

It is also possible that the lack of fasting may have been connected to the Yahad's emphasis on purity and anticipation of the coming of the end. In Matt 9:14-15, Jesus explains that his disciples do not fast because the bridegroom is with them, but that they will fast once he leaves. Is it possible that the Qumran community had a similar sense that fasting was inappropriate during the time of the end? Although tempting, this seems unlikely. The members of the Yahad believed themselves to be living at the end of the age of Belial, awaiting the coming redemption, whereas the disciples of Jesus were experiencing the beginning of the days of glory or redemption.[76]

The most likely explanation for the limited discussion of fasting in the Qumran texts concerns the close connection between fasting and prayers of supplication. Boda connects the development of penitential prayer with the same set of activities associated with communal laments on days of fasting. Fasting is, in fact, the only activity that is

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scription of their practice, as in the Mishnah, but rather in some kind of polemic, perhaps against the outsiders. Therefore, this example cannot be brought in support of the proposal that only *Yom Kippur* was a fast. It is, at best, inconclusive.

[75] A Cave 4 text associated with the *Damascus Document* includes a citation of the passage from Joel 2:12-13 calling for repentance expressed in weeping and fasting (4Q266 frg. 11 5; 4Q270 frg. 7 i 19). Hacham interprets this as an indication that the community considered their system of punishment an alternative to sacrifice ("Communal Fasts," 137). Strikingly, he reads this reference to fasting as a symbol for internal change, rather than a concrete fast. In support of this reading see 1QS 3:8, where the term used for fasting on *Yom Kippur*, "to afflict the soul," refers instead to "humbling the soul to all God's statutes." Should we then imagine that they did not even fast on *Yom Kippur*? No, because fasting on *Yom Kippur* was in fact one of God's statutes.

[76] From the point of view of the gospel writers, this is interesting. Had the early church, at the time of the writing of the gospels, returned to a practice of fasting after Jesus died? Yet they preserved a tradition that indicated that the first followers did not fast. For more on fasting in early Christianity, see Malina, *Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology*, 185-204.

mentioned in all four of the biblical penitential prayers he discusses (Ezra 10:6; Neh 1:4; Neh 9:1; Dan 9:3).[77] Outside of these prayers, fasting is prominently connected with prayers of supplication, or entreaties for deliverance.[78] The Yahad, because of its strictly deterministic worldview, had little use for supplication, because there was no potential for influencing the outcome.[79] The same determinism would have removed one of the primary reasons for fasting, and left them with the requirement to fast only at times decreed in the Torah as part of the festival calendar.

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[77] Boda, *Praying the Tradition*, 39.
[78] See Jud 20:26; 1 Sam 7:6; 2 Sam 12:16-23; Jer 14:12; Joel 1:14; Ps 35:13; Esth 4:16; Tob 12:8; Jdt 4:9, 13; Bar 1:5; 2 Macc 13:12; 1 Esdr 8:50; 2 Esdr 5:13; Luke 2:37; Acts 13:2; Acts 14:23.
[79] Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer," 29-45; Russell C. D. Arnold, "Qumran Prayer as an Act of Righteousness," *JQR* 95 (2005): 509-529.

CHAPTER FOUR

CALENDRICAL RITES

The concept of a religious calendar is closely intertwined with ritual practice. We have already discussed the importance of the calendar for the religious identity of the Yahad. The calendar helped to define them, as they defined and developed the behaviors appropriate for each occasion. From nature's point of view, time is homogenous and without any meaning. There is no difference between one moment and the next, one day and the next, or one year and the next. It is human society, especially through religious ritual, that distinguishes between hours, days, and years. Catherine Bell writes, "Calendrical rites give socially meaningful definitions to the passage of time, creating an ever-renewing cycle of days, months and years...Ultimately, it is the very rituals themselves that create the repetitions of seasonal and historical events that form the calendar."[1] Bell quotes Pierre Smith saying that such rites create "an ordered series of eternal re-beginnings and repetitions."[2]

Gruenwald also discusses the relationship between rituals and the calendar. He agrees that the passage of time, without ritual, is neutral and homogeneous. Only through some kind of ritual symbolization of specific times and dates does a calendar become relevant. He writes:

> Rituals activate the date, transforming it into an event that carries significance. In this respect, rituals configure the mechanical time sequence into a potentially meaningful process. Furthermore, rituals break up the mechanical time-flow into significant units... Rituals shape time into structurally recognizable patterns: days, weeks, months, and years.[3]

Without such rituals, each day is no different from any other. The Yahad used rituals to provide meaning to specific days and to the cycles of time based on the movements of the sun.

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[1] Bell, *Ritual*, 102, 108.
[2] Smith, "Aspects of the Organization of Rites," 109.
[3] Gruenwald, *Rituals and Ritual Theory*, 8.

At the same time, Gruenwald recognizes, the ideal of the calendar can exert a significant effect on the perceived value of a ritual. This is to say that ritual actions are restricted not only by what can be said or done, but also by when they should be done. He says, "no ritual status is given to any action that is done at the wrong time.[4] In other words, a circumstantial connection has to be established between the particular date and its relevant rituals, before the date is established as one of the appointed times."[5] As such, rituals provide temporal boundaries that "establish and enact differences that are vital for establishing uniqueness, as that of specific events or territorial entities."[6] These boundaries identify the normal patterns of life in the community, and mark certain times as special. At the same time, calendrical rituals provide a means for crossing these boundaries at regular intervals.

In this way, rituals that mark natural passages of time, especially clearly visible changes such as from day to night, or from one season to the next, function much like rites of passage. As Bell states, "Like rites of passage, calendrical rites can be said to impose cultural schemes on the order of nature."[7] These can be attempts to control nature, or to harmonize with it. Historical time is upheld by mythical time, which is its model. God has brought all things into being, even the times. The Yahad seems to have been committed to harmonizing its life to the cycles of nature, especially of the sun. Regular festivals, according to the calendar, remind the people of the divine models and the sacredness of those models.[8] In other words, the Yahad's calendrical rituals provided a mechanism for regular reminders of the power and necessity of following God's law, even during the time between these events.

Bell distinguishes between seasonal and commemorative celebrations. Seasonal rites are those associated with natural events such as planting and harvesting. Commemorative rites focus on historical or legendary events in the lives of the community. They establish a link

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[4] A good example can be found in *m. Ber*. 1:4 regarding the recital of the *Shema*. If the appropriate time for its recital is missed, one can still recite it, but it counts as study of a passage of Torah, not as a ritual recitation.

[5] Gruenwald, *Rituals and Ritual Theory*, 10.

[6] Gruenwald, *Rituals and Ritual Theory*, 24.

[7] Bell, *Ritual*, 103.

[8] Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 87.

between the past and the present.[9] Eliade describes how such reenact-
ments of founding events creates a cyclical sense of time that gives the
impression that the initial events are happening all over again. He
states, "Every religious festival, any liturgical time, represents the re-
actualization of a sacred event that took place in a mythical past, 'in
the beginning.'"[10] In this way humans become present at the cosmog-
ony. "The *time of origin* of a reality – that is, the time inaugurated by
the first appearance of the reality – has a paradigmatic value and func-
tion; that is why man seeks to reactualize it periodically by means of
appropriate rituals."[11] Connecting with the origin of the reality implies
imitation of divine creation. Actions undertaken during these sacred
times take on different meaning from those same actions undertaken at
other times. Festivals take place in original time; they transport the
participants to that time.

The present chapter describes the nature and significance of the
rituals associated with the Yahad's calendar. We will begin with texts
that describe the structure of the idealized solar calendar followed at
Qumran. These texts include calendrical texts, such as the *Mishmarot*,
which relate dates or cycles to the cycle of priests described in Chroni-
cles. We shall also present evidence from texts such as the *Rule of the
Community*, the *Hodayot*, and the *Psalms Scroll*, that describe the cy-
cles of calendrical occasions celebrated by the Yahad.

The second part of the chapter will discuss material artifacts from
Qumran that are related either to the calendar, or to ritual practices as-
sociated with the calendar: the sundial excavated from one of the
rooms on the east end of the site and the collection of *tefillin* or phylac-
teries found in a number of the Caves.

The final section of the chapter will discuss those collections of
prayers that are associated with calendrical events. Daily prayers are
represented in 4Q503, 4Q504, 4Q506, 4Q408, and perhaps 1QS 10.
Weekly prayers associated with the Sabbath are found mainly in the
Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. There are four manuscripts of a collec-
tion of festival prayers: 1Q34, and 4Q507-9 + 4Q505. The covenant
renewal and initiation ceremony, which most likely took place on *Sha-*

<p>[9] Bell, Ritual, 103.</p>
<p>[10] Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, 69.</p>
<p>[11] Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, 85.</p>

vuot, could also be discussed here, but instead it has been treated in Chapter 2 – Rites of Passage.

1. CALENDAR TEXTS

The Second Temple period was marked by controversy over which of the two main calendars available to them should be followed.[12] The lunar calendar, which contained 354 days, was oriented around twelve months corresponding to the cycles of the moon. The idealized solar calendar, containing 364 days, followed the solar cycle and consisted of twelve months of exactly 30 days each, with four days to mark each of the four seasons of the year. Communities that followed different calendars would have celebrated festivals at different times, and therefore would have been unable to share in religious practice. The calendar texts found at Qumran indicate that the community primarily followed the solar calendar, but also believed it was important to correlate this with the phases of the moon. The various Qumran calendar texts also contain different types of information. Some focus on the natural, astrological cycles of the sun and moon, others on the changes of the priestly courses, and others on the ritual and festival calendar.[13] Many of them present a combination of these elements. The presence of such a large array of calendar texts indicates the intense interest within the Yahad on correlating the community's life with the passage of time, and on the luminaries associated with these transitions.

4QMMT, which is commonly understood to be a letter from the Yahad challenging the religious practices of the Temple leadership in

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[12] For thorough discussions of the calendar controversies as they relate to the Qumran community see Roger T. Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies* (AGJU 33; Leiden: Brill, 1996); Talmon, "Calendar Controversy,"; Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Calendar of the Covenanters of the Judean Desert," in *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (ed. Shemaryahu Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 147-185; VanderKam, *Calendars*; Ben Zion Wacholder, "Calendar Wars between the 364 and the 365-Day Year," *RQ* 20 (2001): 207-222.

[13] There are also a few very fragmentary texts, 4Q322, 4Q324a,b, that seem to have connected significant historical events with the calendar, and with the priestly *mishmarot*.

Jerusalem, may have begun with a ritual calendar.[14] If so, the failure to follow the solar calendar as presented must have been a central element of the Yahad's critique about the way the Temple was being run. The 4QMMT calendar appears to be a purely ritual calendar, in that it contains no information related to the priestly courses, historical events, or the lunar phenomena. It provides a list of the dates for the Sabbaths and the festivals, according to the solar calendar as expressed by *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*.[15] Among the festivals extant in the text are the Feast of Weeks (*Shavuot*) on the 15th of the third month, the festival of wine on Sunday the third day of the fifth month, and the festival of oil on Sunday the 22nd of the sixth month. The festival of oil may be followed by the offering of wood, which Yadin associates with the 23rd-29th of the 6th month.[16] The calendar also contains summary statements that divide the year into four seasons, each containing 91 days, and concludes the calendar with the count of 364 days. [17] According to this strict solar calendar of exactly 52 weeks, any given date will always fall on the same day of the week.

Two calendar texts correlate information from both the solar and lunar cycles. 4Q317, which was written in an esoteric script, correlates the days of the year with the percentage of the moon that is visible. It follows *1 Enoch*, rather than *Jubilees*, in giving some credence to the lunar cycles, and uses the same divisions into 14 parts that may also be evident in 4Q503. 4Q321, *Mishmarot* B, lists the priestly courses week by week. It also includes a series of dates that have been interpreted as representing the full moon and the new moon[18] (or days near to them). These dates are defined in terms of the day of the week within one of the priestly courses, as it corresponds to a particular day in the solar calendar. The second part of this text marks the biblical festivals ac-

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[14]   According to VanderKam, *Calendars*, 75, this text should be labeled 4Q327 and is not part of 4QMMT based on differences of handwriting and length of lines. However, it seems that 4Q394 does begin with a bit of a calendar that ends with a reconstructed designation of a 364-day year.

[15]   Based on these comparisons it is possible to reconstruct much of what is missing from the manuscript, however we should be careful because its language is not completely uniform and the term for oil here is not identical to that used in the *Temple Scroll*.

[16]   Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:122.

[17]   4QMMT 2:10.

[18]   A discussion of the meaning of דוק can be found in, VanderKam, *Calendars*, 85.

cording to the same criteria.

4Q320, *Mishmarot* A, also provides a calendar of the festivals according to the priestly courses. This text makes clear that the festivals in question follow the *Jubilees* calendar, as the waving of the omer falls on 1/26 and *Shavuot* falls on 3/15. The additional festivals from the *Temple Scroll* are absent from the list here, and 7/1 is described as the only day of remembrance.[19] Since the priestly cycle presiding over the festival each year would have changed, these calendars must represent a six-year cycle.

It is unclear precisely why the Qumran community was interested enough in the priestly cycles to generate calendars connecting them to the festivals. Since there seems to be no evidence for a role for such families at Qumran itself, most likely they were being temporarily preserved until the Yahad could regain control over the Temple and reinstate proper practice and the proper calendar. The courses also provided another way of marking time, based especially on the weekly cycle. Weeks were divinely ordained cycles of time, and the *Mishmarot*, which were established by David, allowed the members continuous association with the Temple practice.

2. EVIDENCE FOR CALENDRICAL RITUALS

In addition to these calendrical texts, there is significant evidence that the Qumran community associated certain liturgical practices with the turning points of the calendar's cycles. *The Psalms Scroll* (11QPs[a]), although probably not composed at Qumran,[20] concludes with a prose description, often called *David's Compositions* (11QPs[a] 27:2-11), which clearly associates ritual performance with the solar calendar. This text claims that God gave David the ability to write 3,600 psalms and 364 songs "to sing before the altar for the daily perpetual sacrifice

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[19]   *Jubilees* has four such days that mark the beginning of each new season.
[20]   The argument against Qumran provenance of this scroll centers around the use of the Tetragrammaton. See James A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967); and Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

for all the days of the year; and 52 songs for the Sabbath offerings;[21] and 30 songs for the new moons, for feast days and for the Day of Atonement."[22] Besides stating clearly that there are 364 days in the year and 52 Sabbaths, it describes 30 songs associated with festivals. Twelve are reserved for the new moons (or months), leaving 18 for the festivals, one of which is *Yom Kippur*.[23] Interestingly, this text associates daily and festival prayer with the offerings of sacrifices on those occasions. As Falk argues, this text supports the idea that prayer was not a replacement for sacrifice, but rather grew up in association with it.[24]

The Hymn to the Creator from 11QPs[a] 26:9-12 provides two additional pieces of information regarding daily prayer. First, it praises God as the one who separates light from darkness and has established the dawn. Second, it indicates that this was the time the angels saw and sang out "for he showed them what they did not know" (11QPs[a] 26:12). Both the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and 4Q334 presumably rely on this tradition that the angels pray at dawn.[25] Falk also connects each of these traditions with the later rabbinic blessing before the *Shema*, יוצר אור, which combines the themes of light and darkness with knowledge. As such, he imagines that these prayers, or at least some kind of daily prayer would have been part of the morning service before the *Shema*.[26]

1QS 9:26-10:4 includes a poem for the *Maskil* to bless God, associ-

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[21] Flint argues that the structure and content of the entire *Psalms Scroll* supports a solar calendar (*Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 200-201).

[22] VanderKam, *Calendars*, 64, also claims that the four songs to be sung over the afflicted should be associated with the four days added at the end of each season to make 364. These songs for the afflicted will be discussed below in Chapter 5 - Rites of Affliction.

[23] The most reasonable way of assigning the remaining 17 songs is as follows: 1 Passover, 7 Matzot, 1 *Shavuot*, 8 *Sukkot*. See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 193. The exclusion of the additional firstfruits festivals of new wine and oil, mentioned in the *Temple Scroll*, further supports a non-Qumranic origin for this text. But even so, this text clearly follows the solar calendar, so it cannot represent the Hellenistic calendar presumed to be in practice in the Temple.

[24] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers, 254*; Falk, "Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple," 106-126.

[25] See also *Jub.* 2:2-3 (cited from 4Q216 5:4, 10-11 DJD 13 14), which seems to be written from the point of view of the angels, saying that when they saw God's works of creation, especially darkness, dawn, light, and evening, they blessed God and offered praise.

[26] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 99.

ated with particular times:

<div dir="rtl">

26   ותרומת] שפתים יברכנו   [

1 עם קצים אשר חקקא ברשית ממשלת אור עם תקופתו ובהאספו על מעון חוקו ברשית

2 אשמורי חושך כיא יפתח אוצרו וישתהו עלת ובתקופתו עם האספו מפני אור באופיע

3 מאורות מזבול קודש עם האספם למעון כבוד במבוא מועדים לימי חודש יחד תקופתם עם

4 מסרותם זה לזה בהתחדשם יום גדול לקודש קודשים ואות נ למפתח חסדיו עולם

</div>

[And with the offering] of the lips he shall bless him, at the times that God ordained: at the beginning of the dominion of light, and at its end when it is gathered to its appointed dwelling; at the beginning of the watches of darkness when God unlocks the storehouse and spreads it out, and also at its end when they are gathered before the light; when the luminaries shine forth from the holy abode, when they are gathered to the glorious dwelling; at the entry of the appointed times on the days of the new moon, and also at their end when they give way to one another. When they are renewed, it is a great day for the holy of holies, and a sign for the unlocking of eternal kindness.

The first section of this hymn is concerned with the times of prayer; sunrise and sunset are described from three different perspectives with regard to light, darkness, and the stars.[27] The list of times continues with the beginnings of the seasons, the beginning of the months of the years, "and on the holy days appointed for remembrance" (1QS 10:5). Then we have the beginning of the year and the end of the seasons, the passing from one season to the next, followed by the seasons of years in the weeks of years leading up to the Jubilee. Falk argues that this part of the hymn is composite, made up of two different sources. The first, the calendar, does not indicate anything about what is to be done at those times. The second section, which just mentions daily times, specifically mentions prayer and the nature of the rituals.[28]

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[27] Talmon argues that this text actually refers to six separate times rather than two repeated in parallelism ("Emergence," 215).

[28] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 104. The engraved precept (חוק חרות), mentioned in 10:8, can either refer to the times of prayer or the content of prayers. He takes the first to be more likely since this phrase follows on a list of times

The *Hodayot* collection also contains a hymn, attributed to the *Maskil*, that provides a list of ritual events associated with the calendar (1QH[a] 20:4-9):

ל והתחנן תמיד מקץ לקץ עם מבוא אור̊תנ̊ 4 למשכיל ה]ודות ותפלה ל

5 לממש]לתו [בתקופות יום לתכונו לחוקות מאור גדול בפנות ערב ומוצא

נות בוקר ובקץ̊ 6 אור ברשית ממשלת חושך למועד לילה בתקופתו ל

ונתו מפני}ת{ אור למוצא לילה ומבוא יומם תמוד בכול̊ל מ̊7 האספו

8 מולדי עת יסודי קץ ותקופת מועדים בתכונם באותותם לכול

9 ממשלתם בתכון נאמנה מפי אל ותעודת הווה והיאה תהיה

> [For the *Maskil*: Than]ksgivings and prayer to bow down and request favor from age to age. When the light enters from [its] dwe[lling,] at the turning points of the day according the plan for the laws of the great light; at the turning to evening and exit of the light at the beginning of the dominion of darkness; the appointed time for night. And at the point when it turns morning and at the time when it is gathered to its dwelling before the light; the exit of night and the coming of day.
>
> Always, at all the birthings of the season the foundations of the age. And the turning point of the appointed times with their plan, and their signs for their dominion in the faithful plan from the mouth of God and that appointed for what is shall continue to be.

This text indicates that prayer will take place in the morning and in the evening, as well as at the beginnings of seasons, ages and periods. It does not explicitly mention any festivals, or even the Sabbath. But it does clearly associate prayer with the movements of the sun, and attributes the obligation to pray at these times to the divine precept.

The *War Scroll* also contains a hymn (14:12-14) that mentions praise at ordained times including: מ]בו[א יומם ולילה ומוצאי ערב ובוקר, "the en[tra]nce of day and night and the departure of the evening and morning." The only given content is described as praise of God's mighty deeds.[29] These texts taken together indicate that the Yahad was especially concerned with associating rituals, especially praise and blessing of God, with the turning points of the cycles of the calendar.

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of prayer. It does reinforce the idea that the times of prayer are regulated by divine ordinance. See also Manfred Weise, *Kultzeiten und kultischer Bundesschluss in der 'Ordensregel' vom Toten Meer* (Studia Post-Biblica; Leiden: Brill, 1961) 29-30, 49-51.

[29] For more on 1QM as liturgy see Matthias Krieg, "MO'ED NAQAM - ein Kultdrama Aus Qumran," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 41 (1985): 3-30.

The language used (בראשית, תקופה, תכון) emphasizes the precise moments of transition, and attributes these transitions to the divine plan.

3. ARTIFACTS RELEVANT TO CALENDRICAL RITES

3.1. *Sundial*

The disk, object 1229 shown in PAM 42.683, has only recently been described as a sundial. Its diameter is 14.5 cm, and is marked by a hole in the center, surrounded by three concentric circles. The circles have been subdivided by approximately 60 lines in the first ring, by 72 in the second and by roughly 88 in the outer ring. According to Gleßmer and Albani, this saucer-like disk is an instrument for measuring seasons and times.[30] The authors discuss how this instrument may have been associated with the prominent methods of measuring time in antiquity. The three circles were likely spaced in order to estimate the seasonal phenomena: the solstices and the equinoxes. Finally, the segmentation of the rings may have been used to determine divisions of time within the day.[31]

The problem with this theory is that the divisions are crudely made and are not equidistant. It would also seem unnecessary to have markings around the entire circumference of the disk, as there would be no sun and therefore, no shadow during the night. Nevertheless, this is the most likely explanation for such markings.[32] Pfann argues that the community recognized the ineffectiveness of the markings to accu-

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[30] Uwe Gleßmer and Matthias Albani, "An Astronomical Measuring Instrument from Qumran," in *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 407-442.

[31] Gleßmer and Albani also mention that this instrument was found in a very small room on the east end of the site, and that the room had east-west walls that could have been used as a *camera obscura* by having a hole in the eastern wall so that the sunlight entering from the east could be observed on the S, W, and N walls to determine the solstices and equinoxes. This is, of course, speculation. The sundial could not have been used in a dark room, but it could have been used on the roof.

[32] Barbara Thiering's contention that the markings were used as some kind of scale for calculating the distance one could walk is not convincing. ("The Qumran Sundial as an Odometer Using Fixed Lengths of Hours," *DSD* 9 (2002): 347-363).

rately depict the times, so they modified it in order to make it useful.[33] In its modified state, its sole purpose was to allow them to determine the time for the beginning of the fifth hour. Josephus indicates that the Essenes returned from work at the fifth hour for purification and a communal meal.[34] In any case, the disk does seem to have been a sundial, and its presence at Qumran indicates the Yahad's practical interest in keeping track of time.

3.2. *Tefillin*

The earliest examples of *tefillin*, also called phylacteries, were found in the Qumran Caves. *Tefillin* are small boxes of leather to be strapped to the head and arm, which contain biblical passages: typically Ex 13:1-10; Ex 13:11-16; Deut 6:4-9; and Deut 11:13-21. These passages all refer to binding words as a sign on your arm and head. Some time during the Second Temple period, these words were taken to require the literal practice of tying these words onto the body.

Despite the significant number of examples of *tefillin* (over thirty were found) no other Qumran texts refer to the practice of wearing them, or to their construction or symbolism. The earliest textual references to the practice are found in the *Letter to Aristeas* 159, from the second century B.C.E. Matthew 23:5, and Josephus (*Antiq.* 4.213), from the first century C.E. also attest to the practice.

Some of the examples indicate that *tefillin* originally contained five passages – rather than four – the fifth being the Decalogue.[35] These examples prove the importance of the Decalogue in pre-Mishnaic prayer. Perhaps they support *m. Tamid* 5:1, which has a description of the priestly morning service, including the Decalogue, the *Shema*, Deut

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[33] Stephen J. Pfann, "The Writings in Esoteric Script from Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (eds. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000) 177-190. 188-190.

[34] Thiering, "The Qumran Sundial," 359, claims that they would have used oil lamps to determine precisely the hours of the day, which she claimed were equinoctial hours, i.e. hours were of the same length throughout the year. It is hard to believe they would have kept oil lamps burning throughout the day to keep track of time.

[35] Geza Vermes, "Pre-Mishnaic Jewish Worship and the Phylacteries from the Dead Sea," *VT* 9 (1959): 65-72.

11, and Num 15.[36] The connection between these two practices – the *tefillin* and the priestly morning service – is supported by the removal of the Decalogue from both practices, which probably occurred in the second century C.E. The Decalogue, however, reappears in the Cairo Genizah in descriptions of the morning service, which indicates that the Palestinian Jewish community as well as the Alexandrian community probably returned to an earlier practice that had been done away with by the Babylonian rabbis. However, it cannot be ruled out that the Genizah texts preserve a tradition in which these rabbinic guidelines were never enacted.

Given the similarities between the biblical passages involved, the development of the practice of wearing *tefillin* may be associated with the priestly practice of daily prayer in the Temple.[37] One might suppose that wearing *tefillin* was a practice that began with the priests who were accustomed to wearing symbolic garments, and who were more likely to develop a physical manifestation practice, especially one connected to the preservation of the law. Rabbinic texts also require a high level of ritual purity for those wearing *tefillin*. This could also indicate a priestly origin, or at least a priestly connection.

The *tefillin* from Qumran fall into three categories. The first group follows Qumran orthography and practice and does not conform to later rabbinic *halakhah* (A, B, G-Q). The second group does not have Qumran orthography and generally follows rabbinic contents and some of the rabbinic scribal practices (C-F, R, S). The third group is mixed in that these *tefillin* do not follow rabbinic contents, but do not contain Qumran orthography (1Q13, 8Q3).[38]

This evidence indicates that *tefillin* were certainly in use, and were probably related to the morning prayer service, although they do not include all of the same texts (Num 15 is not included in the *tefillin*, but

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[36] Reuven Hammer, "What Did They Bless? A Study of Mishnah Tamid 5.1," *JQR* 81 (1991): 305-324. Such practice may also be supported by the Nash papyrus, a second century B.C.E. text that includes the Decalogue.

[37] The use of the term "phylactery," which means amulet, to describe *tefillin* indicates that they may also have served as a type of protective magic. If this is true, it is much more likely that they were worn throughout the day rather than only during prayer.

[38] See Emanuel Tov, "Tefillin of Different Origin from Qumran?" in *A Light for Jacob: Studies in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Jacob Shalom Licht* (eds. Yair Hoffman and Frank H. Polak; Jerusalem, 1997) 44-54.

may have been included in relation to fringes worn on garments). The *tefillin* found at Qumran are very small, in contrast to those of the Pharisees, which are described in Matt 23:5 as being 'made broad,' in order to be seen. This reference from the New Testament indicates that wearing *tefillin* was common practice, at least among the majority, since the criticism is not that they wore them, but that they made them big. We should not assume, however, that all Jews wore them. Jesus may have been criticizing the leaders who wore them in such a way as to emphasize the fact that they were leaders. Therefore, if only the priests and the synagogue leaders perhaps wore *tefillin* at that time, the people Jesus is criticizing may have been flaunting the fact that they were better than the common people.

4. LITURGICAL TEXTS CONNECTED TO DAILY RITES

As mentioned above, there is significant evidence for daily prayer at Qumran. Precisely how that service was put together, and what it included, however, remains somewhat uncertain. The hymn from 1QS 10:10-14 has been understood to represent a blueprint for such a service.[39] Within it are phrases that may allude to the *Shema* and the Decalogue.

עם מבוא יום ולילה אבואה בברית אל ועם מוצא ערב ובוקר אמר חוקיו

> At the entrance of day and night I will enter the covenant of God, and at the exit of evening and morning, I will recite his statutes. (1QS 10:10)

בראשית צאת ובוא לשבת וקום ועם משכב יצועי ארננה לו

> At the beginning of going and coming, to sit down or rise up, and when lying on my couch, I will shout with joy to him. (1QS 10:14)

The language of coming and going, sitting and rising, is taken directly from the *Shema* (Deut 6:7). Falk recognizes an allusion to the Decalogue in the reference to reciting God's statutes.[40] Further, he argues that this section of the hymn indicates the daily service also contained

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[39] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 112-114; Weise, *Kultzeiten und kultischer Bundesschluss*, 27-32.
[40] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 113. He cites as support for this connection the Qumran *tefillin*, *m. Tamid* 5:1, the Nash Papyrus, and LXX Deut 6:4.

a blessing associated with the *Shema*, as well as confession and praise of God's judgment. The association of these actions with entering the covenant may be seen either as a further reference to the *Shema*, which came to be associated with accepting the yoke of the covenant in rabbinic tradition, or as a connection with the initiation and covenant ceremony. This hymn at the end of 1QS shares much language in common with that ceremony, and as such, argues for understanding Qumran daily prayer as a repetition of that annual ceremony, which was at the heart of their communal identity.[41]

Weinfeld also claims to find evidence for daily recital of the Decalogue and the *Shema* in some of the manuscripts of Deuteronomy.[42] The manuscripts labeled 4QDeut[n] and 4QDeut[j] contain excerpts from Deuteronomy, presumably for use in liturgical settings.[43] Both of these manuscripts contain the Decalogue and its frame from Deut 5. 4QDeut[j] also includes the section of the *Shema* (Deut 6). Weinfeld concludes, "At any rate, the morning prayer, which contains the Decalogue with the *Shema* and the blessing after meals, represents the liturgical order of the day, and this is reflected in the All Souls Scroll (4QDeut[n])."[44]

4Q334 contains part of a calendar that prescribes a certain number of songs and words of praise to be recited in the evening and the morning of specified days of a month. It cannot refer to 4Q503 because there are clearly two independent genres mentioned. The numbers given also are quite high. In one case, for example, the evening is marked by eight songs and more than forty words of praise. Falk connects this text with the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, which also uses the term "song" to designate the weekly liturgies, and also internally describes words of praise. "Although it is probable that the calendar had liturgical significance reflecting concert with the heavenly worship, it is uncertain whether it functioned as prescription for terrestrial

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[41] For a chart showing the connections between the hymn in 1QS and the covenant ceremony, see Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 111.

[42] Actually, Weinfeld's purpose was to argue for grace after meals based on these texts, but his conclusion is relevant for our purposes here, that these texts represent the liturgical practice of the community ("Grace after Meals in Qumran [4Q434]," 427-428).

[43] White, "4QDeut[n]," 13-20; Duncan, "Considerations of 4QD[j]," 199-215; Weinfeld, "Grace after Meals in Qumran [4Q434]," 428.

[44] Weinfeld, "Grace after Meals in Qumran [4Q434]," 428. See also White, "4QDeut[n]," 13-20. However, Deut 8:5-10 comes before 5:1-6:1 on the scroll.

worship."[45] In any case, 4Q334 presupposes daily prayer in the morning and in the evening, and perhaps indicates the combination of different genres of liturgy.

4.1. *Daily Prayers (4Q503)*

The text known as *Daily Prayers* is a collection of short formulaic prayers designated for each evening and morning of what seems to be one month.[46] The text is found on one side of 225 fragments of papyrus, and is dated on the grounds of its paleography to the first quarter of the first century B.C.E.

Some significant reconstruction of this text is made possible because of the consistency of form exhibited within each entry.[47] The morning and evening prayers are clearly distinguished by regular opening formulas.[48] They are also typically signified by a mark in the margin indicating a new section. Each evening's entry begins with: וב. ......לחודש בערב יברבו וענו ואמרו "On the _____th day of the month in the evening, they shall bless and answer and say:" The entry for each morning begins similarly: ובצאת השמש להאיר על הארץ יברכו וענו ואמרו "When the sun rises to shed light on the earth,[49] they shall bless and answer and say:" The actual prayer for each entry begins with ברוך אל ישראל, "Blessed is the God of Israel," followed by a description of some characteristic for which God is being blessed.[50] This description

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[45] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 98.

[46] For initial transcription and photographs see Baillet, DJD VII, 105-136. Further reconstruction has been undertaken by Joseph M. Baumgarten, "4Q503 (Daily Prayers) and the Lunar Calendar," *RQ* 12 (1986) 399-407; Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts," 217-225; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*; Daniel K. Falk, "Reconstructing Prayer Fragments in DJD VII," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (eds. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. Vander-Kam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000) 248-255.

[47] Scholars have used the content and structure of 4Q512, which is written on the verso of 4Q503, to help with the reconstruction and vice versa. See Falk, "Reconstructing Prayer Fragments."

[48] None of these forms are extant in their entirety, but the repetition for each makes it possible to reconstruct them.

[49] Fragments 1-3 appear to have a variant formula, referring instead to the firmament of heaven. ובצאת] השמש   רקיע השמ[י]ם יברכו וענ[ו ואמרו]

[50] There may be one occurrence of "Blessed is God who," ברוך אל אשר (frgs. 33 ii, 35-36 11).

can take the form of either a relative clause (אשר), a participial clause (הפועל) or a noun clause (אלוהי).[51]

The body of the prayers varies from prayer to prayer, and from day to day. As a result, very little of the content can be reconstructed beyond some basic themes and key phrases. Each prayer, averaging between four and six lines long, includes some reference to the movements of the sun and moon, and to the themes of light and darkness. Some fragments mention festivals of glory or traditional Sabbath themes such as rest, delight, and holiness. Other prominent themes in various prayers include knowledge,[52] holiness,[53] chosen-ness,[54] and the joint witness and praise with the angels.[55]

Falk recognizes closing benedictions in a number of the prayers that commonly address God in the second person, in contrast to the third person references in each of the opening benedictions.[56] The two major types are: ברוך שמכה אל ישראל "Blessed is your name, God of Israel who…," and ברוך אתה אל ישראל אשר "Blessed are you, God of Israel who…" This benediction is typically followed by a response calling for peace upon Israel, שלום עליכה ישראל.[57]

For the most part, recent scholars have followed Baillet's original reconstruction of the text.[58] However, frgs. 1-3, which preserved days

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[51] See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 37, 41 for charts listing all the extant formulas and their general structure.

[52] See especially frgs. 7-9.

[53] The root קדש is reconstructed some thirty-six times, with common reference to the holy of holies or holy ones.

[54] In addition to frgs. 24-25:4, which preserves a phrase nearly identical to the later rabbinic Torah blessing [ברוך אל ישראל א[שר בח]ר] בנו מכול [ה]גוים, the community is called עם קודשו (frgs. 1-6:20) and בני בריתכה (frgs. 7-9:3).

[55] See Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts," 222-224. Also Chazon, "Liturgical Communion," 97-98; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 55-56; Bjorn Frennesson, *In a Common Rejoicing: Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran* (Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 14; Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensia, 1999) 67-70.

[56] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 41.

[57] The fact that this is also addressed to Israel in the second person, may indicate its role as a response by a leader, perhaps a priest, to the congregation at the conclusion of their prayer. In later rabbinic liturgy, both the *Amidah* and the *Kaddish* conclude with prayers for peace upon Israel.

[58] Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 371; James H. Charlesworth, ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers* (Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 4A; Tübingen/Louisville: Mohr Siebeck/Westminster John

four, five and six in Baillet's text, have been the object of much dis-
agreement. Baumgarten was the first to challenge Baillet, claiming that
frgs. 2 and 3 more likely represent portions of days 14 and 15.[59] Falk
advocates also moving frg. 1 to days 14-15.[60] This reconstruction pre-
sents a powerful case for *Daily Prayers* as a collection for use during
the first month of the year, as the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the
month include phrases such as: "when he passed over…by the strength
of his powerful hand," "our redemption at the beginning," and "festi-
vals of joy and appointed times of glory." These various proposals for
frgs. 1-3 show that much of the reconstruction relies on our under-
standing of the calendar that forms the basic structure of the text. This
calendar will also be a key element in determining whether or not the
text is to be ascribed to the Qumran community.

4.1.1. *The Calendar Followed by 4Q503*

The text of 4Q503 probably contained evening and morning prayers
for each day of one month of the year.[61] The day is counted, starting
with the evening, and seems to make reference to the phases of the
moon, and perhaps also the cycles of the sun. Since the end of the text
is missing, we are unable to determine if the month preserved here is a
28/29 day lunar month or a 30 day solar month in which the new moon
falls on the first day of the month. As mentioned above, references to
pilgrimage festivals on the 15th, and perhaps the 21st day of the month,

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Knox, 1997) 240-241; Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Poetic and Liturgical
Texts*. (Dead Sea Scrolls Reader 5; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 204-207.

[59] Baumgarten cites four arguments against Baillet's reconstruction of a reference
on day five to counting eleven days to the festival on the 15th of the month "4Q503
(Daily Prayers)," 401. Martin G. Abegg proposes additional reasons for moving frgs.
2-3 to days 14-15, but keeps frag 1 with 4-6 because of the clear right margin ("Does
Anyone Really Know What Time It Is: A Reexamination of 4Q503 in Light of
4Q317," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Donald
W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 396-406).

[60] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 32; Falk, "Reconstructing Prayer
Fragments," 251-254. According to Abegg, "Does Anyone Really Know?" 401-402,
Wise also advocated this reconstruction.

[61] Since there are no overlapping dates or indications of numbered months, we
must assume this text included only one month. See below for further discussion of the
implications of this fact.

require that this text could be used in either the first or the seventh month of the year. [62]

After the introductory formula, each prayer begins with an explicit time reference: either "today," "this day," "tonight," or "this night."[63] The prayer goes on to express something related to that particular day, according to the calendar. Baillet recognizes the recurrence of the terms "lots of light" and "lots of darkness," connected with numbers in some of the fragments.[64] He reconstructs a pattern in the evening prayer that tracks the phases of the moon throughout the month, according to the calendar described in the Astronomical Book from *1 Enoch* 73-75, 78-79.[65] This calendar divides the moon into fourteen parts and reckons each day as exhibiting a combination of light and darkness, so that the first day of the month, the new moon, has fourteen lots of darkness and no light, the second day has thirteen lots of darkness and one lot of light, etc. up to the fifteenth day, which has fourteen lots of light and no darkness.[66] While this connection is widely accepted, only the prayer for day six has portions of both a numbered day (frg. 4:7) and a reconstructed reference to "fiv[e lo]t[s of light]" (frg. 4:10).[67] The term גורל "lot" is a prominent term in other Qumran texts, such as 1QS, and 1QM, in which it refers to the categorization of people or angels based on their predetermined ultimate destiny either with God or with Belial. In light of this technical usage elsewhere, metaphorical and symbolic meanings for these terms should also be considered.

Baillet also highlights reference in the morning prayers to a number of שערי אור "gates of light" associated with each day. Fragments 7-9 show that the number of gates of light is equal to the day of the month in which it is mentioned. In *1 Enoch*, only six gates are described,

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[62] Most agree that the text represents the first month, although Abegg challenges this idea based on the assertion taken from his reading of 4Q317 "Phases of the Moon," that the moon was created full. If so, 4Q503 must refer to the seventh month ("Does Anyone Really Know?" 406).

[63] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 41-42; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 70.

[64] גורלות אור/חושך frgs. 5, 39, 51, 54, 76?, 215? 218? -

[65] Baillet, DJD VII, 105. Falk puts this pattern always in the evening. This fits most cases that are clear or ambiguous except frgs. 51-55:14.

[66] See frgs. 4, 3, 39, 51, 54. גורלי ח]ושך has been reconstructed in frgs. 76, 215 and 218.

[67] These line numbers follow Davila rather than Baillet, who included frgs. 1-3 in this column.

which are the points on the horizon where the sun and moon rise and set during successive months of the year. The calendrical traditions behind 4Q503, if they are following this tradition of the use of "gates," seem to have divided those monthly gates into daily gates of light corresponding to the days of the month.

A third term, דגלי אור / לילה is found frequently in the body of the morning prayers but, unlike the previous terms, it is difficult to place. The term דגל can refer to flags/banners or troops/divisions. The common scholarly assumption has been that this term also refers to some calendrical phenomenon. Abegg posits that since the term is associated with light while the moon is waxing, and night while it is waning, this term may serve as the complement to the lots of light/darkness.[68] This is unlikely, as the terms do not appear in the same prayer, and since the prayers use different terminology (night rather than darkness). Also, there are cases in which this phrase is not preceded by a number. Chazon understands the phrase as representing astronomical phenomena in most cases, but in one case she reads the phrase as a reference to the angelic "troops of light" that share with the sons of the covenant in praising God.[69]

4.1.2. *Provenance*

Now that we have a sense of the nature of the text, we must attempt to determine if it was composed, copied, or merely stored by the Yahad. The dating of this text to the beginning of the first century B.C.E. certainly puts it within the historical framework established by archaeology and by other texts, as a significant period of the life of the community at Qumran. The text's consistent use of Qumran orthography, as defined by Tov, indicates that at the very least it was copied at Qumran.[70] Like other key texts composed by the Yahad, 4Q503 never

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[68] Abegg, "Does Anyone Really Know," 396-406. In this way, day six would have five lots of light and nine flags of night.

[69] Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts," 223; Nitzan says that the term shifted from human armies in Biblical usage, to heavenly host in rabbinic usage (*Qumran Prayer,* 56 n. 29). See Licht's commentary on Numbers (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985). Frennesson also uses this passage as evidence of liturgical communion with angels (*In a Common Rejoicing*, 68-70).

[70] This includes long endings such as כה- and full spelling of words such as כול and כיא. Notice also the presence of marginal markings common to the Qumran texts.

uses the Tetragrammaton, but rather refers to God as אל in all its for-
mulas throughout.[71]

The only clear examples of Qumran terminology found in 4Q503
are the regular references to light and darkness, which would be ex-
pected in any collection of prayers for morning and evening. Although
dualistic light/darkness terminology cannot prove Qumran authorship
here, we should ask ourselves whether or not the Qumran community's
emphasis on this dichotomy provided the motivation for the practice of
daily prayer at the points of transition from light to darkness and dark-
ness to light, and to the production of a text standardizing such a prac-
tice. Other terms could support Qumran provenance but are not con-
clusive.[72] As mentioned above, the term גורל is also significant in
Qumran thought, and could support connections between 4Q503 and
key sectarian texts such as 1QS and 1QM. It should be noted, however,
that in 4Q503 the term seems to be used in reference to astronomical
phenomena, rather than to one's predetermined destiny. This contrast
could either be interpreted either as an argument against common
provenance for texts using key terms in different ways, or as establish-
ing a connection between the God-ordained, fixed relationships be-
tween light and darkness that govern the heavenly lights, and the God-
ordained forces of light and darkness battling to govern the earth.

Another significant element of Qumran thought that is present in
4Q503 is communion with angels. Frenneson only mentions one ex-
ample in frgs. 7-9, which Chazon also reads as describing the praise of
the "sons of the covenant" together "with all troops of [light]."[73] As
mentioned above, this reading of דגל as referring to angelic troops,
raises questions about the meaning of this term elsewhere in the text.[74]

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[71] There are two cases of אלוהי used in construct with "all the holy ones" in frgs.
37-38:14 and with "lights" in frg. 13:1.
[72] Terms such as בני צדק and ממשל אור, see Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival
Prayers*, 22.
[73] Chazon, "Liturgical Communion," 95-105; Frennesson, *In a Common Rejoicing*,
97-98.
[74] A similar formulation appears in frg. 10. Chazon gives frg. 1 as evidence that
elsewhere the term refers to the incremental changes of lunar light and darkness. Per-
haps it would be better to read this text also as describing the angelic troops (either ten
or –teen) that govern the movements of the sun and moon. Fragment 30 preserves
another example of the term דגל used in a context that mentions joint praise, although
here it is troops of night. Based on the strident dualism of Qumran thought, could
troops of night be positively associated with "us"?

Many other fragmentary references to connections with angels can be reconstructed based on key phrases that mention joint testimony and joint praising, together with numerous terms associated with the heavenly heights.[75] While this clear evidence of joint prayer with the angels does support a connection with the Qumran community, this concept was by no means unique to Qumran, and in the end must be regarded as an ambiguous criterion for determining provenance.

Arguments against Qumran authorship of *Daily Prayers* are usually based on concerns regarding the calendar. As we have seen, 4Q503 mentions the phases of the moon and begins each day with the evening prayer, both elements typically associated with a lunar rather than a solar calendar. Nevertheless, although the major texts clearly indicate that Qumran's adherence to the 364-day solar calendar was one of the elements that separated the Qumran community from the Temple, a number of calendrical texts were also found that correlate the phases of the moon with the solar calendar. If we assume that references to rest and delight in 4Q503 are to be associated with the Sabbath, we must also see this text as a combination of the lunar and solar calendars. More recent scholarly discussion argues that the use of the solar calendar could include reference to the moon, and could even count the day beginning in the evening.[76]

In light of the ambivalent evidence up to this point, Falk makes a case for Qumran provenance based on formal similarities with other texts that presumably stand on firmer ground regarding their composition. He compares 4Q503 to other Qumran liturgical texts: 4Q502, 4Q414, and 4Q512.[77] More compelling is the similarity of blessing form found in 1QM, 1QS and 4QD[a], all of which include minor variations on the phrase יברכו וענו ואמרו ברוך "they shall bless and answer and say: 'Blessed ...'" This seems to be a case in which the Qumran community adapted a common biblical speech formula (ענה ואמר) for

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[75] עדים עמנו and variants found in frgs. 11, 13, 15, 65. מהללים עמנו and variants found in frgs. 30, 38, 64, 108, 178. Examples regarding heavenly heights include, במעמד frg. 11, קדושים במרום frg. 15, משרתים frg. 20, and repeated references to קודש קדשים in frgs. 23, 24, 27, 32, 41.

[76] See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 22; Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology*, 3-9.

[77] See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 23-27, for his full discussion. We will address the provenance of each of these texts when we discuss them in more detail below.

use not only in their covenant ceremony, but also in many of their liturgical prayers. As a result, we can tentatively connect the *Daily Prayers* to the Yahad.

The arguments for liturgical use are numerous, based on the form of the text. It employs first person plural address and contains liturgical formulae that indicate the occasion for recital.[78] There are two potential obstacles to accepting the *Daily Prayers* as a liturgy used by the Yahad. First, the text is preserved in only one manuscript, and would likely have been found in more copies if it were used liturgically. Since this is an argument from silence, it should not carry too much weight. However, a case can be made in the opposite direction. Precisely because these prayers were recited every day, and because they were quite short and formulaic, there was little need to have them written down. They would easily have been committed to memory.

The other problem concerns the fact that this collection covered only one month of the year, and because of the calendrical descriptions involved, it could not have been repeated every month. There are four possible explanations for this, none of which are very satisfying. First, the community only prayed twice daily during the first month of the year. Based on the other evidence for morning and evening prayers from Qumran, and the ideological importance attached to prayer at fixed times, this is not a viable option. Second, the copies of the texts covering the other months have been lost completely. It is unlikely that one month would have survived in more than 200 pieces, while the 59 others that were required to cover the six-year cycle left no trace whatsoever. Third, this manuscript served as a model for the community, from which they would develop prayers for each occasion throughout the year. In any other community we might imagine this as a likely possibility. At Qumran, however, the language of prayer, especially at fixed times, was viewed as divinely given. In this context, it is less likely that the daily prayers of the community would have been left up to the discretion of the leaders, or generated on the spot. Fourth, this text does not represent liturgical practice at all. It may have been brought into the community from outside and never used, or it may have been considered literature rather than liturgy. While this is a pos-

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[78] For a more detailed discussion, see Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 46.

sibility, the form of the text is clearly liturgical, and describes a type of liturgy – communal daily prayer – that likely was not widespread outside the Temple.[79] Unlike the *Words of the Luminaries*, this text has little to commend it as literature. We, therefore, tentatively accept this text as representing at least one element of the daily prayers of the Yaḥad, possibly the blessing associated with the *Shema*.[80]

4.1.3. *Liturgical Context*

The *Daily Prayers* were recited by a group, presumably those described as עם קודשו, his holy people (frgs. 4-6:9, frg. 11:3), בני בריתך, sons of your covenant (frg. 7-9:3), and perhaps בני צדק, sons of righteousness (frgs. 48-50:8). Each of these designations highlights the special election of the pray-ers and the special relationship they have with the God of Israel. The community's blessings describe God as the one who, among other things, "does wonders," "chose us from all the nations," "renews our joy," "is the God of all holy ones," and "causes us to know."[81] The prayers continue with astronomical descriptions of the phases of the moon (in the evening) and the rising of the sun (in the morning). Due to the fragmentary nature of the text, it is not clear if these descriptions are the content of the people's praise to God, or if they serve as additional descriptions of the specific occasion for each specific prayer.

The topics addressed in the body of the individual prayers vary greatly from day to day. Sabbath days include key words such as rest and delight.[82] The 14th and 15th of the month refer to redemption, God's strong arm and feasts of joy, all themes appropriate for *Pesach* and *Matzot*. Other key themes include election, communion with angels, holiness (holy of holies), renewal, and knowledge. The *Daily Prayers* do not contain calls for repentance, confession of sin by the pray-ers, or petitions for God's help, deliverance, or forgiveness. The prayers often conclude with a blessing addressing God (or God's name) directly. After the community finished blessing God, someone

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[79] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 55.
[80] For this proposal see Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 56.
[81] Frg. 16:1, frg. 24-25:3-4, frg. 33 ii 1-2, frg. 37:2-3, frg. 76:2. See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 37, for a complete list of the blessing formulas.
[82] See Chazon, "On the Special Character," 44.

else (probably a priest or a group of priests) responded "Peace upon you Israel."[83]

This service of prayer was recited בערב "in the evening" and בצאת השמש להאיר על הארץ "when the sun goes out to shine on the earth."[84] The importance of the exact timing of prayer evidenced in 1QS would also require that the entire Qumran community join for prayer at the same time.[85] Given the close association of the prayer with the moments of transition of the sun (rising and setting) we might imagine the community standing together outside the community compound on the plateau praying as they watched the transition from light to darkness, and from darkness to light.

4.1.4. *Significance of the Daily Prayers*

What was the purpose of gathering to recite these prayers each day? According to 1QS, prayer at morning and evening was an expectation of the *Maskil*. But why these prayers, and why in this format? As discussed above, the members of the Yahad were especially interested in keeping track of time. They had a sundial for measuring time, and believed God had commanded them to observe the times precisely. In Josephus's description of the morning prayer of the Essenes "as though entreating it (the sun) to rise," there is a sense that they played some part in the sun's emergence. Recognizing daily prayer as a divine command, it appears that the Qumran community may have felt that

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[83] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 53. This type of second person address to Israel is reminiscent of Num 6:22-26. Falk connects this with 1QS 1:24-2:4, where the people recite a confession and then the priests bless the lot of God. However, in that ceremony, it is the people that offer the responses to each section of liturgy recited by the priests and Levites.

[84] We should not too quickly make a connection between these times for prayer and the times for sacrifice. There is no evidence of any connection in this text with the offering of sacrifices. Even the language used elsewhere of prayer as an offering of the lips, or a pleasing aroma are absent from this text. Rather, the timing of these prayers is solely based on the passages between day and night. See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 47.

[85] Note for example the requirements not to be early or late for the appointed times in 1QS 1:14-15. Also notice that the transition times for blessing were ordained by God, 1QS 9:26-10:4. Contrast this with the Mishnaic discussion of when to recite the *Shema* in the evening and the morning, which provides a window of a number of hours (m. Ber 1:1-2). More analogous is the recommendation to have the transition from the *Shema* to the *Amidah* occur precisely at sunrise (b. Ber 9b).

without their prayer and their obedience to God, God's cosmic order
would not be upheld. The repeated emphasis in the *Daily Prayers* on
the joint witness with the angels also highlights the community's at-
tempts to participate in the continuation of the cosmic structure of the
world until the end. By participating in the transitions from day to
night and night to day, the community participated in the cosmic trans-
formation of the world.

The practice of daily prayer that connected the phases of the moon
and the movements of the sun also served the community as a way to
reinforce and maintain a connection to the calendar and the passage of
time. Each day's prayer was different, highlighting both the unique
astronomical phenomena and the festival practice of the community.
These daily reminders of the calendar's details also fortified the com-
munity's communal identity, as God's chosen and faithful people, in
contradistinction to the Temple leadership who had abandoned the true
calendar and allowed impurity to come into the Temple.

4.2. *Words of the Luminaries (4Q504, 4Q506)*

The *Words of the Luminaries*, דברי המאורות, is preserved in two
manuscripts, 4Q504 and 4Q506.[86] Of the two, 4Q504 is the best
preserved, including significant sections of text on frgs. 1-8. Baillet
dated 4Q504 to the mid-second century B.C.E., based on its
paleography. The papyrus manuscript, 4Q506, which dates to the first
century C.E., contains mostly small fragments that provide some
overlaps with the text of 4Q504. It is found on the back of 4Q509,
Festival Prayers.

The form of the text indicates that it provides prayers for the days of
a single week. The extant text contains significant fragments relating
to the first day, the fourth day and the sixth/seventh days. Chazon ar-
gues that the historical recitals evident in the body of each prayer fol-
low a progression so that each week begins with creation and covers

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[86] Chazon, "4QDibHam: Liturgy or Literature"; Chazon, "Is Divrei Ha-me'orot a
Sectarian Prayer?" 3-17. Originally 4Q505 was originally included here, but it has now
been accepted as part of the festival prayers manuscript labeled 4Q509. See Florentino
García Martínez, "Review of DJD 7," *JSJ* 15 (1984) 161-162; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath,
and Festival Prayers*, 60.

Israel's history up through the exile at the end of the week.[87] According to this progression, Day 1 discusses Adam and creation, Day 4 presents the giving of the Law at Horeb, and Day 6 concludes with a discussion of exile and repentance. Day 7, the Sabbath, breaks from the historical pattern of the weekday prayers, and instead contains a series of hymns. The text's liturgical character is established by the continual use of first person plural references in the body of the prayers, as well as by the use of liturgical forms such as openings connecting the prayers with the days of the week, closing blessings, and communal responses.

Chazon calls for a pre-Qumranic provenance based on the early paleographic date and the absence of any mention of sectarian history, which we might expect in the final section dealing with the exile.[88] Another argument against Qumran provenance is the petitionary nature of the prayers, something that is uncommon among Qumran prayers.[89] *Words of the Luminaries* also shares much in common with other penitential prayers of the Second Temple period that include historical recitals.[90] Yet, even if we determine that the *Words of Luminaries* was not composed at Qumran, we are still left with the question of whether or not the Yahad adopted the text and its liturgical practice into their daily service. The strongest evidence for the importance of this text for the life of the Yahad is the nearly 200-year difference in date between the two manuscripts. Falk, because he considers this text to be genetically linked to the *Festival Prayers*, cites the four manuscripts of that collection as further support for its likely use in the liturgical life of the community.[91]

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[87]   Chazon, "4QDibHam: Liturgy or Literature," 448.

[88]   Compare the historical descriptions of exile found in the admonition of CD.

[89]   The historical recital is introduced by a call for God to remember God's great works, and concludes with requests for God to remove God's wrath and deliver Israel. However, we should note that we do not have the clear Deuteronomic theology that ties repentance directly to deliverance and acceptance. Rather here we have the people asking in one place for God to not remember their iniquities and forgive, and in another place to deliver them because they have not broken the covenant in the midst of their distress and trial.

[90]   See especially Neh 9, Ezra 9, and Dan 9.

[91]   Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 87.

4.2.1. *Liturgical Context*

Words of the Luminaries represents a collection of daily prayers couched in communal language, asking God directly to remember the petitioners. The length and complexity of the prayers precludes the possibility that the community recited them in unison. The concluding response, "Amen Amen," points to the more likely alternative that the body of the prayer was recited by a leader on behalf of the people, who responded with "Amen, Amen."[92] Apart from the division into seven days, there is no indication of a particular ritual context within the text. Chazon proposes that the title, דברי המאורות, refers to its recital at the times of the changing of the lights.[93] However, such a connection is far from certain. In contrast to the *Daily Prayers*, *Words of the Luminaries* contains none of the relevant words, such as light, darkness, night, dawn, etc., that one might expect from a liturgy associated with the calendar.

Based on Maier's categories of socio-liturgical settings, Falk proposes a Levitical association for this collection, in contrast to the priestly associations of the *Daily Prayers*.[94] Falk also suggests a possible connection with the weekly lay *ma'amadot* services, but given the literary professionalism of the text, he considers the Levitical context more likely.[95] It is unclear, however, precisely how these attributions might help us understand how these prayers were adopted within the Yahad. Perhaps there is some connection between the adoption of a Levitical practice and the elevation of the status of the Levites within other Qumran texts.[96] In any case, the fact that this collection likely

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[92] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 85.

[93] Chazon, "A Liturgical Document," 57. It is uncertain if the prayer was repeated both morning and evening, or just in the morning. Chazon, "A Liturgical Document," 69, 89; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 87 also questions whether the title was original.

[94] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 90, based on Johann Maier, "*Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumrangemeinde*," *RQ* 14 (1989-90): 544-545, 549-550, 565-566, 579-580.

[95] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 91.

[96] For the status of Levites at Qumran see George J. Brooke, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in *Mogilany 1989. Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac* (ed. Zdzislaw J. Kapera; Krakow: Enigma Press, 1993); and Robert Kugler, "The Priesthood at Qumran: The

represents a practice associated with the Temple provides it with enough authority that the Yahad would have continued to use it, even it did not conform completely with their ideology.

4.2.2. *Significance of the Words of the Luminaries*

The *Words of the Luminaries* calls on God to remember the past, to remember the wonders God did for the pray-ers, to remember their status as God's chosen, and especially to remember the need to uphold the covenant. Such a historical recital helped the members of the community connect with the past and remain confident in God's right-eousness for the present and future. The obvious dependence upon bib-lical texts within the prayers also encourages them to recognize the relevance of sacred text for the present life of the community. The ar-dent petition and confession of iniquities seems at odds with the iden-tity of the Yahad as a deterministic group of the "perfect of way." Schuller supposes that such petitions were used because they had be-come traditional.[97] In other words, she claims that these prayers were important to the Yahad because they had achieved something like normative status; they were part of the fabric of a pious life.

Perhaps the evident similarities with other penitential prayers can help us understand the context for these prayers. A look at such texts indicates that many were connected to covenant renewal ceremonies, although none of them is described as a repeated occurrence in the life of the Israel. *Words of the Luminaries* could potentially be an attempt to adapt the prayers associated with covenant renewal for daily use. As we have discussed, a similar process seems to be at work in the con-nection between the daily hymn in 1QS 10-11 and the covenant cere-mony in 1QS 1-2. If this is the case, the daily recital of the *Words of the Luminaries* may be implied by the reference in 1QS 10:10 to enter-ing the covenant and the confession of sins.

Evidence of References to Levi and the Levites," in *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 465-479.

    [97] Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer," 29-45.

4.3. *4Q408 – Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer*

This short liturgical text is associated with texts about Moses, such as 4Q375-376 and 1Q29. The one large section of 4Q408 frgs. 3+3a, which is not paralleled in these other texts, describes a liturgy associated with God's creation of morning and evening. This liturgy presumably includes a collection of separate prayers, although only frg. 3 is sufficiently preserved to permit translation and discussion of its contents.

4Q408 repeatedly uses the Tetragrammaton and is dated to an early pre-Qumranic period, early in the second century B.C.E. Annette Steudel, the editor of this text, argues that despite these factors, there are a number of thematic and linguistic connections between this text and key Qumran texts such as the *Rule of the Community* and *Hodayot*.[98] The first connection she makes is with the dualistic description of the dominion of light, as opposed to the dominion of darkness. Genesis 1, which is quite clearly the backdrop for these blessings, also employs the same term for dominion. Genesis 1 establishes the luminaries to have dominion over the day לממשלת היום and dominion over the night לממשלת הלילה. In 4Q408 we have ממשלת אור לגבול יומם "the dominion of the light as the boundary of the daytime" and ממשלת חושך "the dominion of darkness..." Therefore, it is not necessary to see this description as anything more than an expansion of the description in Genesis.[99]

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[98] Annette Steudel, "4Q408: A Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer Preliminary Edition," *RQ* 63 (1994): 313-334. See also Annette Steudel, "Apocryphon of Moses^c," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD XXXVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 298-315.

[99] There is some distinction between this text and Genesis, in that in this text God created the morning and the evening to show the dominion of light as the boundary of day. Whereas in Genesis, God created the lights, that is the sun and the moon, to have dominion over the day and the night. What does it mean for God to have created morning and evening? God has created the times, not just the physical objects of the universe. In creating the times, God has established the basis for prayer and blessing. Essentially what God has created is the law, the eternal statute, that determines the times and the seasons, which in turn determines, not only the movements of the heavenly bodies, but also determines how the members of the community must live and what they must do. This is essentially more important than the physical bodies of light. These luminaries are merely indicators of the law, and remain bound by the same law. As such a community which rises "to bless your holy name" before their work, and after their labor, participates in fulfilling the same eternal law that governs the move-

Other similarities with Qumran literature that Steudel mentions include: the possible use of יחד meaning community, the use of the formula "Blessed are you Adonai," found also in a correction in the *Hodayot*, and the parallels with morning and evening prayer in 1QH^a 20 and 1QS 10. These links are not conclusive, however, as twice daily prayer was not exclusive to Qumran. The blessing formula here exists as a correction written above the line that originally included the Tetragrammaton, which is partially erased. Baumgarten attributes this correction to the general movement away from using the Tetragrammaton.[100] This does not explain why this is the only place in this text where a correction appears, or the fact that the Tetragrammaton is the only term for God used in this text.[101] However, even though these connections are not unique enough to argue convincingly for Qumran provenance, they do indicate the ease with which such a liturgy could have been incorporated into the ritual life of the Yahad.

4.3.1. *Liturgical Context and Significance*

This liturgy provides a framework for daily blessings in the morning and the evening, that would be repeated everyday, in contrast to the blessings from 4Q503, which provide a different blessing for each day of the month.[102] All the references in this text indicate a plural audience, although its fragmentary nature gives no indication about the speaker. The group is addressed directly in 4Q408 frg. 3:2, and perhaps in 4Q408 frg. 2:1. However, a few third person plural suffixes in 4Q408 frg. 3:8-11 remain ambiguous regarding their referent. The lines read as follows:

8 אשר ברתה את הבקר אות להופיע ממשלת אור לגבול יומם בר[   ]

9 לעבגתם לברך את שמ קדשך בראתם כי טוב האור וב[הכירם]כי בכול[   ]

10 ל   מתים אשר בר[ת]ה את הערב אות להופיע ממשלת] חושך לגבול לילה[

11 מעמל לברך [את שמ קדשך ב]ראתם[ ]כ[י טו]בים[כו]ל[כוכבים   ]

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ments of the sun and the stars.

[100] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Some Notes on 4Q408," *RQ* 18 (1998): 143-144.

[101] However, Steudel has proposed a reconstruction in frg. 3+3a 3 of "the God of Israel" ("Apocryphon of Moses^c," 304-305).

[102] In contrast to 4Q503, this liturgy records the blessing for the morning before that for the evening.

8. that is you created the morning as a sign to cause to appear the domin-
ion of light as a boundary for the day in [   ]
9. to their work to bless your holy name when they see[103] that the light is
good and when [they recognize] that in all[   ]
10. [   ] men that is you created the evening as a sign to cause to appear
the dominion of [darkness as a boundary for the night   ]
11. from labor to bless [your holy name when] they see tha[t al]l [the
stars are g]ood

Most likely, these lines represent instructions for the group participat-
ing in the liturgy, indicating perhaps that on their way to work they are
to bless God when they see that the light is good.[104] Then, when they
return from labor, they shall bless when they see the stars. It is also
possible that this is a description of the angelic host offering blessings
at the time of the creation. Steudel prefers to see the work as the daily
work of the people, rather than as the service of the stars or the heav-
enly beings.[105] It seems that the primary objective of this liturgy, which
portrays the correspondence of the blessings with the creation, is best
served by the ambiguity. The human service of blessing at the precise
times during the day is meant to correspond to the heavenly service.[106]

4.4. *Summary of Daily Rites*

What have we learned about daily prayer in the Yahad? 1QS and 1QH[a]
indicate with some certainty that prayer was associated with the pre-
cise moments of transition of the times, from day to night and from
night to day. Concern for following the times properly was seen as a
symbol of the Yahad's identity as a group. The practice of twice daily
prayer is confirmed by 4Q503, *Daily Prayers*, the only liturgical text

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[103] For this translation based on defective spelling, see Baumgarten, "Some Notes
on 4Q408," adopted in Steudel, "Apocryphon of Moses[c]," 308. Vermes divides the
phrases differently so that the reference to their work is connected with the previous
blessing and serves as the conclusion of that sentence. The new sentence begins with
"Thou hast [c]reated them to bless [Thy holy name]" (*Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*,
373).

[104] Baumgarten, "Some Notes on 4Q408," 144, proposes that this image carries
with it the symbolic significance of light as divine righteousness.

[105] Steudel, "Apocryphon of Moses[c]," 308.

[106] Compare with the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

of daily prayers likely composed by the Yahad. 4Q408 reinforces twice daily prayer by explicitly attributing the creation of the times, morning and evening, to God's process of creation in the beginning. These two texts betray the Yahad's interest in participating in the creation by liturgically marking the sun's rites of passage. Tracking the sun's passage, and connecting it with the phases of the moon, was a means for making sure that they were in step with the times and the divine laws associated with those times.

The Qumran practice of daily prayer was also an opportunity for its members to be constantly reminded of the covenant. The *Words of the Luminaries* probably represents an adaptation of the themes of penitential prayers associated with covenant ceremonies in Israel's history, into a repeatable weekly practice. As such, it provided a traditional means for the Yahad to recount God's righteousness and to practice confession. If this collection was, in fact, also connected to the Levitical service in the Temple, then its adoption at Qumran would have further reinforced the priestly character and authority of the community. Within the Yahad, to be reminded of the covenant meant alluding to its own distinctive covenant ceremony described in 1QS 1-2. The hymn from 1QS 10-11 provides explicit links to the language of the annual ceremony. Although not specifically mentioned here, the communal singing of hymns and psalms would certainly have been part of the Yahad's daily liturgy, reinforcing its exclusive community identity and strengthening its internal bonds.[107]

5. Liturgical Texts Connected to Sabbath Rites

Liturgies associated with the Sabbath at Qumran are found in a few forms, only one of which is of significant length. The primary evidence comes from the remarkable collection, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Two of the collections of daily prayers, *Daily Prayers*, and *Words of the Luminaries* both include sections associated with the Sabbath. In the second case, the entire tone of the text changes so as to include only thanksgivings and praise, rather than petition. The first of these Sabbath hymns from 4Q504 also seems to call for harmonically

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[107] The role of such psalms and hymns will be addressed in Chapter 7.

joining their praise with the praises of the angels in the firmament.[108]

Another possible source of information about the Qumran Sabbath practice is found in a section of 4Q421 reconstructed in conjunction with 4Q264a.[109] This section deals with laws of the Sabbath, and limits Sabbath activity to reading, teaching, blessing and speaking words of holiness. 4Q264a frg. 1 7-8 are reconstructed to read: ביום הש[ב]ת ואל ל אך ידבר לאכול [ויד]בר לברך א דברי] קודש כחוקיד[בר ד]בר כי אם ל[דבר [ולש]תות "…on the day of the Sa[bba]th. And one should not sp[eak a w]ord except to [speak words of] holiness. According to the statute, [one shall sp]eak to praise God. Indeed, one may speak [a word] re-garding eating and dri[nking]." The special character of the Sabbath is accentuated by restrictions not only on work-related tasks, but also here by clear restrictions on kinds of speech.[110] These restrictions are considered to be part of the divine law, since they are determined by statute.[111]   On the Sabbath, according to these restrictions, members are only allowed to speak "words of holiness," דברי קודש. While this probably does not refer specifically to the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacri-fice*, the themes and images of the *Songs* certainly would qualify. In fact the root קודש appears some 155 times in the *Songs*, more than in any other text.

5.1. *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-407; 11Q17; Mas1k)*

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* are extant in eight manuscripts found in Cave 4, one manuscript found in Cave 11, and one large

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[108] Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer," 37-38; Bilhah Nitzan, "Harmonic and Mystical Characteristics in Poetic and Liturgical Writings from Qumran," *JQR* 85 (1995): 163-183. Compare with Ps 148.

[109] Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Sabbath Halakha and Worship in *4QWays of Right-eousness: 4Q421* 11 and 13+2+8 // *4Q264a* 1-2," *RQ* 18 (1998): 359-372.

[110] CD 10:15-19, in its collection of Sabbath laws, prohibits speaking idle or vain words and saying anything about work or labor to be done the next day. The *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504, 506) seems also to formally differentiate the prayers of the week from the hymns for the Sabbath, see also Chazon, "On the Special Character."

[111] Tigchelaar chose to connect the phrase "according to the statute" with the fol-lowing reference to blessing God based on 1QS 10:6, but he acknowledges that it is also possible to read it as the conclusion of the previous phrase, as a modifier of דברי קודש.

fragment found at Masada.[112] The oldest of the manuscripts, 4Q400, is dated to the second quarter of the first century B.C.E. Newsom reconstructs the text into 13 separate songs, one for each Shabbat of the first quarter of the year.[113] Each song begins with a formula providing its context in the following form: למשכיל שיר עולת השבת הראישונה בארבעה לחודש הראישון "For the *Maskil*. Song of the first Sabbath sacrifice on the fourth day of the first month." Like the *Words of the Luminaries*, this collection represents a literary progression across the individual units prescribed for each occasion.

   Song 1 begins with a discussion of the establishment of angelic priesthood. This is the only song that contains direct address to God, which Newsom claims are words spoken by a human, rather than by an angel. The collection begins with humans and their recognition of the angelic priesthood, and their inability to measure up to that priesthood. Song 2 (4Q400 frg. 2 6-7) contains a series of rhetorical questions referring to the speakers in first person plural:

מה נתחשב [ב]ם וכוהנתנו מה במעוניהם וק[ודשנו]
קודש[י]הם [מה] תרומת לשון עפרנו בדעת אל[ים]

> How shall we be reckoned among them? How shall our priesthood (be considered) in their dwellings? [And our] ho[liness] with their holiness? How does the offering of our tongue of dust compare with the knowledge of the divine [beings]?

These questions indicate the recognition of the glory, efficacy, and wonder of the angelic priesthood and the heavenly realm. They also indicate that those reciting this text compared themselves with the angels, that is, they recognized similarity of purpose and similarity of requirements. However, they recognized that their own service, and their own worship, was insignificant in the face of the glorious worship of the angels. The human speakers of the songs only appear in the first two songs of the series. In the first song there is direct address to God, and in this second song there is first person reference to the singers as insignificant compared to the angels. The rest of the collection refers only to the angelic priesthood and the heavenly Temple, and presumes

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[112] For transcription and reconstruction, see Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.
[113] For identification of the fragments associated with each song, see Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,* 7-12.

no direct address to God. All addresses are in the form of calls to praise, directed toward the angels and in some cases, toward the elements of the heavenly Temple. We will return to discuss the implications of this below.

Songs 3-5 are very poorly preserved in the manuscripts, but seem to have dealt with the conflict in heaven. Songs 6-8 form the central section of the collection. There are a number of parallels between Song 6 and Song 8. Both include a number of highly formulaic lists of seven items, including seven priesthoods, seven councils, seven precincts, seven *debirim*, seven chief princes, seven deputy princes, seven psalms, seven words, etc. The seventh song begins with seven calls to praise addressed to the angels and continues by adding the praise uttered by the various parts of the heavenly Temple, including the walls, the doors, the courtyards, the chariots, the cherubim, and ophanim. There are seven holy places, each served by an angelic priesthood, led by a high priest and a deputy priest.

Songs 9-12 move on to describe the heavenly sanctuary itself: the architecture and brickwork, the interior decorations such as the curtains, and the inner throne room with the array of angels, chariots and cherubim. Song 13 contains the first mention of the sacrifice itself, followed by descriptions of the angelic high priests and their garments, and a systematic list of the contents and structures of heavenly Temple. Newsom says that the fact that the collection concludes with the priesthood and the vestments is key to its structure, and therefore serves as a legitimation of priestly identity.[114] The focus of the collection is not on the inner throne room of God, but rather on the priests themselves.

5.1.1. *Provenance*

In her first publication of these texts, Carol Newsom argues for Qumran provenance.[115] The main argument for Qumran provenance flows

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[114] Carol Newsom, "'He Has Established for Himself Priests': Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; JSP Supplemental Series 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990) 115.

[115] Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 1-4.

from the basic theme of the *Songs*, that is, priestly association with angels. Also, there are similarities in language and imagery between this text and the clearly Qumranic collection of blessings and curses, *Berakhot* (4Q286-290). Finally, the repeated reference in the headings for each individual song to the *Maskil* probably is best connected with the officer referred to in 1QS 3:13 and in 1QSb, for it is the responsibility of the *Maskil* to bless the community, the high priest, the other priests, and the Prince of the congregation. The association of the *Maskil* in 1QS 9-11 also with liturgical functions within the community fits well with the use here in the songs.[116] Similar headings are also reconstructed in 4Q511, the *Songs of the Maskil*.

In order to explain the presence of a copy of this text at Masada, Newsom, in her later work, is compelled to conclude that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were pre-Qumranic in origin.[117] She explains the similarities with *Berakhot* as deriving from the influence of the *Songs* on the *Berakhot*, developed at Qumran (all the *Berakhot* manuscripts are first century C.E.). However, Vermes agrees with Newsom's original argument, that the Masada text can be explained as the result of some members of the Qumran community fleeing to Masada and joining the hold out, there after the destruction of Qumran.[118] Since coherent arguments can be made both for Qumranic and pre-Qumranic provenance, we recognize that certainty on this matter is out of reach. For the purposes of our discussion of its liturgical use, certainty on this question of authorship is not required. The large number of copies of this text, and its affinities with Qumran ideology assure us that this collection was of primary importance for the religious life of the Yahad. Therefore, we can proceed with a discussion of its liturgical context and significance within the community's ritual life.

5.1.2. *Liturgical Context*

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* contain liturgical calls to praise for the heavenly beings on a tour of the heavenly Temple and its service. The only certain indication that the liturgy was designed for human

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[116] See also the headings in 4Q510-511 and 11Q11.
[117] Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature," 182.
[118] Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 321.

recital appears is the final section of Song 2, which includes a series of rhetorical questions using first person plural references. In blatant contrast to the fact that they are calling on the heavenly beings to praise God, and that they are vicariously touring the heavenly abode, these questions highlight the human inability to compare to, or even to participate with, the angelic hosts. One of the questions, however, does indicate that the humans involved conceived of themselves as priests: וכוהנתנו מה במעוניהם "How shall our priesthood (be considered) in their dwellings?"[119] The rest of the collection essentially ignores the human speakers.[120]

The collection explicitly ties each song to the Sabbath sacrifices for the first quarter of the year, beginning in the spring. This allows the context for the individual songs to be connected to the spring festival cycle. Newsom connects the first song with the consecration of the priesthood, which probably took place during the first week of the first month.[121] This would correlate the beginning of the cycle, which begins with the establishment of the angelic priesthood, with the establishment and consecration of the human priesthood.[122]

Other scholars have proposed connections between Songs 11 and 12 and *Shavuot*, the Feast of Weeks. Morray-Jones argues that the climax of the *Songs* is really Song 12 rather than Song 7, because it describes the access into the throne room.[123] Davila argues for a similar conclusion, based on the confluence of allusions from Ezek 1, Ps 68:17-20, and the celebration of Sinai revelation on *Shavuot*.[124] Newsom claims that Songs 11 and 12, which would have been recited on either side of *Shavuot* in the first quarter, were influenced by these two texts. These connections with the festival calendar of the first quarter provide some

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[119] 4Q400 frg. 2:6.

[120] However, the benediction in 4Q403 frg. 1 1:28-29 may have been recited by the human community as a response to the cycle of blessings. ברוך [ה]אד[ו]ן מל[ך ה]כול מעלה לכול ברכה ות[שבחות וברך לכול קדו]שים מברכ[יו ומצדי]קין[ו] בשם כבודו [וב]רך לכול ברוכי עד

[121] See Ex 29, Lev 8, 11QT^a 16-17. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 72.

[122] Newsom, "'He Has Established,'" 115.

[123] C. R. A. Morray-Jones, "The Temple Within: The Embodied Divine Image and Its Worship in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Jewish and Christian Sources," *The Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) 1:400-431.

[124] He refers to David J. Halperin, "Merkabah Midrash in the Septuagint," *JBL* 101 (1982): 351-363, for evidence that these elements were present in the LXX.

support for Newsom's argument that the *Songs*, as we have them, were not repeated quarterly, and therefore do not represent the 52 songs for each of the Sabbaths described in 11QPs[a], *David's Compositions*.[125] This argument is based primarily on the headings for the songs, about which she claims there is no evidence to support a quarterly system.[126] Falk disagrees, citing 1QS 10:7 as support for a quarter system at Qumran.[127] However, the fact that connections can be made between the *Songs* and the priesthood on one hand, and the throne-chariot images on the other, is hardly surprising for such a text and would not, in any case, seriously diminish the power and usefulness of the liturgy if recited during the other quarters as well.

5.1.3. *Sabbath and Sacrifices*

The title of each of the songs indicates a connection with the עולה sacrifice on the Sabbath. Such an association with the sacrifice may be the result of the tradition that the time of offering sacrifices was considered to be an opportunity when access to heaven was particularly promising, and prayer was likely to be effective (Jdt 9:1; Luke 1:10; Josephus *Ag. Ap.* 2.23; *b. Ber.* 26b).[128] As such, it would also likely be considered a good time to gain access to the angelic priesthood.

The Sabbath had also developed as an opportunity to join together with the angelic hosts. This began with the priestly understanding of the practice of Sabbath as imitation of God in creation. *Jubilees* 2:17-22 indicates that humans are to keep the Sabbath together with the angels, by blessing God. *Words of the Luminaries*, in its Sabbath hymns,

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[125] Johann Maier notes that the point of *11QDavid's Compositions* is to list the number of songs David wrote. A collection of 13 songs repeated four times cannot in any event fit this description. ("Shire 'Olat hash-Shabbat. Some Observations on their Calendric Implications and on their Style," in *The Madrid Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (eds. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1992) 2:551).

[126] Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 19.

[127] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 136. See also Maier, "Shire 'Olat hash-Shabbat," 549-551, who connects the four שיר לנגן על הפגעים with the four turning point days of the seasons, rather than the afflicted.

[128] Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 20. 2 Chr 29:27-28 also indicates that Levitical singers performed during the 'olah when Hezekiah rededicated the Temple. *David's Compositions* also associate songs with sacrifice, although in that case, the *qorban* sacrifice is mentioned.

also invites the angels to join with the earth to bless God's holiness (4Q504 frgs. 1-2 vii 5). Fleischer claims that the *Qedushah* , the prominent rabbinic prayer centered around angelic praise from Isa 6:3, was an ancient practice that was originally restricted to use on Sabbaths and Festivals.[129] The association of this collection of songs with the Sabbath sacrifice clearly exploits these traditions in developing an elaborate liturgy of the heavenly worship.

5.1.4. *Significance of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* represent calendrical rites and, therefore, function like other calendrical rites to mark the passage of time and to establish patterns for the quarterly cycles of the year. At the same time, they exhibit characteristics that allow them to function as rites expressing communion (with angels and with heaven), and as political rites (establishing the authority of the priesthood). We will focus our discussion here on these other functions.

5.1.4.1. Communion with Angels

One possible explanation for the practice of a liturgy like the *Songs*, is as an attempt to express communion with the angels. Allison understands the *Songs* as an implicit expectation to imitate the angels' heavenly worship. "The community should, in so far as this is possible, reproduce in its liturgical life the liturgical activities around the throne of God."[130] Although there is a significant overlap in terminology used of angels and that used of humans in the Yahad,[131] it is not possible to claim that the Yahad's worship imitated the angels as described in the *Songs*. In fact, the liturgical practice of the Qumran community does not match the angelic practice described here well at all. There is no evidence for, or even any explanation of the nature of, the seven praises or the seven words spoken by the chief princes and the deputy

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[129] Ezra Fleischer, "The Diffusion of the Qedushot of the Amidah and the Yozer in the Palestinian Ritual," *Tarbiz* 38 (1969): 255-284.

[130] Dale C. Allison, "The Silence of Angels: Reflection on the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *RQ* 13 (1988): 192. He also lists sources that indicate the presence of angels in the Qumran assembly: 1QSa 2:3-11; 1QM 7:4-6; 4QM^a; 4QD^b as well as 1QH^a 3:21-23; 1QS 11:7-8.

[131] See the list compiled in Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 23-38.

princes. None of the texts found to date, relating to the worship of the community, contains any sevenfold structure.[132] There is also no evidence for a hierarchy of princes and deputy princes within the Yahad.

Rather than seeing the *Songs* as a model for the community to imitate in its own worship, Newsom describes the purpose of this text as "the praxis of something like a communal mysticism."[133] As mentioned above, other Qumran texts express a belief in the experience of communion with angels, but clearly, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* provides the main vehicle for experiencing this communion. Newsom mentions that the communion does not take the form of the *Qedushah*, as it does in later Jewish and Christian liturgy, but instead it follows calls to praise with descriptions of the heavenly Temple, which are in themselves acts of worship. "Through these calls to praise and the descriptions of heavenly worship the earthly community invokes that sense of being present in the heavenly Temple."[134] The questions listed in the second song provide further evidence that the *Songs* represent a type of communion with the angels. Rather than wondering if they will achieve such communion, the members ask how it is that they could be worthy enough to deserve such an experience.

One of the possible ways to understand how the members could be worthy of communion with the angels is through their embodiment of the Temple. Johann Maier claims that the Temple was traditionally understood as the place of intersection between heaven and earth.[135] Since, in Maier's view, the Qumran community replaced the Jerusalem Temple, their priestly service took on the same association with the heavenly service of the angels. As such, the Qumran community's liturgical practice was intended to serve as the functional equivalent to the angelic ritual in heaven.[136] Davila also understands the claim for

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[132] *The Words of the Luminaries* has a series of hymns for the Sabbath, but it is not possible to tell if there are seven of them.

[133] Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 19.

[134] Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 65.

[135] Johann Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis* (Religionswissenschaftliche Studien 1; Salzburg: Otto Muller, 1964). The idea of the Jerusalem Temple as an *axis mundi* is developed by Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 60-61. For example, 1 Chr 21:16 indicates that the place that would become the altar for the Temple was chosen because it was the precise spot where the angel of the Lord was standing between heaven and earth to remove the plague brought on by the census.

[136] Maier, "Shire 'Olat hash-Shabbat," 560.

communion with the angels as an expression of the Yahad's competition with the Temple in Jerusalem and its priesthood. "By identifying themselves with the cult of the heavenly temple they could exalt their own rank above the priesthood of the mere earthly temple in Jerusalem."[137] In this way the Yahad, being separated from the physical Temple, considered itself better able to associate with the heavenly Temple.

5.1.4.2. Priestly Authority

Maier's association of the angels with the Temple leads to another main function of the *Songs*' liturgy: the legitimation of the Yahad's priestly authority. Newsom claims that the *Songs* do not precisely establish a mystical communion with the angels. Instead, they are designed to legitimate Israel's Torah and Israel's uniqueness and separateness. "In a way that is neither eschatological nor mystical Israel nevertheless exists as something like an extension of the heavenly realm on earth."[138] Newsom recognizes, however, that it is the claim to have such a connection, more than its reality, that achieves the desired legitimation of the priesthood. The *Songs* provide, through their rhetorical character, evidence to support the legitimacy of the priests who are employing it.[139]

Newsom argues that the Qumran community needed such rhetoric to legitimate the priesthood. It was not for outsiders, but rather it ensured that their claim to be the true priesthood remained plausible for later generations. They needed to go beyond visionary arguments, like those found in *Jubilees* or the Aramaic *Testament of Levi*, to bolster their claim, and to include some sort of experience of their claims.[140] The *Songs* met the need for experiential validation of the priestly authority and legitimacy in the face of the Yahad's separation from the Temple. The priestly Yahad was confronted with the contradiction in which they were the true representatives of the priesthood who were living according to the proper laws, but in order to be this they had to leave the Temple and remain separated from the sacrificial system. So, they were a priesthood without a Temple. As a result, they defined

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[137] Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 90.
[138] Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 69.
[139] Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 71.
[140] Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 71-72.

themselves as a Temple both in symbolic and in functional terms, and thereby asserted their authority over Israel. Especially if connections with the heavenly realm were part of Sabbath worship in the Temple, then developing this elaborate liturgy, emphasizing the angelic priesthood and its service, would have been a strong argument for the legitimacy of the priestly character and authority at Qumran.

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, although they describe the heavenly realm, should not be characterized as a mystical text.[141] The human speakers are not taken up into heaven, not even in a vision. Instead, the text presents descriptions of the heavenly realm and the angelic worship. Strikingly, the emphasis in the description is not on God as the object of the praise, but rather on the angels, the subjects. This emphasis on the priestly service is exemplified in two ways. First, the content of the praise of the angels is never described.[142] There are a number of possible explanations for this. Allison contends that it is part of an attempt to present angelic worship as essentially silent.[143] Falk indicates a possible reticence to presenting angelic speech because of its holy quality.[144] In practical terms, Newsom also recognizes that to provide the content of the angels' praise would shift the focus to God, and away from the priestly angels.[145]

Another indication that the key function of this liturgy was to highlight the priests comes from the final song. Rather than concluding with the vision of the divine throne room and God on that throne, the

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[141] For an alternative view of the Songs as describing an angelomorphized human priesthood, see Crispin Fletcher-Louis, "Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*," *The Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) 1:367-399.

[142] Scholars have proposed allusions to the angelic praise described in Isa 6:3, "Holy, Holy, Holy." The text most often cited in this regard is 4Q403 frg. 1 i 31: יקדילו קדושי אלוהים למלך הכבוד המקדיש בקודעו לכול קדושו. Such a reading is based on recognizing יקדילו and בקודעו as scribal errors. See Newsom, "Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat," 269-271; and Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer," 42. Anna MariaSchwemer argues that these errors here are deliberate in order to indicate a connection with Isa 6:3 ("Gott als König und seine Königsherrschaft in der Sabbatliedern aus Qumran," in *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult in Judentum* (eds. Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer; WUNT 55; Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1991) 97-98). See also Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 139-145.

[143] Allison, "The Silence of Angels," 192-197.

[144] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 143.

[145] Newsom, "'He Has Established,'" 108.

Songs conclude with descriptions of the sacrifices offered, and of the garments of the priests.[146] Such a conclusion associates authority with the priesthood.[147] It also places emphasis on the act of worship, rather than on the communication value of that worship. As with the rest of the Yahad's life and ritual practice, worship, if it is to be modeled on that of the angels, also must follow divine laws. For God had engraved laws to govern all spiritual acts: חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח (4Q400 frg. 1 i 5). Holiness, even for the angels, is achieved by obedience to God's laws: וא[י]ן טמא בקודשיהם [וחוקי קוד]שים חרת למו בם יתקדשו כול קדושי עד "There is nothing impure in their holiness. And (God) engraved statutes of holiness for them, by which all the eternally holy ones sanctify themselves" (4Q400 frg. 1 i 14-15). In accordance with these divine statutes, the Yahad recited these songs on the Sabbath, as their act of worship, alongside the angelic worship they describe. This practice reinforced the authority of their priesthood at the same time that it identified the Community's obedience and worship as proper priestly activity.

6. LITURGICAL TEXTS CONNECTED TO FESTIVAL RITES

The Dead Sea Scrolls preserve ample evidence for liturgical practice associated with the festival calendar of the Yahad.[148] *David's Compositions* indicate thirty songs associated with the new moons, festivals and the Day of Atonement.[149] The calendar hymns in 1QS 10 and 1QH[a] 20, also include general reference to ordained prayer in connection with the appointed times, as does 4Q510-511, *Songs of the Maskil*.[150] Only two texts preserve content for potential use on such occasions: the collection of *Festival Prayers*, and 4Q409. The texts most closely associated with the Yahad, 1QS and 4Q409, seem to follow a calendar beginning in the spring and including the festivals men-

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[146] Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 72.
[147] Fletcher-Louis even claims that the Songs conclude with an elevation of the true High Priest as the embodiment of the Glory, that is the embodiment of God ("Heavenly Ascent," 398).
[148] See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 155-194.
[149] The number thirty probably indicates that this did not include the additional festivals found in the *Temple Scroll*.
[150] 4Q511 frg. 2 i 8-9; frg. 63-64 ii 2.

tioned in the *Temple Scroll*. Conversely, those texts, such as 11QPs^a
and *Festival Prayers*, that do not appear to be directly associated with
the Yahad, follow a fall calendar, and probably do not include the extra
festivals from the *Temple Scroll*.

6.1. Festival Prayers (4Q507, 4Q508, 4Q509 + 4Q505)

The collection of *Festival Prayers* has been discovered in four manu-
scripts, each of which is quite fragmentary.[151] The manuscript from
Cave 1, dated to the end of the first century B.C.E., preserves a clear
heading indicating a prayer for the Day of Atonement.[152] Three addi-
tional copies of the text were discovered in Cave 4: 4Q507, 4Q508,
and 4Q509+4Q505, ranging in date from mid-first century B.C.E. to the
first century C.E.[153]

The basic structure of each of the prayers follows the form found in
the *Words of the Luminaries*.[154] Each prayer begins with a heading that
indicates the proper day for its use, followed by a call for God to re-
member. Only the heading for the Day of Atonement is well preserved:
תפלה ליום כפורים זכו[ר א]דוני א[ת "Prayer for the Day of Atonement,
remember Adonai..." (1Q34 frgs. 1+2:6). A partial heading for the Day
of Firstfruits is preserved in 4Q509 frgs. 131+132 ii. A possible head-
ing referring to Passover as a night of vigils may be found in 4Q505
frg. 125, and Falk has reconstructed a heading for *Sukkot* in 4Q509 frg.
8+4Q508 frgs. 22+23.[155]

Each prayer concludes with the benediction: "Blessed is Adonai,
who... Amen Amen." Portions of such concluding blessings can be
found in 1Q34 frgs. 1+2 // 4Q509 frg. 3, 4Q507 frgs. 2, 3; 4Q508 frgs.

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[151] Baillet, DJD VII, 168-170, 175-215; Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 15-40; Falk,
Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers, 155-187.

[152] Although these fragments were originally published in two batches and there-
fore designated 1Q34 and 1Q34^{bis}, this distinction is no longer necessary.

[153] Baillet, DJD VII, 168-170, considered 4Q505 another copy of the *Words of the
Luminaries*, but based on the reconstruction of 4Q506 and 4Q496 written on the back
of this papyrus it appears in the middle of 4Q509. Therefore, it is better to consider
both sets of fragments as one manuscript of *Festival Prayers*.

[154] For more on the form of these prayers see Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival
Prayers*, 182-185.

[155] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 169.

1, 20; 4Q509 frgs. 4, 10ii +11, 18, 23, 132, 206. Most of these are par-
tial, yet all of those that have a context seem to follow the form pre-
sented here.

The fragmentary nature of the text makes it quite difficult to deter-
mine the divisions within the collection, or the order of the festivals
treated. Falk ascribes certainty to references to the Day of Atonement,
Feast of Weeks (Firstfruits, *Shavuot*), and probably Passover (*shi-
murim*). The reference to the Day of Atonement (1Q34 2+1) assures us
that there was at least one prayer before this one.[156] The text as a whole
seems to have followed the calendar beginning with the New Year in
the fall, and progressing around the year. The one exception seems to
be a prayer for Passover after the prayer for the Feast of Weeks.[157] Falk
proposes that the majority of the scroll was written in chronological
order, and then some prayers were added at the end. As a result, ele-
ments cannot be associated with a particular festival based on location
alone.

6.1.1. *Provenance*

The text of *Festival Prayers* provides limited information upon which
to determine its provenance. The text lacks any specifically sectarian
terminology, but also contains nothing that would be incompatible
with the ideology of the Yahad. There are no references to priesthood.
There is a reference in 4Q508 frg. 13 to grain, new wine, and oil,
which could refer to the three firstfruits festivals mentioned in the
Temple Scroll. However, this list also appears in Num 8:12; Deut
12:17; 14:23; 18:4; Neh 10:40; 13:5, 12; and 2 Chr 31:5. Davila also
mentions the possible use of גורל "lot" and קץ "period," as technical
terms, but he considers this to be inconclusive evidence because we do
not know if other contemporary Jewish groups also used these terms in
this way.[158]

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[156] The copy of the *War Scroll* (4Q496) that is written on the verso of this part of
4Q509, follows the same recension as 1QM, and if it is assumed that it was written at
the beginning of the scroll, probably indicates that only one prayer could have fit be-
fore the one for the Day of Atonement.

[157] See Table 11 in Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 162. The reference
to Passover is located here based on the reconstruction of 4Q506 on the verso. This
raises significant issues for understanding the nature of this text.

[158] Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 17.

Charlesworth argues for Qumran provenance based on language similarities with other Qumran texts (the lot of the righteous) and on evidence of dualism.[159] Most of this so-called dualism is nothing more than what is common in psalms that contrast the righteous and the wicked. There is one reference to God knowing the hidden things and the revealed, which echoes language found in sectarian texts (4Q508 frg. 2:4). Charlesworth's list of contrasts between the human seed, which have been rejected, and those chosen and singled out, neglects to mention the fact that the text does not claim these things for "us," but rather for "them."

Falk considers these prayers, like the *Words of the Luminaries*, to have originated outside the Yahad. He is not convinced by others' arguments that the prayers depend on Yahad theology.[160] The likelihood that the text follows a calendar beginning in the fall supports a non-Qumranic provenance, considering the large numbers of calendar texts at Qumran that begin in the spring. As he considers the form to be similar with the *Words of the Luminaries*, he also considers the Levitical circles as a possible social setting for this collection.[161]

6.1.2. *Liturgical Context*

Apart from the closing blessings, which address God in the third person,[162] this collection contains prayers that generally address God in the second person. The speakers also regularly address themselves in the first person plural.[163] The collection of *Festival Prayers* contains various types of prayers. We have evidence of some limited petition ("Remember!"), confession ("we have acted wickedly"), perhaps historical recital, recognition of God's covenant, and concluding blessings.

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[159] Charlesworth, *Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers*, 48.

[160] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 157. He cites Maier, "Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumrangemeinde," 577.

[161] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 215.

[162] 4Q508 frg. 2 contains a concluding blessing before the prayer for the Day of Atonement that includes a second person reference to God, which is uncharacteristic in such a benediction.

[163] The third person references seem to be part of historical recitals referring to Israel's ancestors. See especially 1Q34 frg. 3 ii 5-7, which refers to the election of the people in connection with Sinai.

These prayers were recited on each of the festival days to which they were ascribed. Clear evidence exists for prayers for the Day of Atonement, Firstfruits, and probably Passover. Other sections have been tentatively associated with the New Year Festival (Fall), *Sukkot*, and *Shavuot*. It is unknown whether these prayers were recited as part of the morning and evening prayers, or at some other occasion. Similarities in form with the *Words of the Luminaries* may indicate similar usage.

6.1.3. *Significance*

Although the *Festival Prayers* were composed outside the Yahad, the Yahad likely adopted them for liturgical use. The multiple manuscripts found in two different caves support this conclusion. The discovery of a manuscript in Cave 1 may also indicate its importance, as most of the texts stored in Cave 1 were highly significant for the life of the community. Falk provides an abundance of evidence for prayer during festivals as a prominent practice during the Second Temple period.[164] 1QS 10:6 ascribes the status of eternal precept to the appointed times. Evidence from Philo and Josephus also indicates that prayer and praise in connection with the festivals were considered to be ancient practices past down from of old.[165]

The Yahad considered liturgical prayer at the times of the festivals essential to fulfilling its obligation to uphold God's Law. 4Q508 frg. 2:3 describes the Day of Atonement as מועד תענית חוק עו[לם] "a festival of fasting, an eternal pre[cept]" that God had established. The members were reminded of these obligations by reciting the Torah prescriptions for each day, within the prayers.[166] In addition, they would have reinforced their connection with their role as priests, by continuing a prayer practice adopted from the Temple service.

Even though they presumably did not compose this collection of prayers, the members of the Yahad would have read its language as bearing witness to their special connection with God, and their separation from others.[167] 1Q34 frg. 3 i maintains a clear contrast between the

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[164] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 194-214.
[165] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 195.
[166] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 171.
[167] Some of these elements have been used to support Qumran provenance.

lot of the righteous and the lot of the wicked: לה[י]ת [בין צד]יק לרשע
כלה בכל מעינו ואנו נודה לשמך לעולם[168] ונתתה רשעים [כ]ופרנו וב[...]דים
"To distinguish between the righteous and the wicked, and you shall set the wicked (as) our ransom and … destruction on all those who afflict us. But as for us, we shall give thanks to your name forever" (1Q34 frg. 3 i 4-6).

This contrast is continued in 1Q34 frg. 3 ii, which describes the wickedness of the "seed of humanity" (זרע האד[ם]), who did not understand their inheritance, acted wickedly, and so God rejected them. On the other side, we have the people chosen, established, and set apart as holy from the all the peoples:[169]

5   ותבחר לך עם בקץ רצונך כי זכרת בריתך
6 ות[תנ]ם להבדל לך לקודש מכול העמים ותחדש בריתך להם במראת
כב[ו]ד ודברי
7 [נביא]ך קודשך במעשי ידיך וכתב ימינך להודיעם יסורי כבוד ומעלי עולם

And you have chosen for yourself a people in the age of your favor, for you have remembered your covenant and you have given them to be separated for you for holiness from all the peoples and you have renewed your covenant for them with the vision of gl[o]ry and the words of your holy [prophets][170] with the deeds of your hands and the writing of your right hand to make known to them the foundations of glory and the steps of eternity. (1Q34 frg. 3 ii 5-7)

The members of the Yahad, like the Israelites at Sinai, were elected and elevated to peoplehood in covenant with God. The language of rejection of those who did not understand and acted wickedly allowed the Yahad to recite this liturgy as a statement of their superiority over those outsiders who refuse to accept their access to true understanding. The Yahad's specific social situation transformed the meaning of this traditional liturgy from a common practice shared by all Israel, into a

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[168] Davila provides two alternatives to reconstruct this badly damaged word, ובן[יש]רים or ובג[וג]דים (*Liturgical Works*, 21).

[169] Notice the striking shift to third person recipient of election. Since this certainly could not refer to a contemporary other, it must be part of an historical recital of the Sinai event. The Yahad would have still have seen themselves as the heirs of this election and the covenant that went with it.

[170] Milik reconstructed רוח, spirit here, but Davila argues that since "words of the holy spirit" is nowhere else attested, "the words of the prophets" is a much more likely phrase (*Liturgical Works*, 23).

sectarian claim for priestly authority, and access to the new cove-
nant.[171]

6.2. *Times for Praising God (4Q409)*

This fragmentary text, published by Elisha Qimron, appears to be a
hymn calling for praises and blessings to God, associated with special
days of the festival cycle.[172] Only one significant fragment of this text
is preserved, which contains parts of two columns of text.[173] It is dated
based on paleography to the second half of the first century B.C.E. As
we likely have preserved only a small portion of the text, it is difficult
to determine much about the context and the content of the scroll.
What we do have seems to indicate a formulaic liturgy of praise and
blessing for the appointed festivals.

The festivals explicitly mentioned in the text include: the day of
memorial of blowing (the shofar) (ביום זכרון תרועה frg. 1 i 5)[174] and
perhaps the days of firstfruits (בי[מי הב]כורים] frg. 1 i 2).[175] Qimron
also reconstructs the festival of the offering of wood in line 4 (בימי]
מועד העצים בקורבן] עצים לעולה).[176] Finally, there is a reference to the
branches of tree (בענפי עץ), which Qimron imagines is connected to
Sukkot based on Lev 23:40.[177] The verb, הקטיר, to burn (frg. 1 ii 5),

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[171] For evidence of a sectarian interpretation of the new or renewed covenant, see
CD 6:19; 8:21; 20:12; 1QpHab 2:3; 1QSb 3:26; 5:21.

[172] Elisha Qimron, "Liturgical Work A," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetic and Litur-
gical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 63-67; Elisha Qim-
ron, "Times for Praising God: A Fragment of a Scroll from Qumran (4Q409)," *JQR* 80
(1990): 341-347.

[173] Qimron, "Liturgical Work A," 63. Qimron presented 3 other small fragments
that are tentatively ascribed to this text as well.

[174] The memorial of the blowing of the shofar occurs only in Lev 23:24, and refers
to the first day of the seventh month.

[175] Davila does not reconstruct with Qimron the first line to read the days of
firstfruits because the text is badly damaged here. He says it is plausible, but highly
speculative. The phrase referring to the new grain offering only appears in the Bible in
Lev 23:16; Num 28:26 in the context of *Shavuot*.

[176] Davila notes that the wood offering appears in the Hebrew Bible (Neh 10:35
and 13:31) as well as elsewhere outside the Qumran community, so this cannot be used
as clear evidence of sectarian provenance (*Liturgical Works*, 169).

[177] The text in Leviticus indicates that on the first day of *Sukkot* you should take the
produce of different kinds of trees.

could refer to burning incense or the fat of offerings and is typically associated with the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:25).

4Q409 preserves a number of sacrificial terms, such as: a new grain offering, altar, a verb relating to burning incense, lambs, and the whole burnt offering. It is not clear that the praising and blessing at the time of the festivals is specifically related to the sacrificial language. Qimron mentions that column 1 refers mainly to the festivals, and column 2 refers to sacrificial times.[178] In this way, the text may not have originally been restricted to festivals. Instead, it could have contained a list of all the times that were significant to the community for praising God. The most we can say is that this text reinforces Falk's claim that praise and blessings developed in conjunction with, or at least in connection with the offerings of the Temple, rather than in opposition to them.

6.2.1. *Liturgical Context and Significance*

Qimron reconstructed the liturgy around a formula of singular imperatives: הלל וברך "Praise and bless." He cites, as parallels to such calls to praise, Pss 148 and 150.[179] However, in those cases, as in all cases within the Psalms, such imperatives are always plural. In addition, both of these Psalms use only the verb הלל.[180] Qimron makes a comparison between 4Q409 and the language of the *Maskil*'s hymn from 1QS 9:26-10:17, which presents the list of occasions on which the *Maskil* is expected to bless. Given this similarity, it is possible to understand these verbs not as imperatives, but rather as indicative verbs, on the analogy of the popular liturgical formula at Qumran, ענה ואמר, "he shall answer and say." This formula appears with singular verbs, especially in the purification liturgies (4Q284, 4Q414, and 4Q512).[181] Indeed, in 4Q512, the formula is sometimes expanded to include a ref-

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[178] Qimron, "Times for Praising God," 342.

[179] Qimron, "Times for Praising God," 343.

[180] One of the few Psalms that uses these two verbs in parallel is Ps 145:2: בכל־יום אברכך ואהללה שמך לעולם ועד, "Every day I will bless you, and praise your name forever."

[181] See also 1QM 15:7; 16:15; 4Q266 frg. 11 8-9; 4Q275 frg. 1 4; 4Q491 frgs. 14-15 5; 4Q502 frgs. 6-10 2. The plural version of the formula appears in 1QS 2:5, 18, and throughout 4Q503, *Daily Prayers*.

erence to blessing: וברך וענה ואמר.[182] The concluding phrase of each entry, which Nitzan takes as indicating an antiphonal response,[183] would then be read as an extension indicating the result of the previous action.[184]

Based on this proposal the first three lines would read as follows:[185]

הלל וברך בי]מי הב[כורים]	1 [
לדגן לתירוש וליצהר במ]נחה חדשה	2 [
ברך את שם קדושו הל]ל וברך בימי	3 [

1. [He shall praise and bless in the d]ays of the fir[stfruits]
2. [for grain, for new wine and for oil with a] new [gr]ain offering,
3. [(by this) he shall bless his holy name. He shall p]raise and bless in the days of

This text takes on a function similar to the hymn in 1QS 10. It is presented as the liturgical practice of an individual, presumably a leader in the community, with the understanding that it provides a model for the behavior of all the members. Each member of the community is to praise and bless on these various occasions associated with the festivals. Whether or not this reading is accepted, the fact that the text seems to follow the calendar associated with the *Temple Scroll* indicates that the function of this liturgy would be to "create an atmosphere of identification with a unique halakhic-calendrical approach."[186]

7. MONTHLY RITES

Despite the common reference to the beginning of the month among calendar lists throughout the Bible,[187] evidence for liturgical practice associated with the months at Qumran is harder to come by. Davila cites 1QS 10:3-5, 1QM 2:4, 11QT[a] 14:1-8, and then 11QPs[a], where David is said to have composed songs for the new moon celebrations,

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[182] The clearest example is 4Q512 frgs. 29-32 8, but it has been reconstructed in many others.
[183] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 197.
[184] See also 4Q286 frg. 7 i 6-7, להל]ל[ולברך את שם כבודכה.
[185] The reconstruction follows Qimron, "Times for Praising God," 343.
[186] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 198.
[187] Num 10:10; 28:11-15; Isa 1:13-14; Ezek 45:17; 46:3; Amos 8:5; Ps 81:4; Neh 10:34; 1 Chr 23:31; 2 Chr 2:3; 8:13; 31:3.

together with the festivals.[188] Although these texts indicate the begin-
nings of months as proper times for liturgical prayer, there is only one
reference to such prayer within the liturgical collections. 4Q508 frg. 32
refers to the beginnings of the months as memorials. Is this more than
a mere accident of preservation? Were the members of the Yahad less
invested in liturgical practice according to the months?

Another practical concern can be raised here. Given the adherence
to the solar calendar, would such celebrations take place on the first
day of the solar months, or on the new moon? 1QS 10:3-5 indicates
reference both to the days of the new moons (ימי חודש), and to the be-
ginnings of the (solar) months (ברשית ירחים).[189] Some of the calendar
texts discussed in the first section also indicate the regard for the cy-
cles of the moon, even within a solar reckoning of time.

How should we explain the lack of monthly rituals? It seems that
the basic cycle that structured the community's view of the world was
the week rather than the month. As a priestly community, such a
weekly focus fits together, both with the priestly *Mishmarot* and with
the priestly account of creation preserved in Gen 1. More than any
other cycle of time, the week could claim that it was ordained by God.
In contrast, a month – especially a solar month – has no special author-
ity in relation to creation. It marks no special transition or change in
the calendar. Each month is merely a way of dividing up each season
into discrete equal parts. It corresponds to no cosmic reality and, there-
fore, lacks the significance of the other cycles.

8. SUMMARY

Our investigation of calendrical rites reveals, without question, that the
Yahad was invested in marking the cycles of time with liturgical prac-
tice. They used sophisticated calendars to keep track of the cycles of
the sun and the moon in conjunction with the priestly courses and his-
torical events. For the Yahad, all of these things were intimately con-
nected through God's established cosmos, and governed by God's
eternal precepts. The times of transition, especially between light and

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[188] Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 29.
[189] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 189.

darkness – day and night – were divinely ordained as liminal moments that required blessing from the priestly community. The Yahad developed a liturgical practice, both by adopting liturgies used in the Temple service, and by creating new liturgies for their own use. This practice, they believed, was done according to God's eternal precept both in terms of precise time for such liturgy, and perhaps also in terms of the content of the liturgy. The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* reveal the Yahad's primary concern was to indicate the legitimacy of its own priesthood and to ensure the continued functioning of their service in conjunction with the heavenly service, even at a time when the service in the Temple was disrupted by impurity. The calendrical rites are not primarily prayers invested in establishing communication with God on these special occasions, they are opportunities for the priestly Yahad to be obedient to divine law and to ensure their coordination with the workings of the cosmos, until the end comes.

CHAPTER FIVE

RITES OF AFFLICTION

Living in the world is fraught with significant dangers. Societies often develop rituals to help them deal with these dangers, and with the anxiety that goes with them. Such rites of affliction, as they are called, alleviate this anxiety by addressing disorder in the cosmos, whether the result of demons, evil spirits, illness, sin, or natural circumstances of impurity. Such "rites illustrate complex cultural interpretations of the human condition and its relation to a cosmos of benign and benevolent forces."[1] "These rituals present an argument, to use Geertz's terms, for a cosmos of ordered and interdependent components…[and] open up opportunities for redefining the cosmological order in response to challenges and new formulations of human needs."[2] In this way, the society connects itself with the workings of the cosmos, and in the process it often gains a sense of control over its world.

The members of the Yahad described their world as the age of Belial, the age of wickedness. They saw themselves surrounded by evil and impurity just waiting for an opportunity to lead them astray and put them in danger. People on the outside could not be trusted, so all potential members were required to "separate from the congregation of the men of iniquity" (1QS 5:1-2). Potential members were also meticulously examined and tested to ensure their sincerity and their potential for holiness. The initiation and covenant ceremony also makes it clear that the membership always had to be vigilant against possible infiltration of their community by someone whose commitment to perfection was incomplete and, therefore, could jeopardize the holiness of the whole community.[3] Not only were they in danger of being attacked

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[1] Bell, *Ritual*, 119.
[2] Bell, *Ritual*, 120.
[3] The curses against the lot of Belial (1QS 2:5-10), against the one who joins insincerely (1QS 2:11-18), and the one who refuses to enter the covenant (1QS 2:25-3:6), all reinforce the conclusion that they were afraid of infiltration from outside. For more on this ceremony see Chapter 2- Rites of Passage. Similar curses associated with these from the initiation and covenant ceremony will be addressed here in this chapter.

from the outside, but as the doctrine of the two spirits (1QS 3:13-4:26) shows, the battle between the spirit of truth and the spirit of wickedness is being waged even within the lives of each individual.

Living in such a dangerous and fragile world, the members of the Yahad developed a system that structured their lives based on purity and impurity. Going beyond biblical associations of impurity with external bodily processes, they employed purity language to categorize cases of moral deficiency.[4] For example, the one who refuses to enter the council of God, and who rejects the laws of God is designated טמא טמא "unclean, unclean," language used in Num 13:45 of one afflicted with skin disease. Maintaining the purity of the community required not just separation from sources of impurity, but perfection of way. Only through such perfection could the community be considered holy enough to serve as an embodiment of the holy of holies, and provide atonement for the land.[5]

By creating a pure society, the Yahad created a safe haven, an oasis of holy life that reflected the true order of the cosmos, that is, the world as God intended it to be. Maintenance of this oasis in the midst of the age of wickedness was a difficult task that required liturgies designed to prevent attacks on their purity, and to restore it when it had been tarnished. These rituals can be divided into three groups: Curses, Apotropaic Prayers and Incantations, and Purification Liturgies.

1. CURSES

The recital of liturgical curses against one's enemies is a powerful means of establishing boundaries between members and outsiders. Not surprisingly, therefore, curses play a prominent role in the initiation and covenant ceremony described in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 1-2).[6] In this ceremony the primary curses are directed against the Ya-

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[4] For more on this connection between impurity and sin, see Martha Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS and 4Q512," *DSD* 8 (2001): 9-37; Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*; Regev, "Abominated Temple."

[5] Newsom points to 1QS 8:1-9:11 as indicating the atoning function of the community and the requirement for perfection as central to that goal (*Self as Symbolic Space,* 154).

[6] Fragments of the curses are also found in 4QS[b,c] and 5Q11.

had's human enemies, the men of the lot of Belial. Other sets of curses are found in *Berakhot* (4Q286 frg. 7), and *Curses* (4Q280). There are clear literary overlaps in the formulations of the curses between these texts. However, these latter texts preserve curses primarily against suprahuman enemies, such as Belial or *Melkiresha*.

1.1. *1QS 2:4-18*

There are two main sets of curses described within the initiation and covenant ceremony: one against all the men of the lot of Belial, and the other against those who would enter the covenant insincerely. The first of these (1QS 2:4-10) is based on an inversion of the priestly blessing from Num 6:24-26, as expanded in the blessing of the men of the lot of God in 1QS 2:1-4.[7] The Levites, who are leading the curses, call for the punishment of the wicked for their deeds, and for them to be shown no mercy and given no possibility of repenting, being heard, or being forgiven. Considering that this curse was recited during the ceremony in the midst of the Yahad, we should assume that the recipients of the curse were not present to hear it. As a result, the primary significance of such a curse was that it established distance between the members and outsiders.

The curse against the one who enters the covenant insincerely (1QS 2:11-18) presents a similar type of admonition, but in this case the targets of the curse are the new initiates who are entering the covenant. In this setting the curse would serve to frighten the initiates into examining themselves and making sure that they are submitting completely to the rule of the community. For if anyone held back, even privately, he would be cut off from the sons of light and would "cast his lot with those cursed forever" (1QS 2:17). In this way, they learned that the penalty for apostasy was removal from the community.

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[7] For discussion of the use of the priestly blessing at Qumran see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 145-171. For a broader discussion see Michael Fishbane, "Form and Reformulation of the Biblical Priestly Blessing," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 115-121.

1.2. *4QBer^a (4Q286) frg. 7*

Although there are some similarities in overall structure between *Berakhot* and 1QS, the content and structure of the blessings and curses are fundamentally different. The blessings contain only hymns praising God and describing the various aspects of the heavenly realm.[8] The curses found in 4Q286 frg. 7 ii, with some parallels in 4QBer^b (4Q287) frg. 6, also show no direct overlap with the curses from 1QS. The group reciting the curses[9] presents a series of four curses directed toward: 1) Belial and the spirits of his lot, 2) the wicked one and the sons of Belial, 3) the angel of the pit and the spirit of Abaddon,[10] and 4) those who perform their evil purpose against the covenant of God.[11] While some human enemies would be included in the second and the fourth curses, the primary emphasis in this collection is on the spiritual and angelic forces.

One key difference between these curses against the spiritual forces, and those directed toward the humans in 1QS 2, is found in the reason for the cursing. In 1QS, the men of the lot of Belial are cursed for their wicked and dark deeds (1QS 2:5, 7). In contrast, the curses in 4Q286 are levied because of the wicked, impure, and guilty schemes of Belial and his associates (4Q286 frg. 7 ii 2, 3, 4, 7). This shift in focus, from the behavior of humans to the schemes of Belial, indicates that these curses had more of a cosmological significance. While they also helped with boundary formation, the curses against the spirits of wickedness – including a direct attack on the angel of the pit – point toward these curses functioning as weapons in the cosmic battle being waged around them. Such a reading may be supported by the presence of the first curse within the *War Scroll* itself.[12]

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[8] Nitzan, "The Benedictions from Qumran," 263-271; Bilhah Nitzan, "The Textual, Literary and Religious Character of *4QBerakhot* (4Q286-290)," in *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 636-656. Nitzan refers to similarities with the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Ps 103:17-22.

[9] Notice also that, in contrast to 1QS, this curse was not specifically ascribed to the Levites.

[10] This third curse is in fact addressed directly to the angel of the pit, using second person references throughout. The rest of the curses refer only in third person.

[11] Nitzan, "Berakhot," 4.

[12] 1QM 13:4-6.

1.3. *Curses (4Q280) frg. 2*

This fragmentary text contains a series of curses against *Melkiresha* with many similarities with 1QS 2 and 4Q286 frg. 7 ii.[13] 4Q280 frg. 2:1 begins with a line from the conclusion of the curse for the insincere applicant from 1QS 2:11-18, followed by a short version of the curse recited by the Levites in 1QS 2:4-10. The language is quite similar and indicates some literary dependence, although it is difficult to determine the direction of the dependence. 4Q280 is shorter and simpler than the version in 1QS, which would usually indicate its precedence. However, a case could also be made for dependence in the opposite direction.[14]

It is significant that the curse in 4Q280 is directed against *Melkiresha*, rather than against the men of the lot of Belial in 1QS. This comparison is interesting, as the opening curses of the two versions differ only by a few letters. 4Q280 frg. 2:2 reads, אר]ור אתה מלכי רשע "Cursed be you *Melkiresha*" while 1QS 2:5 reads, ארור אתה בכול מעשי רשע "Cursed be you in all your guilty deeds." Kobelski argues that 4Q280 depends on 1QS, because some of the phrases are incompatible with original *Melkiresha* as the object of the curse.[15] For example, it is difficult to imagine that *Melchiresha* would be concerned about whether or not God was gracious to him when he called out (4Q280 frg. 2:3; 1QS 2:8), whereas such a curse could apply to the men of the lot of Belial.[16]

After another short curse, still against *Melkiresha* presumably, 4Q280 preserves a curse against those who do their wicked thoughts,

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[13] Bilhah Nitzan, "Curses," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetic and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 1-8.

[14] Nitzan, "Curses," 3-4. The relationship between these texts is supported by J. T. Milik's claim that 4Q280 and two of the Cave 5 copies of the *Rule of the Community* (5Q11, 5Q13) were all written by the same scribe in the middle of the first century B.C.E. ("Milki-sedeq et Milki-resa' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972): 95-144). If this is the case, we have support for these two versions appearing side by side. Since 5Q11 preserves the longer form of the curses found in 1QS, it seems that both 4Q280 and 5Q11 were copied after 1QS.

[15] Paul J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresa* (CBQMS 10; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1981) 37-42.

[16] Nitzan cites *1 Enoch* 101:3; *1 Enoch* 5:4; 12:5; 13:1-14:7; and 16:2-4 as evidence that angels may be cursed like human beings ("Curses," 3). But do these apply to the prince of bad angels, or just to the host of angels who are following him?

that is, those who follow *Melkiresha*, and perform deeds according to the spirit of wickedness. This curse is found also in *Berakhot* (4Q286 frg. 7 ii 11-12 // 4Q287 frg. 6:10-11). The final line of the preserved text in 4Q280 parallels 1QS 2:25-26, and introduces a curse against all those who refuse to enter into the covenant of God, in order to walk in the stubbornness of their heart.

1.4. *Significance of Curses*

The Yahad employed curses in an attempt to distinguish itself and to provide protection from the evil forces that surrounded it. Curses solidify the perception of the enemy and maintain clear insistence that members of the community must stay away from the enemy, and guard against following the enemy's ways. The biblical associations of curses with failure to keep the covenant, provides the backdrop for addressing their curses to those outsiders, while keeping the blessings for themselves. The outsiders are those to whom "all the curses of this covenant cling" (1QS 2:15-16).

Applying curses of this type, not just to their human adversaries, but also to the angelic forces, changes the nature of the liturgy and transforms it into more of a protest against the spirits of Belial, who are scheming against them. Reciting such curses communally may act as a kind of empowerment, so that the members of the community feel they are engaging in the fight by reciting these curses against the forces of darkness. Reciting such curses based on the reversal of the priestly blessing may increase the power of the curse, since God had given these words to Aaron. If that is the case, the power of the act of reciting the curse overshadows the fact that the logic of the individual statements may be suspect.

2. APOTROPAIC PRAYERS AND INCANTATIONS

Two other types of liturgies have been found at Qumran that address the problem of the power of the spirits of wickedness in the world.[17] The first type, called apotropaic prayers, is defensive in character. Such prayers request protection from evil, and deliverance from wickedness and sin.[18] Examples of such prayers likely composed by the Yahad include: *Songs of the Maskil* (4Q510-511), *Incantation* (4Q444), 6QpapHymn (6Q18) and *Hodayot* (1QH[a] frg. 4).[19] The second type, the incantation, directly addresses a particular demon or spirit, with the aim of relieving the affliction caused by the presence of the demon.[20] Examples found at Qumran, but probably not composed there, include 11QapocrPs (11Q11) and 4QExorcism[ar] (4Q560).

2.1. *Apotropaic Prayers*

Apotropaic prayers are essentially defensive and preventative in nature. They address general concerns rather than specific afflictions, and focus on keeping the spirits away. The most substantial Qumranic example of such a liturgy is 4Q510-511, known as the *Songs of the*

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[17] Philip S. Alexander argues for the prominence of magic within the worldview of the community at Qumran, first in terms of defense against demons, and also concerned with divination and prediction of the future. Our present discussion is only interested in this first category ("'Wrestling Against Wickedness in High Places': Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (eds. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; *JSPSS* 26; Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997) 319).

[18] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," 194-205.

[19] For discussion of these and other non-sectarian apotropaic prayers see Esther Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23 January, 2000* (ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 69-88; Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," 194-205. Because of the fragmentary nature of the latter three examples, only the *Songs of the Maskil* will be discussed in some detail below.

[20] Note that Nitzan and Chazon employ the term incantation to describe defensive prayers aimed at protecting the members from the spirits of darkness, what we are calling apotropaic prayers.

Maskil or *The Songs of the Sage*.[21] The text preserves liturgical head-
ings associating these songs with the *Maskil*, and closing blessings
presumably to be recited by the audience listening to the *Maskil*'s
song.[22] The *Maskil*'s stated purpose is to frighten away the demons.

ואני משכיל משמיע חוד תפארתו לפחד ולב[הל]

כול רוחי מלאכי חבל ורוחות ממזרים שד אים לילית אחים ו[ציים]

> And I, the *Maskil* proclaim his glorious splendor to frighten and te[rrify]
> all the spirits of the angels of destruction and the spirits of the bastards,
> demons, Lilith, howlers and [desert dwellers]. (4Q510 frg. 1:4-5)[23]

According to Nitzan, the songs themselves are a combination of praise,
incantation, and thanksgiving.[24] Alexander argues that 4Q510 1:4-8
indicates that the praise, which precedes the apotropaic prayer, and the
thanksgiving, which comes after it, serve the purpose of frightening
and terrifying the demons.[25] The underlying premise is that the very act
of offering praise or thanksgiving, that is, of expressing or recounting
God's great deeds, has cosmic power in the battle to protect oneself
from the spirits of wickedness. "[T]he *Maskil* is, through prayer, erect-
ing or maintaining a spiritual cordon round the Community, *pre-
emptively* to keep at bay the encircling forces of darkness."[26]

2.2. *Incantations*

Incantations address the offending spirits directly, often in response to
affliction already being endured. Two examples of such incantations,
both non-Qumranic in origin, may have been employed by the Yahad.
The first, 11Q11, is a collection of apocryphal psalms, one of which is
based on Ps 91. The second, 4Q560, is an Aramaic exorcism text.

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[21] Baillet, DJD VII, 215-262; Alexander, "'Wrestling Against Wickedness,'" 319-
324; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 238-244.

[22] 4Q511 frg. 8:4; 4Q511 frg. 63 iv.

[23] 4Q444 contains a similar combination of first person hymn and curse designed to
defend against the ממזרים "bastards" and the רוחי ריב, the warring spirits. Esther G.
Chazon, "Incantation," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetic and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*
(DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 367-378.

[24] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 238-244.

[25] Alexander, "'Wrestling Against Wickedness,'" 320.

[26] Alexander, "'Wrestling Against Wickedness,'" 321, italics in original.

2.2.1. *11QapocrPs^a (11Q11)*

This text, from the early first century C.E., contains at least four psalms that were used as incantations against demons. The last one is a version of Ps 91, which has throughout history been used in amulets and incantations, and which was invoked as a remedy against demons in the Talmud.[27] Eshel indicates that the variations from the MT of Ps 91 are designed make the psalm more useful as an incantation.[28] The other psalms are non-Masoretic, although they are attributed to David and include the Tetragrammaton. This last characteristic raises questions about Qumran provenance, despite the similarities with 4Q510-511.

Each psalm probably began with a standard heading: לדויד ע]ל דברי ל[חש בשם יהו]ה "Of David according to the words of affliction in the name of the Lord." Such a designation supports the use of this collection as incantations.[29] Throughout the psalms, the afflicted one is addressed in the second person singular form. Alexander doubts that these refer to the community as a congregation or as a collective, "rather an individual is in view, and the situation is one of specific crisis."[30] The first two surviving psalms are considered by Alexander to be hortatory in nature. The people are encouraged to directly confront Belial by questioning his identity and his authority over the lives of humans (11Q11 4:4-8). These psalms are attempts to expel a demon that has already attacked a member of the community, causing illness.[31] These are not preventative, protective prayers, as in 4Q510-511. Rather, in this case we are dealing with something very close to exorcism.

2.2.2. *4QExorcism^ar (4Q560)*

Penney and Wise have described this Aramaic scroll as an incantation

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[27] *y. Erub.* 10:11 [26c]; *b. Sheb.* 15b.

[28] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 72-74.

[29] This collection is often proposed as the collection of four songs described in *11QDavid's Compositions* as written by David for recital over the afflicted. Puech, Emile, "11QPsAp^a: *Un rituel d'exorcismes. Essai de reconstruction*," *RQ* 14 (1990): 399; Alexander, "'Wrestling Against Wickedness,'" 326.

[30] Alexander, "'Wrestling Against Wickedness,'" 326.

[31] Notice here that this text addresses illness and plague, contrary to the other texts discussed here that focus on spiritual attacks not physical ones.

formula.[32] It was probably part of a collection of incantations that would have been used to copy texts onto small pieces of parchment. These would, in turn, be rolled up and worn as an amulet, or placed on the threshold of the door. When it was being recopied the healer or exorcist would insert the client's name in order to personalize it.[33] 4Q560 shows no signs of rolling or folding, so it may have been part of the master copy. This text, like 4Q510-511, is defensive in that it is used to prevent affliction and illness. However, it specifically addresses a variety of offending spirits.

The Yahad, almost certainly, did not compose this text, but the question about how it might have been used there is less certain. Penney and Wise indicate that it represents many common elements with magical texts of the ancient Near East.[34] Alexander supposes, however, that it fits well within the community's view of its members' lives as battlegrounds for the warring spirits, and could therefore be considered to be part of the *Maskil*'s arsenal for liturgical protection against affliction.[35]

The available evidence indicates that, while apotropaic prayers and incantations were part of the life of the Yahad, the biblical prohibitions against magic (Deut 18:9-14) seem to have limited the expression of technical magical rituals. This would exclude the production of amulets, except perhaps in the case of *tefillin*, which are stripped of overt magical implications. The main avenue for the Yahad to engage the world of the spirits, and to attempt to exert some control over it was through prayer and adjuration. The development of such spoken forms of protection corresponds well with the high value given to proper speech in all aspects of the community members' lives. While the doctrine of the two spirits makes clear that humans are pawns in the cosmic battle raging around them, these apotropaic prayers and incantations indicate that they considered their speech, whether praising God or adjuring the spirits directly, as their primary line of defense.

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[32] D. L. Penney and M. O. Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran," *JBL* 113 (1994): 627-650.

[33] There are similarities between such amulets and the practice of inscribing words to be displayed as tefillin or mezuzot. The Greek term for tefillin, *phylacteria*, indicates that at least from an outsider's perspective they were considered some kind of amulet.

[34] Penney and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 649.

[35] Alexander, "'Wrestling Against Wickedness,'" 330.

3. PURIFICATION RITES

Qumran's purification rites fall into two categories: those that were enacted in response to some specific impurity, and those that correspond to the cycles of time in the life of the community. The first type is based on the legal traditions of Lev 15, concerning someone who has a genital discharge, and Num 19, concerning someone who has come in contact with a dead body. These legal traditions were developed in many of the community's halakhic texts, especially the series of texts called *Tohorot* (4Q274-278).[36] The second type of purification rite was practiced in association with appointed times. In these cases purification is not specifically a correction of some disorder, but either a way to be certain of one's purity, or related to preparation and sanctification. Such purification as preparation is evident in Ex 19 with the washing of clothes and the restrictions against sexual behavior before receiving revelation at Sinai.

3.1. *Tohorot (4Q274-278; 4Q514)*

The Qumran legal traditions are dominated by concerns with purity. The proper adherence to the laws of purity is central to the construction of community identity in key texts such as 4QMMT, CD, 1QpHab, and 1QS.[37] While maintaining purity within the Yahad was essential, the potential for defilement was everpresent. The Yahad believed that impurity could come not only from physical agents, but also from spiritual deficiency. In order to address this situation they developed elaborate rituals, to be practiced repeatedly, for the purification of their bodies and their spirits.

One of the practical consequences of impurity was exclusion from the common meal. 4Q514 frg. 1 i 5-7 states:

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[36] Joseph Baumgarten, "Tohorot," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD XXXV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 79-122.

[37] A few examples among many may be found in CD 4:18; 5:6; 12:1; 1QpHab 8:13; 12:8; 1QS 3:7-9; 4:20-21.

וכול טמאי הימים ביום] ט]הרתם ירחצו
וכהסו במים וטהרו   ואחר יאכלו את לחמם כמשפט ה[ט]הרה
ים} אשר לא החל לטהר ממקרוֹ֗ואל יאכל עוד בטמאתו הרישנ

all those (who are) 'impure of days' shall on the day of their healing,
bathe and launder in water, and become pure. And afterwards they may
eat their food according to the purity precept. And he shall not eat any-
more while in his initial impurity who has not begun to become pure
from his source.[38]

The *Temple Scroll* excludes the impure, who are in the process of puri-
fying themselves from the communal meal.[39] The *Rule of the Commu-
nity* also restricts access to the pure meal of the community from those
who had not entered the waters of purification.[40]

One of the *Tohorot* texts, 4Q274, discusses menstruating women as
one of the defilements that require purification. These rules of purifica-
tion are built on the biblical passages, and therefore they treat situa-
tions mentioned therein. Given the prescriptive nature of this text, it is
not necessary to conclude that women were present in the Yahad.
These laws probably also applied to those in the camps, and may have
been relevant for the Yahad when those from the camps assembled to
learn from the Yahad.[41] The Yahad conceived of the possibility of
coming into contact with women and recognized provisions for their
purification.

According to the Bible, purification is to be made in natural water
sources.[42] However, about the mid-second century B.C.E., the *mikveh*, a
pool designed for ritual purification, was introduced in Judea. Origi-
nally, de Vaux believed that all the water installations at Qumran were
used for storage.[43] He conceded that two of them may have been used

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[38] Translation from Jacob Milgrom, "First Day Ablutions in Qumran," in *The Ma-
drid Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls.
Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (eds. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner;
STDJ 11 2; Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1992) 561-570.

[39] 11QT^a 49:20-21.

[40] 1QS 1:25; 5:13-14; 7:16.

[41] See 1QSa 1:4-5. The two fragmentary references to women in the purification
liturgies should be understood in a similar fashion.4Q512 frg. 40-41 3 has "man or
woman" as a supralinear correction, with a parallel in 4Q414 frg. 28 1. 4Q512 frg. 14
1 // 4Q414 frg. 7 11 have נקבה (female) with no contextual clues about its referent.

[42] Lev 15:13.

[43] Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford Uni-
versity Press, 1973) 131-132.

as baths, but were not ritualistic. Wood determined that the three stepless installations were sufficient to support a population of about two hundred persons and their livestock.[44] The rest, he concluded, were used for cultic immersion. At least ten *mikva'ot* were excavated at Qumran, and six of these are very similar to installations found in Jerusalem, Judea, and Galilee that undoubtedly served as *mikva'ot*. The Qumran examples are more similar to those found in Jerusalem than to those found in the nearby town of Jericho, indicating they may follow a Jerusalem architectural tradition. There are some differences, however. The Qumran installations are considerably larger – at least twice the volume – than those in Jerusalem, and some include more than one vertical partition on the stairs. The four other installations that have steps are smaller in size and have a somewhat irregular shape. These might have been used for ritual immersion of a different type, perhaps of household utensils. The abundance of installations is not unique to Qumran; similar magnitude is found in Jerusalem, especially in the vicinity of the Temple.

3.2. *Ritual of Purification (4Q512, 4Q414)*

The longest of the three purification liturgies, 4Q512, consists of some 200 fragments written on papyrus on the back of 4Q503, *Daily Prayers*. The formulaic nature of the *Daily Prayers* text makes it possible to give some sequence to the fragments from 4Q512. However, many of the fragments are still difficult to place, and the structure of this particular text is not obvious. Baillet organizes it around different kinds of defilement, although such a structure is difficult to see in the text itself. 4Q414 contains 36 fragments written on parchment on the backside of 4Q415, *Instruction*[a]. It runs upside-down in relation to 4Q415, and is written in a Herodian hand. Esther Eshel describes it as a halakhic liturgical text, which includes a collection of rituals and prayers for persons who must undergo purification.[45]

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[44] B. G. Wood, "To Dip or To Sprinkle? The Qumran Cisterns in Perspective," *BASOR* 256 (1984): 45-60.
[45] Esther Eshel, "Ritual of Purification," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD XXXV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 135.

These two manuscripts of purification liturgies (4Q512, 4Q414) share some overlaps, which has led Eshel to consider them two versions of the same composition. The closest parallels are found between 4Q414 frg. 2 ii 3, 4 and 4Q512 frgs. 42-44 ii; 4Q414 frg. 7 8-9 and frg. 7-9 2-3; 4Q414 frg. 11 1-3 and 4Q512 frg. 11 3-5; 4Q414 frg. 27-28 1-3 and 4Q512 frgs. 40-41 3-6. Apart from these parallels, the two manuscripts display similarity in their blessings formulae, their marginal scribal marks, the pattern of immersions and sprinkling accompanied by special prayers, as well as topics such as sexual defilement and contamination from corpses. One interesting difference is that 4Q414 contains none of the explicit language of sacrifice found in 4Q512.[46]

3.2.1. *Provenance*

Falk argues for Qumran provenance for 4Q512, based on connections with 1QS and 4Q503.[47] Baumgarten also supports Qumran provenance, perhaps based on similarities with the *Temple Scroll*, the solar calendar, and with the legal texts on purification, the *Tohorot* (4Q274-278). He also sees representations of Qumran dualism herein.[48] Eshel argues for a Qumran provenance for these texts based on the use of two phrases related to the community.[49] The first, סוד אנשים, the counsel of men (4Q512 frgs. 36-38 13), is found in CD 14:8-10 referring to a community of the sect.[50] The second term, יחד, is found in 4Q414 frg. 7 7, although the text is too fragmentary to determine whether or not it should be taken as a reference to the community. These arguments for Qumran provenance are supported by the presence of Qumran orthography in both of these manuscripts.

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[46] While both texts employ terms such as כפור and רצון, 4Q512 also uses עולה and ניחוח.

[47] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 26. He compares 4Q512 frgs. 42-44 i 5 and 1QS 3:5, both of which employ the same unique phrase for the water of washing, מי רחץ. 4Q414 frg. 13 7 uses מימי רוחץ.

[48] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Purification Liturgies," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter Flint and James VanderKam; Vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 202-203.

[49] Eshel, "Ritual of Purification," 139.

[50] A similar phrase is mentioned in 1QH[a] 14:18 referring to "all the men of my council."

3.2.2. *Liturgical Context*

These purification liturgies contain first person speech, directed to God, from the perspective of the participant in the purification rite. He says: [ב] ואני אה[ל]לה ש[מכה [כיא טהרתני ותביאני [...] "I will praise your name... for you have purified me and you brought me into..." (4Q512 frg. 39 1-2). The text also contains explanatory material and liturgical formulae that describe what the purificant does as part of the ritual.[51] These purification texts use the singular speech formula ענה ואמר instead of the plural ענו ואמרו, as in 4Q503. Despite the use of the singular verbs, Baumgarten claims "the blessings contain plural formulations in which the community of Israel is corporately depicted as the recipient of purification by divine grace."[52] There is no mention of an officiant, or priest who would do the sprinkling, although the ritual itself would require someone who had already been purified to participate in this way.[53] The liturgies also employ language that indicates a communal sense of belonging and a separation from those who are outside. In one case, God is praised for "distinguishing for us between the impure and the pure."[54] In another, the speaker refers to God's desire to "purify his people with the waters of washing."[55]

Eshel finds in 4Q512 three elements: confession, forgiveness, and thanksgiving.[56] Within the Qumran community, confession is most prominent in the initiation ceremony from 1QS 1:25-2:1, which indicates that all who crossover into the covenant shall confess saying, "we have sinned." Since the initiation also included some kind of ritual cleansing, Eshel concludes that confession also played a significant role in rites of purification not connected to the initiation ceremony.[57]

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[51] The form here is quite similar to the rule texts, especially 1QS, which interweave liturgies with instructions for the participants.

[52] Baumgarten, "Tohorot," 94, contrary to Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 12, who claims they are individual.

[53] See discussion below on 4Q284.

[54] 4Q512 frg. 40-41 4-5 // 4Q414 frg. 27-28 2-3.

[55] 4Q414 frg. 13 7.

[56] Eshel, "Ritual of Purification," 136.

[57] This is in contrast to rabbinic tradition, which separates moral sins and impurity, such that purification rituals included a blessing but not a confession (Eshel, "Ritual of Purification," 136-137). Compare the early Christian traditions associated with John

The best evidence for such confession is found in 4Q512 frg. 28 1-5.[58]

1. [I] am your serv[ant]	[א[ני עב[דכה] 1
2. [m]y tongue confesses [ ]	[מודה לשונ[י] 2
3. [ ] before you [ ]	[י לפניכה א[ ] 3
4. [ ] I have sinned [ ]	[חטאתי ה[ ] 4
5. [ ] to appear [ ]	[להראות[ ] 5

Without the rest of the context here it is impossible to know exactly how this fit in with the rest of the liturgy, but at the very least it shows that some individual confession took place on such occasions.

Eshel claims that a request for forgiveness was central to 4Q512 frg. 34 and frgs. 1-6. In frgs. 1-6 there is a mention of guilt, but if these fragments are viewed together, the guilt is in reference to the ancestors. If frgs. 1-3 are separated from 4-6, we have references to "their guilt" (אשמתם) and "a wound of impurity," (בנגע נדה), without a clear indication that a request for forgiveness is the issue here.[59] However, frg. 34 preserves a clear request for God's graciousness concerning the hidden guilt. Thanksgiving is more prominent, with a number of references that give thanks for cleansing (frg. 29-32 9), for taking the people in (frgs. 48-50 6), and for separating for them between the impure and the pure (frgs. 40-41 4-5).

The defilements that are specifically mentioned include the זב, one with a genital flow as described in Lev 15, and corpse defilement, described in the red heifer ritual in Num 19.[60] Baumgarten argues that the sprinkling procedure associated with the red heifer was generalized at Qumran, so that in each case both immersion and sprinkling were required.[61] There are no clear references to skin disease, and only one

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the baptizer, who connected his ritual of immersion with repentance and confession (Matt 3:1-2; Mark 1:4-5; Luke 3:2-3). See also Acts 2:38, "Repent, and be baptized."

[58] The confession, חטאתי, 'I have sinned,' also appears without context in 4Q512 frg. 29-32 18 and frg. 99 2.

[59] For a discussion about separating these fragments see above in relation to 4Q503.

[60] Baillet claims that there are also sections of the text dealing with skin disease defilement. He cites as evidence a possible reference to hair in 4Q512 frg. 24-25 5 (DJD VII, 263, 268). This word could also mean gate. See also Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 285-286.

[61] Joseph Baumgarten, "The Use of *mei nidah* for General Purification," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (eds. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000) 481-485.

fragmentary reference to a woman's menstruation.[62]

Purification in the case of any such defilement was required on the first, third and seventh days of purification. Although Num 19:19 requires purification for a person with corpse defilement only on the third and seventh days, Qumran practice followed a widespread legal tradition that added purification rites on the first day.[63] Jacob Milgrom describes immersion on the first day as being similar to *tevul yom*, a person who has removed one layer or degree of impurity, but whose purification is still incomplete.[64] First day purification diminished the impurity enough that the person was allowed to reenter society, to eat, and to participate in some ways in the life of the community.[65] Therefore, 4Q414 frg. 2 ii 2 should be reconstructed to read לראשון לשלישי ולש[ביעי] "to the first, the third, and seventh," and understood as advocating purification on the first, third and seventh days after defilement.[66]

While Num 19 prescribes purification by sprinkling on the third day, and by both sprinkling and immersion on the seventh, the stringent practice of the community required both sprinkling and immer-

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[62] 4Q414 frg. 7 11. נקבה הדו[ה?]. See Lev 15:33. The term נדה seems to refer to general impurity rather than specifically menstruation.

[63] See 11QT[a] 49-50; 4Q514 and 4Q274. The book of Tobit 2:9 says that after burying a man Tobit washed himself in the evening of the first day. Ritual baths have also been found in a few cemeteries in the Second Temple period in Judea: in the tombs of Helena of Adiabene and in the courtyard of burial caves in the Necropolis of Jericho. Under Pharisaic *halakhah* there would be no reason to have a bath in the cemetery because immersion was only required on the seventh day. But if immersion was required at the beginning, on the first day, then those participating in a burial would want to remove the initial layers of impurity as soon as possible in order to reenter the community.

[64] Milgrom, "First Day Ablutions in Qumran," 561-570. The designation *tevul yom* applies to someone who has undergone the purification rite but must wait until sunset before the purification is complete. See Avi Solomon, "The Prohibition against Tevul Yom and Defilement of the Daily Whole Offering in the Jerusalem Temple in CD 11:21-12:1: A New Understanding," *DSD* 4 (1997): 1-20.

[65] Milgrom argues that he cannot eat at all until the first day purification is done. Thereafter, he could only eat ordinary food, not the pure food of the community ("First Day Ablutions in Qumran," 569-570). See 4Q514 frg. 1. 4Q512 frgs. 7-9 2-4 // 4Q414 frg. 7 8-9 seem to indicate such restriction against eating and drinking until purification has been undertaken. בטוהרו מז[ ]ובו ט[הרת ישר]אל[ ] ולאכול ולש[תות בע[רי מושב[ותם] להיות עם] קודש, "when he is cleansed from [his] flo[w   the cl]eansing of Isra[el   ] to eat and dri[nk   in the ci]ties of [their] dwelli[ngs   ] to become a [holy] people."

[66] Eshel, "Ritual of Purification," 137.

sion on each of these occasions. The seven-day purification process was also extended to other occasions of defilement. According to Lev 15, one who has a seminal discharge was only impure until sunset after going through the *mikveh*. At Qumran, defilement of this type required both immersion and sprinkling, and lasted seven days.[67]

Given the fragmentary nature of our texts, it is difficult to determine precisely the order of events of the liturgy. There are some indications, however, that blessings were recited both before and after the person came in contact with the water.[68] 4Q512 frgs. 1-3 1-10 contains two blessing formulae surrounding its references to immersion and sprinkling:

1 ובים　השלישי　[　　　　ובר]ך וענה ואמ[ר ברוך]
2 [את]ה אל ישראל [אשר צויתה לטמאי ע]תים להטהר מ[נדת]
3 נפש בכפו[רי רצונכה 　　　]אפר קודש [　　　]
4 כב]　]ה במי דוכ]י [֯◌]　　　]ל בלוחות עולם
5 ומי רחץ לטהרת עתים]　　　　　]בגדיו ואחר] יוזה עליו]
לטהרו ואת כול]　　　　　]ה[ז]י"ה 6 את מימי
7 ואח[ר ה]וזותו את מימ]י הזיה יברך וענה ואמר ברוך אתה]
8 א]ל ישרא[א]ל אשר נתתה ל[נו 　　　[
נדות　טמאה　והיום] אני　　　　　]ו ֗ם 9[
10 נדה להתקדש לכה ו]ן 　　　　　　　[

1. On the third day [And he shall ble]ss and answer and sa[y: Blessed]
2. [are]you, God of Israel, [who commanded ti]mes [for the impure] to be purified from [the impurity of]
3. soul with atoneme[nts of your will   ] holy ashes [   ]
4. [   ] with waters of cleansi[ng   ] with eternal tablets
5. and waters of washing to purify the times [   ] his clothes. And after this [he sprinkles upon him]
6. the waters of sprinkling to purify him and all [   ]
7. And afte[r h]e is sprinkled with the wate[rs of sprinkling, he shall bless and answer and say: "Blessed are You]

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8. Go[d of Isra]el who has given to [us[69]   ]
9. and from defilements of impurity and today [I   ]
10. defilement to be sanctified to You and[   ]

The two blessings, in lines 1-2 and 7-8, surround the description of purification by washing.[70] The first blessing attributes to God the es-tablish-ment of appropriate times for purification to take place. The second blessing, in contrast, thanks God for having removed the de-filement, making it possible to be sanctified to God. Double blessings of this nature can also be found in 4Q512 frgs. 29-32 1-3, 5-7; 4Q414 frg. 2 ii 3-4, 6-9 and 4Q414 frg. 13 1-4, 6-9.[71]

Baumgarten argues that the purificant recited the second of these blessings while standing in the water, immediately after immersing. He cites as evidence his reconstruction of 4Q512 frg. 11 4-5 based on a proposed parallel with frg. 27 3.[72] וכסה את בגדיו וברך ע[ל עומדו] אל [ל]ישר[א]ל[ ] "And he shall cover (himself with) his clothes and bless wh[ere he stands   ]   God of Israel[   ]." This reconstruction is surely preferable to Baillet's attempt to read this as a reference to kneeling because it precedes the blessing formula completed in line 5.[73] Further support for Baumgarten's reconstruction may be found in 4Q414 frg. 13 8, which introduces a second blessing formula with the phrase: [וברך] שנית על עומדו וע[נה ואמר]   [ברוך אתה אל ישראל]" [He shall bless] a second time where he stands and an[swer and say: 'Blessed are You, God of Israel.']" The main difficulty with Baumgar-ten's proposal is the relative order of the washings. Contrary to Num 19:19 and 11QT^a 49:18-20, which both call for sprinkling followed by washing, our texts describe the waters of washing before the waters of sprinkling.[74] Since it is unlikely that the sprinkling also took place

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[69] This could just as easily be reconstructed with a singular suffix.
[70] Three types of washing are mentioned here. First, מי דוכי, which seems to reflect immersion; Second, מי רחץ, which seems here to be related to washing of the clothes; and finally, מימי הזיה, which is sprinkling.
[71] This last example seems to have had one blessing before the washing and two af-ter, the second of which is introduced with שנית, a second time. See Eshel, "Ritual of Purification," 147.
[72] Baumgarten, "The Purification Rituals in DJD 7," 201-202. He also cites CD 11:1, which allows someone who, while on a journey, goes down to bathe to drink the water where he stands. בדרך ויורד לרחוץ ישתה על עומדו.
[73] Baillet, DJD VII, 270-271.
[74] 4Q512 frg. 1-3 4-6; 4Q414 frg. 13 5; 4Q277 frg. 1 ii 7-10. The examples Baumgarten uses do not mention of sprinkling at all.

while the person was standing in the water, we must consider whether standing in his place necessarily implies in the water. It is conceivable that such language could carry with it an element of ranking, such that the members came out of the water and stood in order according to rank to be sprinkled by the priest.

As with most of the rituals we have discussed, the texts provide little evidence for the location for these events. There are, however, two cases in 4Q512, of the phrase וברך שם, which could mean either "and he blessed there" or "and he blessed (God's) name."[75] Baillet reconstructed both of these as representing variants on the blessing formula, following the language of 1QM 14:3; 18:6: וברך שם] את אל ישראל]. Both Baillet and Baumgarten interpret this as indicating location, although Baillet claims that it refers to the sanctuary, while Baumgarten believes that it means in the water.[76] Davila, in contrast, reconstructs [וברך שמ]ו, and translates "he shall bless [His] name."[77]

In addition to purification in response to defilement, 4Q512 indicates that such practice applies also to regular cycles of the calendar. 4Q512 frgs. 33+35 begins with references to appointed times: the Sabbath, Sabbaths for all the weeks of […], the four seasons, and perhaps the beginning of the months. Based on a similar list in 4Q284, Baumgarten reconstructs 4Q512 frg. 33 1-3 to make the argument that the list here does not include the beginning of the first month (as in Baillet) but rather should be reconstructed as harvest, summer, sowing and grass.[78]

It is interesting here that there is no reference to the historical festivals of the biblical calendar, other than the Sabbath.[79] Instead, we have

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[75] 4Q512 frgs. 29-32 5; frgs. 15+16 11.

[76] Baillet, DJD VII, 265, 267, 269; Baumgarten, "The Purification Liturgies," 206.

[77] Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 274. For a possible parallel that uses name in a blessing formula, see 4Q502 frgs. 6-10 8.

[78] Joseph Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgy," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD XXXV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 125. See also *Jub.* 6:22.

[79] There is, however, mention of מועדי שלום, "festivals of peace" in 4Q512 frg. 17:2. Compare with 4Q509 frg. 3 2. Most scholars have assumed that the historical festivals were meant, in part based on the external evidence for purification in preparation for them. The description of Hezekiah's Passover (2 Chr 30:17) may indicate that public purification took place before festivals. The *Mishnah* also indicates the practice of hightened purity at the time of the festivals as even the *ammei ha'aretz* were considered trustworthy regarding purity during festivals (*m. Šeqal.* 8:1, *m. Hag.* 3:6, *t. Hag.* 3:24). Shabbat purification is mentioned in 2 Macc 12:38 and also perhaps in CD

an emphasis on the natural cycles of the year. These are not events as-
sociated with the history of Israel and its historical and earthly rela-
tionship with God, but rather they are events that are part of the very
fabric of creation; they go back before Israel, before the exodus, and
before the giving of the Torah at Sinai. They are part of the cosmic
order as described clearly in *Jubilees*. It stands to reason that the puri-
fications in relation to these events from the calendar were a way of
insuring the proper continuation of the cosmic order, or at least the
appropriate connection and correspondence with that order.

3.2.3. *Significance of the Ritual of Purification*

These purification liturgies (4Q512, 4Q414) exemplify the complex
dynamic between the individual and the community. These liturgies
were recited by individuals who individually thanked God for purify-
ing them. This indicates that each one was responsible for his own pu-
rity. He descended into the water by himself and recited his own bless-
ings. This does not mean, however, that purification was an individual
issue. The strong group orientation of the Yahad remains evident
throughout. An individual's purification was a matter of concern for
the community, as it affected his overall holiness. Baumgarten ex-
plains, "these purifications were viewed as the means by which the
holy spirit restores the corporate purity to Israel."[80]

4Q512 frgs. 7-9 1-4 indicates a connection between the purification
of the individual with the purification of Israel.

1 את כול הד]ברים האלה יעשה הזב   [
2 בטוהרו מז]ובו   ט]הרת ישר]אל[
3 ולאכול ולש]תות   בע]רי מושב]ותם[
4 ולהיות עם] קודש   vacat [

1. All these thi[ngs shall the *zab* do   ]
2. when he is cleansed from [his] flo[w   the cl]eansing of Isra[el   ]
3. to eat and dri[nk   in the ci]ties of [their] dwelli[ngs   ]
4. to become a [holy] people[81]

10:10 (here reference to purification in water precedes reference to Shabbat). How-
ever, according to 4Q274 frg. 2 i 2, sprinkling was not allowed on the Sabbath itself.
    [80] Baumgarten, "The Purification Liturgies," 211.
    [81] Baumgarten and Davila read this last line as referring to being with his wife
(Baumgarten, "The Purification Rituals in DJD 7," 202; Davila, *Liturgical Works*,

This shows that the purity of the individual has some direct effect on the purity of Israel. An individual's purity had personal implications for his participation in meals, etc., but the primary purpose of purification was for the people to be holy. These two liturgies refer to God's people, עם, in twelve separate places: three times as a holy people, עם קודש, and once as a pure people, עם טהור.[82]

The Yahad's regular practice of purification ensured the ritual purity and readiness of each member of the community for service to God. It brought them closer to the סוד אנשים, the secret counsel of men associated with the *Maskil*.[83] This was a community that desired to be set apart and sanctified; they had gone out into the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord, as stated in CD. As we see in 4QMMT, they were disenfranchised from the Temple and disappointed with it for its loose interpretation of the rites of purity, such as the red heifer.

They were interested in the purity of Israel, in being a holy people separated and purified from the defilements of impurity, and from sin, as well.[84] The sectarians required immersion for ritual purity and for moral impurity. However, purification could only really occur if the person had repented and entered the counsel of God.[85] The reason for strict purity appears to have been the priestly nature of the community, or at least of its leadership. As priests they were responsible for the purity of the sanctuary which, in the case of Qumran, was the community itself.[86] If they failed to maintain purity, they would be cut off from God and from communion with the heavenly realm. The regular practices of washing and the sprinkling of the holy ashes were designed to keep them from impurity, sanctify them to God, and allow them to be a holy nation.

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279). Given the reference to the purity of Israel in line 2, and the prominence of the people in this text, it is preferable to see here another reference to the people.

[82] עם קודש - 4Q512 frgs. 29-32 2; frgs. 48-50 3; 4Q512 frgs. 7-9 4 // 4Q414 frg. 7 9; עם טהור - 4Q414 frg. 7 3.

[83] 4Q512 frgs. 36-38. Compare CD 14:8; 4Q415 frg. 6 1,6; and 1QH^a 6:18.

[84] See Harrington, "Halakah and Religion," 74-89.

[85] 1QS 2:25-3:12.

[86] For the community as Temple see 4Q174 1:6; 1QS 8:5-9; 9:3-6.

3.3. *Purification Liturgy (4Q284)*

4Q284 consists of ten fragments of parchment in a late Herodian hand dated to the first century C.E. The orginal editors at the Rockefeller Museum entitled it סרך ה[נ]דות, *The Rule of Impurities* (or *Menstruating Women*), based on a reconstruction of frg. 1 4.[87] The fragments can be divided into two groups based on the space between the lines: frg. 1, frg. 2, and frg. 8 show a wider space between lines of text, while frgs. 3-7, frg. 9, and frg. 10 have narrower line spacing.[88]

There are no direct overlaps with the other purification liturgies (4Q414, 4Q512), although they share some similar phrases, including similar blessing formulas that contain direct address to God, ברוך אתה אל ישראל, " Blessed are you, God of Israel," The primary distinction between 4Q284 and the other purification liturgies is the inclusion here of a third party, in addition to the speaker and God. The speaker actually addresses this group directly, at least on one occasion (frg. 9). The first line of this small fragment, which only contains nine letters in two lines, reads דבריכם, "your (pl) words." Although the context is fragmentary, it is tempting to see this as evidence that the speaker is addressing the community. Further support for this proposal may be found in other fragments.

After the blessing formula in frg. 7, the speaker declares, "you purified them and you exalted them." To whom does this refer? In contrast to all references to "them" in 4Q512, the positive tone here indicates that it cannot refer to those outside the community. There are then two possibilities: either this is part of an historical recital and refers to a past event, or the speaker is referring to the community.

It would be strange for an individual member, especially one undergoing the process of purification, to address the community as "them." However, it would be possible for the priest officiating the ritual to do so. According to the purification rules of the Yahad, only a pure, adult priest was allowed to sprinkle the water of purification.[89] Such a priest,

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[87] Baumgarten claims that the manuscript does not permit the insertion of the *nun* here ("Purification Liturgy," 124). There is nothing within the text itself that indicates it was designed for women.

[88] Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgy," 123.

[89] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Red Cow Purification Rites in Qumran Texts," *JJS* 46 (1995): 112; Solomon, "The Prohibition against Tevul Yom," 14. See 4QMMT

who was not himself participating in the purification, would likely address those who had successfully completed the purification in the third person. This text also lacks any first person speech that represents the perspective of a person going through purification, such as confession or personal thanksgiving for being purified.[90]

Fragments 3 and 4 record a series of third person plural references that refer to the community:

<div dir="rtl">

frg. 3

3] מי]נדה וענה ואמר ברוך את]ה אל ישראל [

4]ס חרתה טהרת אמת לעמכה לה]   [

5 לה]טהר במה מכול טמ]את]ס ל]   [

frg. 4

2 לבני בריתכה]   [

3 בגורל א]מת]כה לק]   [

4 וטהורים לפניכה ב]   [

</div>

frg. 3 3. [waters of] purification. And he shall answer and say: "Blessed are Yo[u, God of Israel]
4. [   ] you engraved true purity for your people to[   ]
5. [to be] purified with them from all their uncl[ean]ness [   ]
frg. 4 2. for the sons of your covenant [   ]
3. in the lot of your truth [   ]
4. and pure (ones) before you [   ]

Here again, the speaker refers to the purification of others from their impurity. These others are called "your people," and "the sons of your covenant."[91] The "lot of your truth" likely also refers to the community, given the prominence of the term גורל elsewhere as a designation

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B:13-16. This represents part of a debate between the Qumran community and the Pharisees about whether one had to wait until sunset on the day of purification before he could officiate over the red heifer purification ceremony. See Y. Sussman, "The History of Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls - Preliminary Observations on Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah (4QMMT) (Hebrew)," *Tarbiz* 59 (1989/90): 28 n. 74.

[90] Compare 4Q512 frg. 39 ii 1-2, "I will praise your name because you cleansed me and presented me." 4Q512 frgs. 29-32 8-9, "Blessed are you, [O God of Israel, who delivered me from] all my transgressions and purified me from shameful impurity and you atoned so that I could enter…"

[91] Notice the reference to engraving purity for the people. Baumgarten relates this to 1QM 12:3, which says ברית שלומכה חרתה למו בחרט חיים, "and the covenant of your peace you engraved for them with a stylus of life" ("Purification Liturgy," 127). This image, with its connotations of the tablets from Sinai, reinforces the connection between following God's laws and gaining access to purity. See 1QS 2:25-3:6.

for the chosen. Although the fragmentary nature of the text makes certainty impossible, it is clear that 4Q284 not only represents a different text from the other purification liturgies, but that it actually preserves a liturgy for the priest to recite at the time of the purification of the members.

4Q284 indicates purification on two types of occasions. First, the text refers to calendrical festivals, specifically the Sabbaths, the weeks, the months, and the four seasons.[92] Baumgarten assumes that the full list would have also included the festivals. Second, purification was required on the occasion of defilement. 4Q284 explicitly mentions only corpse defilement (frg. 4 5) and seminal discharge (frg. 1 9).

The process of purification on these occasions employs the waters of purification, מי נדה.[93] This designation, which derives from Num 19, initially referred only to the ritual for removing corpse defilement by sprinkling water mixed with the ashes of a red heifer. Qumran's purity rules simultaneously restricted the practice and extended its use for other types of impurity.[94] As mentioned above, participation in preparing and sprinkling the water was restricted to adult priests who were themselves completely pure. According to Baumgarten, the members first were required to bathe in the מי רחץ, and then were sprinkled with the מי נדה, to remove the impurity.[95] Once the person was sprinkled, he was purified not only from corpse defilement, but from "every other defilement."[96]

Purification from defilement took seven days to complete. During these days, there were restrictions on eating, presumably until the person had been washed and sprinkled.[97] Baumgarten says that no food

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could be eaten until after the initial purification on the first day. Fur-
ther, on the days of subsequent purification, the meals were to take
place after the bath.[98] The purification was complete after the sun had
set on the seventh day.[99] Even after the specific defilement had been
eradicated, the Yahad routinely required purification for all before
gaining access to the meal.[100]

3.3.1. *Significance of the Purification Liturgy*

4Q284 is a priestly liturgy, recited by an individual presiding over the
rites of purification. The officiant addressed God directly, giving
thanks for choosing and purifying the people. The people are desig-
nated, through the use of language that emphasized their chosen-ness,
their access to the covenant, and their status as God's lot. The sectarian
nature of these titles ensured that these designations referred to the
Qumran community alone. Purification was clearly a boundary issue,
as only those who had achieved a high level of purity could come into
contact with the community and its holy counsel. 4Q284 indicates that
the priest, or priests, played a supervisory role in the process of purifi-
cation. In order for the sprinkling of the holy ashes to take place, a
priest who was already pure had to participate in preparing and sprin-
kling them onto the members. The liturgy preserved in this text would
have provided this priest with blessings that would assist the proper
purification of the people.

4. SUMMARY

The members of the Yahad believed that they lived in the age of Be-
lial, an age of wickedness and impurity. God had allowed the spirit of
wickedness to engage in a perpetual battle with the spirit of truth,
within the lives of all humans. Until the day when God would finally
come to destroy wickedness forever, the members had to live with the
danger and disorder of the cosmic battle being waged around them.

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[98]   Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgy," 126. See 4Q514 frg. 1 i-ii.
[99]   4Q284 frg. 2 i 3; ii 3-4; frg. 3 2. See parallels in 11QT^a 49:20; 50:4, 15.
[100]   1QS 5:13. See also Josephus, *War* 2.129.

The Yahad provided a fortress of holiness and purity that was designed to withstand the attacks of the enemy and represent righteousness and truth in the world. Three types of liturgies supported the Yahad's attempts to combat the forces of wickedness: curses, apotropaic prayers and incantations, and purification liturgies.

The curses employed by the Yahad functioned along three fronts simultaneously. First, the curses solidified perceptions of the enemies of the Yahad. The separation of the members of the Yahad from those outsiders was mandated and confirmed by associating them with the forces of evil by ascribing to them the curses of the covenant. Second, the curse against one who entered the covenant insincerely served to frighten the initiates into submitting completely to the authority of the Yahad. The initiates were reminded about the potential contamination of the holy community if they failed to live up to their requirements. This fear of compromising the community's purity, or one's own status within that community, was a powerful force for social control. Third, the curses directed against the suprahuman forces of evil (Belial, the Wicked One, the angel of the pit, *Melkiresha*, etc.) served as weapons in the cosmic battle raging around them. By cursing their enemies, the members were empowered, believing themselves to be exerting some limited control over the disorder.

The Yahad's apotropaic prayers and incantations were generally more defensive and protective than the curses. The apotropaic prayers were concerned to protect the Yahad from general sources of affliction, such as evil, sin, or illness. The *Songs of the Maskil* were designed to frighten away the demons through the offering of praise, and the recounting of God's wonderous deeds. These acts of worship kept the Yahad safe. The incantation psalms in 11Q11 addressed the offending spirits directly, and were presumably employed for more specific afflictions, such as individual illness.

The community's most developed liturgies that deal with affliction were associated with purification. The Yahad developed liturgies for the one being purified (4Q512, 4Q414), and a liturgy for the priest who presided over the ritual (4Q284). The purification of individual members was required in response to ritual and moral imperfections. A member who became defiled underwent an elaborate procedure, which included both immersion in water and sprinkling of the ashes of the red heifer mixed with water. He also was expected to recite blessings both before and after he was washed with the water. In order for his purifi-

cation to be complete, this procedure was repeated on the first, third, and seventh days of the purification period. Similar purification rituals were also undertaken on regular occasions, according to the cycles of Sabbaths and festivals. Unlike many of the Yahad's other liturgies, these purification liturgies were designed for individuals. However, we should not conclude that purity was a personal issue. The individual members of the Yahad were expected to maintain perfect purity in order to assure the holiness of the community. As a result, the members participated in purification rituals not only when they had been defiled, but also on a regular basis to cover any impurities they might have missed.

CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL RITES

The Yahad developed highly controlled structures of interpersonal relationships. The priests claimed ultimate authority for all decisions, and each member was subject to the requests of any member who enjoyed a higher status than he. Every member knew exactly where he stood, and how much power he held over others. For such a highly structured and political society to have functioned effectively, the authority of its leadership structures must have been justified in the eyes of the membership. The Yahad used rituals to establish this authority as representing God's will. Such rituals designed to reinforce the social structures of power are called political rites.

Bell describes political rites as "ceremonial practices that specifically construct, display and promote the power of political institutions (such as king, state, the village elders) or the political interest of distinct constituents and subgroups"[1] Such political rites define power in two ways: first, they establish the coherence of the community of shared values and goals; and, second, they legitimate these values and goals by connecting them with the order of the cosmos.[2] Through the ritual, the leader indicates that his leadership is the natural order of things. Political rituals demonstrate that the values and forms of social organization described in them are not temporary or arbitrary but are the way they should be. By connecting the leader with the cosmos, or with God, such rituals actually construct the basis for power and authority. Rituals, such as punishments and executions, that display the use of that power over those who fail to comply with the rules of the system also reinforce the ultimate authority of the leader.

Political rites do more than give form to power. As Geertz suggests, by constructing power they also argue for a specific nature of power.[3]

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[1] Bell, *Ritual,* 128.
[2] Bell, *Ritual*, 129.
[3] Geertz, Clifford, *Negara: The Theater State in Nineteenth Century Bali* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980) 102, 124, 131.

Political rites indicate what it means to be king, or to be priest, or to be leader. They are often more drama oriented and display oriented. They attempt to depict the cosmic order, and the leader's role within the cosmic order. As such, they provide symbolic indications of the society's key values. The ritual expresses the ideal world and if successfully enacted, it displays the characteristics of the ideal leader and the proper relationships of each of the members with that leader. In many cases, political rites are designed to reinforce the authority of the super-human or divine authority. Such rites, however, always carry with them the establishment of authority for those human agents who control the ritual.

Three types of rites from Qumran exhibit strong political effects. The first establishes and confirms the individual hierarchy of the members. The second type reinforces the hierarchy through the discipline and rebuking of members who challenge the authority of the system. The third type of political ritual emphasizes the authority of the priests over the political and prophetic offices.

1. RANKING THE MEMBERS

The Yahad's social hierarchy was re-established annually during the initiation and covenant ceremony, as discussed in Chapter 2. The centerpiece of the ceremony included the crossing over of all the members into the *serekh* to be ranked one by one, as determined by an examination of their knowledge and deeds.[4] The ranking occurred within broader categories, each of which had their own hierarchy. The primary distinction was made between insiders and outsiders, the latter of which obviously were not be ranked at all. Following this process, the members were distinguished according to the traditional divisions into priests, Levites, and the people, who were further sub-divided into military units of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens. Members were then ranked individually within these categories according to the hierarchy of spirit.[5] The resultant hierarchy was an interesting combination

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[4] 1QS 2:19-25; 5:20-24; 6:22; 9:14-16.

[5] It is possible that the community also used body type and physical appearance (physiognomy) in connection with the spirit in order to make judgments about the person. See Philip S. Alexander, "Physiognomy, Initiation, and Rank in the Qumran

of inherited, traditional categories, philosophical categories, and a
newly invented axis upon which to judge individuals. Newsom de-
scribes this as an extension of the priestly passion for ordering and
classifying.[6]

Once the ranking was established no one was able to move up or
down from their place until the rankings were reset the following year.
The seating assignments and the order of participation within the
community's meals and assemblies for the coming year were deter-
mined by these rankings.[7] Not only did this ceremony show each
member where he stood in the structure of the community, it also as-
serted that the rankings established were part of God's predetermined
will for each member.[8]

According to 1QS 9:12-16, the task of discerning the spirits of each
individual and ranking was entrusted to the *Maskil*, who was expected
"to do the will of God" (לעשות את רצון אל). His decisions were to be
guided by his investigation of God's statutes, and were based on that
which had been revealed concerning each age. Two selections from the
Hodayot present hymns of the *Maskil* indicating his dependence upon
God and his commitment to faithfully carry out this task of discern-
ment.

The first hymn, 1QH^a 6:8-22,[9] begins with a clear statement that in-
dicates God is the one who separates out the good from the wicked
according to their spirits, כי לפי רוחות תב[ד]ילם בין טוב לרשע (1QH^a
6:11-12). The task of the *Maskil*, the one granted understanding of
these spirits, is to commit himself to faithfully carry out God's wishes.
The hymn expresses his promise to advance people according to their
spirit, to not be bribed or enticed into elevating someone above where
he belongs, כי אם לפ]י קרבך אי[ש [אה]בנו וכרחקך אותו כן אתעבנו "but in-

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Community," in *Geschichte Tradition Reflexion: Festschrift fur Martin Hengel zum
70. Geburtstag* (eds. Hubert Cancik, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Peter Schäfer; Vol.
1; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1996) 385-394.
    [6] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space,* 122.
    [7] 1QS 6:3-6; 6:8-13; CD 12:22-13:6; 14:3-6; 1QSa 1:25-2:3; 2:11-22. For more on
these rites see Chapter 3 – Feasts and Fasts.
    [8] Notice especially the use of deterministic language to describe one's role, such as
גורל, 'lot' in 1QS 1:10; 2:2, 5; 2:23; 4:24, 26; 5:3; 6:16, 18, 22; and מעמד 'station' in
2:22, 23; 6:12.
    [9] Unlike the second example, this hymn is not explicitly marked as concerning the
Maskil, but the nature of the hymn leaves little doubt of the connection.

stead, whe[n you draw a ma]n[near, I lo]ve him, and as you send him
away I abhor him" (1QH^a 6:20-21). In other words, the *Maskil*'s func-
tion was to ensure that he replicated perfectly the hierarchy determined
by God.

The second hymn of the *Maskil* concerning the ranking of members
(1QH^a 20:11-24) detaches the *Maskil* from determining the ranking
even further. Despite the numerous references to God's gift of under-
standing and knowledge, God is directly credited with bringing the
members near.

כשכלם הגשתם ולפי ממשלתם ישרתוכה למפלג]יהם   [

> According to their insight, you brought them close, and according to
> their dominion, they shall serve you in [their] divisions. (1QH^a 20:22-
> 23)

This speaker is not an agent, acting according to God's will, but is,
instead, the site of the divine activity.[10] The speaker is nothing more
than an opportunity for God to be glorified and to show strength
through the speaker. God acts not for the speaker but through him.[11]
Based on this ideology about the function of the *Maskil*, the member-
ship has no means of disputing the decisions made by him. The
Maskil's leadership and authority on questions of rank is absolute, be-
cause he actually has nothing to do with it. At the same time, the
Maskil is represented as the ideal member, a model for all members to
emulate.[12]

2. DISCIPLINE

The Yahad's political hierarchy, once established, was enforced
through an extensive structure of discipline. Drawing on the work of
Michel Foucault, Newsom argues that discipline within institutions
provides avenues for gaining control over the body with the under-

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[10] Newsom, "Apocalyptic Subjects," 1-35.
[11] Newsom, "Apocalyptic Subjects," 21.
[12] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 102-103, 186-188, describes 1QS as a text de-
signed first to form the identity of the *Maskil*, and then by extension, to form the iden-
tity of the entire membership.

standing that control over the mind and will inevitably follow.[13] As
such, punishment and programs for training in the way of living within
a society serve the purpose of exerting control over the members.
"Thus rank itself becomes a form of reward and punishment, espe-
cially if it is made visible by some token or enacted in daily activi-
ties."[14] In order for such disciplinary institutions to function, there
must be surveillance, that is, an assumption that people are watching
and keeping track of what community members are doing. The surveil-
lance also provides instances of what Foucault calls "small penal
mechanisms" that provide minor judgments on behavior to bring into
line matters that are personal and subtle, rather than issues of law or
morality. These kinds of judgments allow hierarchies to be developed
on the basis of the degree to which one is in line with perfect behavior.
It is not about dichotomies of good and bad, or legal and illegal, but
rather the issue is one of better or worse.

Especially in the Yahad, which was focused on perfection and holi-
ness, distinctions between members could not be made based on mem-
bers' adherence to the law, because presumably, they all followed it.
Instead, they were judged based on the degree to which their daily atti-
tude and behavior reflected the ideal of the community. This judgment
reinforced the role of the *Maskil* as the one whose job it was to deter-
mine the spirits of the members, and to discern their place. The promi-
nence of his role is evident in the structure of 1QS, and also in some of
the *Hodayot* that recognize both his high status and his responsibility.

Another means of discipline in the community was the practice of
rebuke and reproof. At Qumran, these practices were an essential part
of the process of training and perfecting its members. Such reproof
was required of all members, and was significant for determining the
rankings in the following year. 1QS 5:24-6:2 also emphasizes the
manner in which reproof is taken on: it must be done in humility and
truth in love and not in anger or jealousy:

איש את רעהו בא[מ]ת וענוה ואהבת חסד לאיש אל ידבר אלוהיהי ⁷להוכי
(אל אחיהו) באף או בתלונה או בעורף [קשה או בקנאת] רוח רשע

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[13] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (trans. Alan
Sheridan; New York: Random House, 1995). See discussion in Newsom, *Self as Sym-
bolic Space*, 95.
[14] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 97-98.

> Reprove one another in truth, humility, and lovingkindness. He shall not
> speak to his brother in anger, or with grumbling, or with a stiff neck, or
> with a wicked spirit of jealousy. (1QS 5:24-26)

The strict hierarchical nature of the community could have led to the
possibility of using reproof as an avenue for seeking power and ad-
vancement within the community. In order to keep people from plot-
ting against one another, proper reproof had to be done on the same
day as the infraction. The practice and ceremony surrounding reproof
of members provided the surveillance elements necessary for the Ya-
had to retain control over its membership. It reinforced the hierarchy
itself, and kept people in line. But the competition that likely arose be-
cause of the hierarchy may well have caused problems, and therefore
required restrictions to keep people from abusing the system of reproof
for personal gain.[15]

One of the primary means for the Yahad to maintain control over its
members was through the restriction of speech. As mentioned in Chap-
ter 1, the community penal codes emphasized proper speech. By
strictly controlling the discourse, both in terms of the order of speaking
and in terms of the content, the community leadership provided stabil-
ity and a monopoly on meaning. What followed was acceptance of the
authority of high-ranking members of the community, and of this hier-
archy being self-evident and divinely ordained.

Access to knowledge of Torah is something that all members of the
community were required to seek, but success in terms of knowledge
was determined and expressed through the hierarchical ranking of the
members. This is evident also in the assembly itself, when members
are "taking counsel together," since the high-ranking members speak
first (1QS 6:10-11). Given this procedure, the lower ranking members
would not find it easy to disagree with those high-ranking members
who had already weighed in on a particular decision. By beginning
with the highest-ranking members, who are assumed to be the most
knowledgeable as well, those who follow would be socially con-
strained to agree with the position presented first. Such a hierarchy
reinforces itself, as there is limited opportunity for a challenge to be
brought against one of the higher members.

The process of taking counsel also provided a powerful sense of

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[15] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space,* 142.

consensus. Each person spoke in turn, either agreeing or disagreeing with what others had stated. Therefore, at the end of the list of people there was assurance of the truth of the conclusion based on the collaborative effort of the assembly. Even if some individuals might have been susceptible to failure, the community as a whole would always reach the proper judgment, because in the end it was dominated by the spirit of truth. The restrictions on the way in which someone could speak, and perhaps also on the content eligible for discussion, limited the real dialogical quality of the assembly. However, the procedure also provided a sense of consensus, uniformity, and certainty regarding the judgments made by the assembly.

3. AUTHORITY OF THE PRIESTHOOD

In addition to establishing a hierarchy and an order of discipline through the covenant ceremony, the Qumran community employed rituals that asserted the authority of the priesthood over the other types of leadership. The community's texts are full of references ascribing to the priests the authority to make decisions over communal affairs.[16] Priests and Levites recited the blessings and curses during the initiation and covenant ceremony. They were also the first to cross over into the *serekh* to be ranked each year, first to offer the blessing before meals, and first to speak in the assembly.

Further, the priests maintained a high place in each type of community assembly.[17] All gatherings of ten or more were required to have a priest present. Priestly authority was even to be maintained after the Messiah of Israel had come. 1QSa 2:11-17 describes such an assembly in which the priest, who is the head of the entire congregation of Israel, enters first, followed by the sons of Aaron, who sit according to rank.[18] Then the Messiah of Israel sits, followed by the heads of the thousands of Israel, and then the heads of the congregation's clans with the wise men. The priest also goes ahead of the Messiah of Israel when they

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[16] See for example: 1QS 5:2, 9, 21; 6:19; 8:1; 9:7; CD 10:4-6; 13:2-3, 5; 14:6-8; 1QM 10:2-5.

[17] 1QS 2:1-21; 6:3-4, 8-9a; 1QSa 2:11-17; CD 14:3-6.

[18] This description is also found in fragmentary form in a number of the texts of the *Rule of the Congregation* written in the esoteric script from Cave 4, 4Q249[a-i].

gather to eat. Thus, the priest, and perhaps even the sons of Aaron as a whole, outranks the Messiah of Israel, who is followed up by the remaining heads of Israel. Since these eschatological descriptions correspond closely to the practice of meals and assemblies within the Yahad, every such occasion in the life of the community was a reminder of the priests' ultimate authority over the present and the future.

A further indication of priestly authority is found in the use of an esoteric script, which Pfann calls hieratic, for a number of early manuscripts of the community including the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa) and copies of Lev 26.[19] Pfann argues that this hieratic script was not invented by the Qumran community, but that it shows evidence of genetic development from the Phoenician family of scripts, which also includes Hebrew and Aramaic. He speculates that it was in use among the Temple priests as their exclusive script. If correct, the use of such an elite priestly script would have reinforced the hold the priests maintained on reading text, and also served as an indication of continuity with the Temple.

3.1. *Liturgy of the Tongues of Fire (4Q375, 4Q376, 1Q29)*

Three fragmentary manuscripts (4Q375, 4Q376, and 1Q29) preserve descriptions of a ritual asserting the priest's authority to determine the fate of a prophet who spreads apostasy. Once the priest investigates the case, the verdict is determined in connection with the shining of the two stones, one on each of the shoulders of the priestly ephod.[20]

4Q375 and 4Q376 are listed as Moses Apocryphon[a,b], but it is unclear whether they are two copies of the same text, or whether they should be considered two separate texts that both happen to describe the relationships between priest and prophet.[21] 1Q29 was originally

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[19] For a survey of the texts found see Pfann, "The Writings in Esoteric Script from Qumran," 178. Leviticus 26 rehearses the means of making atonement for the land through confession.

[20] See Ex 28 for a description of the priestly garments. Josephus (*Ant*. 3.214-218) describes a similar connection between the judgement of false prophets and the shining of the stones on the priest's garments.

[21] John Strugnell, "Apocryphon of Moses" in *Qumran Cave 4: XIV Parabiblical Texts, Part* 2 (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) 111-136. In neither case do

entitled 'The Liturgy of the Three Tongues of Fire,'[22] although it contains overlaps with 4Q376.[23] There are no clear indications of Qumran provenance, although this remains a possibility.[24] The one indication that this text may be connected with Qumran is the reference to the "Prince for the Whole Congregation," a title that is also found in various forms in 1QM 5:1; CD 7:20; 1QSb 5:20; and 4QpIsa[a] frgs. 5-6 3.

According to the ceremony as described here, if a prophet arises to turn people away from following God, he is to be killed. But if his tribe comes forward and pleads on his behalf that he is righteous and a trustworthy prophet, then "you"[25] are to go with the tribe, "your" elders, and "your" judges to the place that God has chosen in each tribe, or in one of "your tribes," before the anointed (or messianic) priest. The priest would take the blood of sacrifices and sprinkle it on the corners of the mercy seat. Then he would take the sin offering to atone for the whole congregation. Approaching the ark of the testimony, he would investigate all the commandments of the Lord concerning those things that are hidden. Finally, he would go before the heads of the fathers of the congregation (presumably to tell the verdict that he had received).

At this point in the ritual, while the priest was speaking, the two stones of the breastplate on the left and on the right were alternately revealed.[26] When they were revealed, or shone forth,[27] tongues of fire

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they explicitly refer to Moses, however Aaron is mentioned in 4Q375 as the one who would sprinkle blood and investigate the validity of the speech of the prophet.

[22] J. T. Milik, "Liturgie des 'trois langues de feu'" in *Qumran Cave* 1 (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 130-132.

[23] Strugnell also speculates that 1Q22 represents the same genre as these texts, and perhaps a fourth manuscript of this text ("Apocryphon of Moses," 129). We do not discuss 1Q22 here because it does not contain any references to the liturgy concerning the stones on the breastplate.

[24] Strugnell seems to ride the fence between Qumranic and pre-Qumranic origin for these texts ("Apocryphon of Moses," 130-131).

[25] Presumably the referent here is Moses, or perhaps Israel in general.

[26] 4Q376 frg. 1 ii:1-2; 1Q29 frg. 2:2. Josephus (*Ant*. 3.214-218) only mentions the shining of the right stone. Strugnell supposes that, given the symbolism of right and left in semitic cultures, the shining of the right stone would indicate a positive outcome, while the left stone represented a negative outcome ("Apocryphon of Moses," 126).

[27] Strugnell indicates that the *niph'al* form of גלה here, as in 1Q27 frg. 1 i 6 and perhaps elsewhere, means to shine forth ("Apocryphon of Moses," 126). See also Glen Menzies, "Pre-Lucan Occurrences of the Phrase "Tongue(s) of Fire"," *Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 22 (2000): 54.

came forth from them and perhaps spoke to the people, providing a
verdict or decision through the mouth of the priest. For it was when the
priest stopped talking that "he went up" or "the cloud lifted up," thus
ending the revelation. The final column of 4Q376 refers to the Prince
for the Whole Congregation in the context of battles with his enemies.
While this appears to be an unrelated subject, the passage from
Josephus indicates that the priestly garments similarly played a role in
matters of war.

The ritual presented here differs from the biblical passages that deal
with false prophets. Deut 13:1-3 indicates that a prophet who comes to
turn the people toward other gods should not be heeded, although no
punishment for him is prescribed. Deuteronomy 18:18-22, in contrast,
requires that a false prophet must be killed. In this case, however, the
test for a false prophet is not preaching apostasy, but making false pre-
dictions. Our text prescribes death for the prophet who turns people
away from following God.[28] Only after the tribe of the accused arises
to challenge the death sentence, does the procedure of the stones be-
come relevant.

It is not clear if this collection represents an actual ceremony that
was in use, or if it represents a description of a ceremony that took, or
at least was thought to have taken place during the time of Aaron and
Moses. Josephus describes the shining of the stones of the ephod in
connection with false prophets, divine presence, and victory in battle.
The practice served as a check on the "malpractices of prophets" and
as a means of indicating God's presence during the priestly service.[29]
Josephus concludes his description of this practice saying that God
discontinued this practice some two hundred years previous to his writ-
ing, because of the people's transgressions (*Ant*. 3.214-218).

Strugnell describes the appealing possibility that Josephus's date
corresponds closely to the founding of the Qumran community, and
could indicate that the practice was discontinued because the Teacher

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[28] Notice that the language of apostasy is completely different in Deut 13 and
4Q375. The first refers to going after other gods, while the second indicates turning
aside from following God.

[29] Josephus claims that when God was participating in the Temple service, the right
stone would shine for all to see, including foreigners outside in the court of the Gen-
tiles. The twelve stones of the breastplate also shone to indicate the presence of the
host of God, and to foreshadow victory in battle.

of Righteousness took these garments with him when he left Jerusalem.[30] Given the dominant priestly character of the community, it is possible that the Yahad would have had some version of the priestly garments. The Qumran community also maintained the priest's role in inquiring of God, especially through inquiring of the texts, and in judging others. However, even though the stones could have been used outside the Temple for the purposes of discernment of divine revelation, the Yahad would not have carried out the sacrificial aspects of this ceremony at Qumran.

The Qumran community's use of this text helped establish and support the hierarchy in which the priest had the final word over the prophet and the heads of the tribes as well. The established order placed the priest in a position of having superior access to God's revelation so he could judge the speech of the prophet, whose access to revelation was more limited. Strikingly, Moses has no role whatsoever in the practice or, it appears, in the giving of the judgment. There is only one possible reference to Moses, whose job it was to bring the leaders and the judges into the presence of the priest. In this way, these texts establish the authority and priority of the priest over the prophet, the Prince over the Congregation, and even over Moses.

3.2. *The War Scroll (1QM, 4Q491-496)*

Within the context of the eschatological war between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, the priests are repeatedly mentioned as playing a central role. They blow the trumpets that serve to call together and to organize the various military units, to signal the attack, the retreat or the withdrawal after the conclusion of the attack. In 1QM 2:1-5, the chiefs of the priests are ranked and given specific duties. At the

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[30] This is based on Strugnell's uncertain proposal that the Teacher of Righteousness was in fact the High Priest before the Hasmoneans took over (DJD XIX, 127-128). Strugnell's proposal that the purpose of the visit of the Wicked Priest to harass the Teacher (1QpHab 9:4-8) was to regain the vestments ignores the fact that according to Lev 16:4, the priest wears a holy linen tunic when performing the rites for the Day of Atonement. Notice also that 1QM 7:10 describes the priests that go out at the head of the battle wearing linen tunics and sashes and various colors. If the breastplate were still in use as Josephus describes, we might expect to have seen it in the *War Scroll*.

top is the chief priest and his deputy. Then, there are 12 who serve in the regular offering, 26 who serve in the courses, and after them the chiefs of the Levites serve one per tribe. The chiefs of the courses are associated with the festivals, new moons, and Sabbaths, and the regular days of the year. They station themselves at the burnt offering sacrifices and arrange the sweet smelling incense to atone for all God's congregation.

1QM 3-4 describes the trumpets and banners upon which are written slogans that reinforce the status of the congregation as God's chosen, God's saints and God's holy congregation. They also reinforce God's presence and mercy toward the chosen, and God's hatred toward and destruction of the wicked. This description could be seen as a ritual act sanctifying the trumpets and the banners for their service and also uniting the members around the slogans.[31] The banners display the names of the tribes, followed by smaller and smaller units, until the smallest units actually include the names of the individuals in the units. The first set of banners, associated with the tribes, contains slogans similar to the slogans on the trumpets. However, when they go into battle, the slogans begin to represent distinct qualities of God such as truth, righteousness, glory, and justice. When they draw near for battle there are different slogans to be written on the banners, and when they return from battle they write yet other slogans.[32]

Beginning in 1QM 7:9, we have a lengthy description of the battle that indicates the central role of the priests. When the battle lines are drawn, seven priests of the sons of Aaron go forth into the gap between the lines, dressed in white linen garments with a sash and various colors. These are called the garments for battle, which are not to be taken into the sanctuary. The main priest goes out to encourage the men for battle, while the other six man the trumpets. Seven Levites also go out with those priests, carrying seven trumpets of rams' horns. There are three officers from among the Levites who also walk before the priests

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[31] The inscribing of the slogans may not be intended literally, as some of them are quite long and might not actually fit on the trumpets.

[32] This description shows the importance of writing as a means of bringing into reality the situation they desire. It is difficult, however, to imagine the banner carrier, or more likely the priest for that tribe, taking out a marker and re-inscribing the banner at each stage in the battle. It may have been a way of informing the troops what they were to do. Perhaps they were not being written at that moment but that a new banner is raised.

and Levites. The priests blow the trumpets to indicate the beginning of
the attack, or advance. They blow different tunes, or long and short
blasts to indicate the various stages of the battle. In some cases, they
blow also to reorganize the units. The priests, rather than the heads of
the tribes or the Prince over the Whole Congregation, are responsible
for guiding the battle and implementing strategy. When the battle is
over, they lead the Levites, the chiefs, and the soldiers in blessing
God.[33]

4Q491 frgs. 1-3:9-10 indicates that the priests, the Levites, and the
chiefs of the camps have a role in judging the men of the tribes who
are going out to battle. The men going out to battle shall pass before
the priests etc., by thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. Those who
are judged to be unclean "in regard to his genitals" are not permitted to
go out to battle because the holy angels are there with them.[34] This text
refers to nocturnal emissions, and implies that someone who has had
such an emission during the night is forbidden to participate the next
day. Even though the priests are supervising this event, which may be
somewhat ritualized, the main purpose of the event is to check on the
purity of the soldiers and not to rank the soldiers or reinforce the po-
litical hierarchy.

3.3. *Benedictions (1QSb)*

This collection of blessings, which was found attached to the end of
the scroll containing the *Rule of the Community* and the *Rule of the
Congregation*, has political implications because the blessings describe
the ideal nature of the key figures in the life and future of the commu-
nity: the *Maskil*, the people, the priests, and the Prince of the Congre-
gation.[35]

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[33] 1QM 18:5-6.
[34] Similar restrictions, without the description of the ritual examination, are men-
tioned in 1QM 7:3-7.
[35] These are the only parties explicitly found in the headings. However, some of the
blessings were likely addressed to other parties. Vermes connects 1QSb 3 with the
chief priest (*Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 375). Nitzan proposes that these blessings
refer to the "chief elders of the community, its sages and wise men, and the chiefs of
the thousands of Israel" (*Qumran Prayer*, 163).

The first thing to notice in this collection is the role of the *Maskil* as the agent of blessing for each of the parties being addressed. Although elsewhere the *Maskil* is an instructor and a liturgical leader, the blessings here present him most clearly as fulfilling the priestly role. This is especially reinforced by the creative reuse of the priestly blessing as the basis for each of the blessings.[36] The introductions to each of the blessings provide a concrete description of the ideal member of that class. The first set of blessings, addressed to the members, describes them as:

תיו ומחזקי בב[רי]ת קודשו והולכים 'את ירא[י אל עושי את] רצונו שומרי מצו
תמים] בכול דרכי אמ]תו ויבחר בם לברית עולם א[שר ת]עמוד לעד

> those who fear [God, who do] his will, who keep his commandments, and who hold fast to his holy co[ve]nant and walk perfectly [in all the paths of] his [truth], whom he chose for an eternal covenant th[at shall s]tand forever. (1QSb 1:1-3)

Such was the definition of what it meant to be a member of the community.

The text of the blessing extrapolates from the traditional priestly blessing that emphasizes God's blessing coming from heaven. God is asked to share with the people some aspect of what it is like to be in heaven, including access to [ם]בדעת קודש[ים] "the knowledge of the angels" (1QSb 1:5). These blessings are to come from the eternal source (מקור עולם) that shall never fail.

The blessing for the priests begins with a new heading in 1QSb 3:22. The priests are described as:

בני צדוק הכוהנים אשר בחר בם אל לחזק בריתו ל[עולם ולב]חון כול משפטיו
בתוך עמו ולהורותם כאשר צוה ויקימו באמת [את בריתו] ובצדק פקדו כול
חוקיו ויתהלכו כאש[ר] בחר

> the sons of Zadok, the priests, chosen by God to uphold his covenant fo[rever, to pr]ove all his precepts in the midst of his people, and to teach them just as he commanded. They have raised up in truth [his covenant] and with righteousness they carried out all his precepts and walked just as he chose. (1QSb 3:22-25)

The Qumran priests were not only those who have upheld the laws of

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[36] For detailed comparison of its relationship with the priestly blessing see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 155-167.

the covenant, but also those entrusted with testing them and teaching them to the people. This section reinforced the priests' status as instructors and as the ruling class.[37]

The blessing addressed to the priests also emphasized their elevated status and their eternal role in the community. Instead of receiving blessings from the holy habitation, like the people did, the priests were to have a place made for them in the holy habitation.

וישימכה מכלול הדר בתוך קדושים וברית כהונת[עולם יח]דש לכה
ויתנכה מקומכה[במעון] קודש

> May he set you, perfected in honor, in the midst of the holy ones; may he renew for you the eternal covenant of the priesthood. May he make a place for you in the holy habitation. (1QSb 3:25-27)

These requests called into being the status of the priests and their connection, their direct link with the holy ones and the heavenly realm. The priests are mentioned repeatedly in connection with the angel of the presence, and the holy habitation. They expected to be established as holy among the people, and to represent the greater light from Gen 1:16 to illumine the world with knowledge and wisdom. The priesthood had been given to them forever and would never be given to another. This promise itself echoes the promise to David, which had failed. But the promise to the priests had not failed.[38]

The blessing also placed the priests in a special position in relation to the political leadership of Israel and of the nations. The princes and the leaders of the nations were to be judged according to the deeds and speech of the priests (1QSb 3:27). It was the priests rather than the prince, who were placed at the head of the holy ones to bless the men of God's counsel (1QSb 4:23-24). The priests had unique communion with the heavenly realm. The people received blessings from it, but had no access to it. The priests also participated with God in judging the secular leaders of the people.

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[37] 1QSb 3:1-2, although part of the previous set of blessings, whose addressee is lost, asks for God to "choose all who dwell in your priesthood" and to "visit with favor all your holy ones and your appointed ti[mes…" These phrases should be understood as reinforcing the priesthood, and therefore God's established order within the congregation. It may be possible, however, that this is referring to the priesthood of the community, not within the community, as an elite over against the rest of the Jewish world.

[38] Compare also 1 Sam 2:35, which establishes a similar promise to the faithful priest to be raised up after the failure of Eli and his sons.

The final section of blessings, addressed to the Prince of the Con-
gregation, begins in 1QSb 5:20. Unfortunately, the extended introduc-
tion describing the nature of the prince is lost. The blessing itself,
however, focuses on images associated with the Davidic Messiah.[39]
God would renew for him the covenant of the Yahad in order to estab-
lish the kingdom of God's people forever. This kingdom, based on Isa
11, is characterized by the righteous judgment of the poor and treat-
ment of the meek, the destruction of the wicked, and the spirit of coun-
sel and knowledge that rests upon the Messiah. The prince has also
been established as the scepter over the rulers, the one the other na-
tions shall serve. The descriptions of the prince are focused on his rela-
tionship with the people and the surrounding nations, so that the prince
is to judge fairly and with righteousness, and to be victorious over the
nations of wickedness. In contrast, the priesthood represents holiness
and a connection with God and with the angels.

As a set of blessings, this practice focused on the appropriate roles
of the people, of the priesthood, and of the Prince of the Congregation.
The people were the recipients of blessing and of the covenant faith-
fulness of God. They were provided with knowledge of the angels and
the holy ones, and they were given grace, help, and sustenance. The
blessing for the people, based on the priestly blessing from Num 6,
transferred some elements of priesthood to the people. The second
blessing, for the priests, emphasized their holiness and their access to
God, to the angels, and to divine knowledge and blessing. The priest-
hood represented the means by which the community maintained its
relationship with God and coordinated its life with that of heaven. The
priests were also given judicial authority over the princes. The last set
of blessings, for the Prince of the Congregation, established his iden-
tity, based on Isa 11, as the one who acts in righteousness, judging the
poor and the meek favorably, and the wicked with destruction. The
spirit of wisdom and counsel was upon him, but he lacked direct con-
nection with, or access to God, or to the heavenly realm. He was to be
set up as a mighty tower, a pillar of strength for the community, but
not an avenue toward holiness.

This collection of blessings was clearly political in that it defined

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[39] See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 166, for a chart of parallels between this blessing
and biblical passages relating to King Messiah.

the roles of what it meant to be a priest, what it meant to be a person in the community, and what it meant to be the prince. From this, should we understand that the Prince of the Congregation was an official within the community? References to the prince occur only in eschatological contexts, and there is no comparable figure within the Yahad's social structure.[40] This does not mean, however, that such blessings could not have been recited within the community as expressions of their expectations. Despite the prevalence of covenant language in the blessings, these blessings do not fit the liturgical context of the blessings and curses from the initiation and covenant ceremony in 1QS 2:1-18. The presence of blessings for the eschatological prince, and for the priests, and the lack of any curses or liturgical responses indicate that these blessings had a setting independent of the covenant ceremony. Although we have no further information about what that setting might have been, we can say that their use would have been a significant means of confirming the chosen-ness of the community and the authority of the priests over that community.

4. SUMMARY

The Yahad's elaborate social hierarchy was firmly established and reinforced by a diverse collection of political rituals. The annual ranking of members, which defined the nature of all the members' relationships, combined traditional categories (priest, Levite, laity) with new categories based on judgments about one's knowledge, one's spirit, or one's deeds. The *Maskil*, whose job it was to establish the rankings, was essentially removed from the process with the claim that he faithfully enacted what God had determined. Given this ideology, anyone who might dispute the rankings could not question the authority of the *Maskil*, but had to take it up with God.

The community's hierarchical leadership was also confirmed through the disciplinary procedures of the communal assemblies. The assembly judged members based on their knowledge and the degree of their correspondence with the ideals of the community, or more accu-

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[40] References to the prince occur in 1QM 5:1; CD 7:20; 1QSb 5:20; 4QpIsa[a] frgs. 5-6 3; 4Q285 frg. 4:2, 6, 10; frg. 7:4; 11Q14 frg. 1:13; 4Q376 frg. 1 iii 1.

rately, with the ideals of the leaders of the community. The highest-
ranking members always spoke first and set the standard for others to
follow. The social pressure for those lower-ranking members to agree
with the judgments of the leaders would have been very strong. As
such, the assemblies provided a means for the ideals of the community
to be realized and regularly instilled in the members. By promoting
those who most closely matched the ideals, the leadership of the com-
munity became increasingly supported by those who shared these ide-
als, thereby assuring the continued authority of those leaders.

The ultimate authority of the priests within the community was
similarly reinforced through ritual. The priests were the first to be
ranked during the covenant ceremony, the first to enter and sit for the
meals, and the first to speak at assemblies. The authority of the priest
even surpassed that of the Messiah of Israel during the last days (1QSa
2:12-22). These traditions present the prominence of the priesthood as
the natural order of things. One could not question the priests' power
without challenging the God's established order in its entirety. This is
precisely the intended consequence of these political rites.

RITES OF COMMUNION

Many of the rituals we have discussed so far contain elements that contributed to the formation of communal bonds among the members of the Yahad. Our final category of liturgies has as its primary function, fostering communion between the Yahad and God, between the Yahad and the angelic realm, and within the ranks of the membership. Bell has characterized such rites, which focus on managing the relationships between the human and divine realms, as rites of exchange and communion.[1]

Rites of exchange and communion typically contain some concrete or direct exchange, often in the form of sacrifices and offerings, in an attempt to receive favor or material gain from the divine.[2] The nature of the offering and the form in which it is offered often reveals something about the culture's cosmology. Sometimes the object being offered for sacrifice is consecrated or sacralized so that it becomes divine in some sense, or part of the divine world. If this sacrifice, after being offered up to the divine agent, is eaten by the members of the community, the divine qualities can be seen to transfer to humans, thus completing the communion. In other cases, these rituals merely establish communication between humanity and the divine realm, and indicate human devotion.[3] Bell describes this as "a grammar of devotion" whose goal is to indicate to the divine, and to those watching, one's

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[1] Bell, *Ritual,* 108-114.
[2] In her discussion of sacrifice Bell mentions the work Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss who connect sacrifice with sanctification, or making holy, by completely destroying the object either through burning or through eating. The act of sacrifice provides a moment and a point of connection between the human world of the divine world (*Ritual,*112).
[3] See for example the works of Edward B. Tylor, who emphasized the element of exchange in such sacrifices, and William Robertson Smith, who emphasized the social functions of establishing communion (Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture [1871]* (New York: Harper, 1958); William Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites: The Fundamental Institutions [1889]* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1969)).

commitment and close relationship to the divine.[4]

Scholars sometimes distinguish between rituals of material exchange and those of communion, based on preconceived notions of "primitive" and "enlightened" religions. So-called "primitive" acts of exchange are designated magic, while the "enlightened" act of communion is considered to be religious devotion. Bell acknowledges that this dichotomy is exaggerated. She writes, "in ritual, it is probably safe to say that no act is purely manipulative or purely disinterested."[5] She claims that these rituals are indications of the complex interdependence between human and divine. For example, a ritual of exchange and communion can be seen as similar to hospitality, inviting an honored guest into the home. In such a case, offerings are not meant to yield concrete benefits, but are rather attempts to nurture a positive relationship between the divine and the human. When the goal is nurturing a relationship, a wide variety of non-material things can also be offered and exchanged based on the symbolic value given them by the religious tradition.

In the case of Qumran, members offered characteristics such as wisdom, knowledge and holiness. Carol Newsom recognizes that knowledge was treated as a commodity to be donated to the community upon entrance, much like wealth. She claims that the sharing of such knowledge was not only something that brought unity to the community, but that it was a requirement. Members were not permitted to withhold the knowledge that had been given to them.[6] She cites as evidence 1QS 8:11-12:

<div dir="rtl">

וכל דבר ⁷נסתר מישראל ונמצאו לאיש

הדורש אל יסתרהו מאלה מיראת רוח נסוגה

</div>

and nothing that was hidden from Israel but found by the one who seeks shall he hide from these [members] for fear of an apostate spirit.

Such offerings of one's character were essential for maintaining the communal identity of the community and, therefore, were considered part of one's devotion to the membership, and to God.

Although Bell does not specifically describe liturgy in her chapter

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[4] Bell, *Ritual,* 108-111.
[5] Bell, *Ritual,* 109.
[6] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space,* 74.

on rites of exchange and communion, it is not hard to imagine how communal occasions for singing hymns or reciting laments could serve as a means for nurturing a connection with the divine realm, and indicating one's devotion to God.[7] The deterministic ideology of the Qumran Community indicates that they did not believe their prayers could force God to favor them or even to deliver them, as is evident by the lack of supplication in most prayers of the community. Based on this, we shall not find evidence they expected to receive something in exchange for their prayer.[8] Instead, this chapter will show that many of the community's hymns and psalms emphasize their unique status as God's chosen, and of their close connection with the heavenly realm and the angels who abide there.[9] Rites of communion that incorporated such texts would have reinforced the Yahad's communal identity: their connection with one another, with the angelic host, and with God.

In what follows we will discuss the significance of the *Hodayot*, and of the various collections of Psalms (11QPs[a], 4Q380-381, and *Barkhi Nafshi*), as elements of rites of communion.[10] Our discussion of each

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[7] Rituals associated with the communal reading of sacred text would also fall in this category of rites of communion. Although we know that all members of the community were expected to participate together in studying, reading, and blessing (1QS 6), we have no explicit information about any rituals associated with the practice of reading. Given the ritualization of many other events in the life of the community, we might expect some ritual character to the practice of reading. Such a practice would represent both the communion of the members who are engaging in the activity and also a communion with the God about whom they are reading and who has revealed the true interpretation to them. The expectation that such reading would be taking place at all times throughout the day and night enhances the sense of such a practice as a kind of offering, in the sense of an offering of time and energy or an offering of devotion. (By comparison, daily reading of the Bible is commonly referred to as a devotional within some modern Christian groups). Unfortunately we have no further information about what might have taken place at such sessions and so can only speculate as to their possible meanings.

[8] It is possible, however, that such offerings could be understood as exchanges in response to blessings given.

[9] For discussion about whether this connection with the heavenly realm should be characterized as mystical experience see Nitzan, "Harmonic and Mystical Characteristics"; and Elliot R. Wolfson, "Mysticism and the Poetic-Liturgical Compositions from Qumran," *JQR* 85 (1995): 185-202.

[10] I have chosen to focus on these poetic texts, because such acts of praise have as their primary functions the establishment of a connection with God and a sense of shared experience among the membership. Elements for establishing communion are present in many of Qumran's rituals, however, such elements have been addressed in discussions of those rituals in other chapters.

collection will begin with an assessment of the likelihood that the texts
were used at Qumran in a ritual setting.[11] Because certainty regarding
this question is notoriously difficult to attain for these texts, we must
remain cautious in our conclusions. However, even though we cannot
determine the precise liturgical context for their use, discussion of
these texts is a necessary and meaningful contribution to our under-
standing of the communal life of the Yahad.

1. *HODAYOT*

Scholars have identified eight manuscripts of *Hodayot*, two from Cave
1, and six recently published from Cave 4.[12] They are clearly Qum-
ranic in origin, contain repetition of key themes, and make abundant
use of biblical expressions and imagery. Unlike the majority of Qum-
ran prayer texts, these prayers are almost exclusively written in the
first person singular. The perspective of the "I" of the *Hodayot* is,
however, not uniform from hymn to hymn. A distinction has been
made between Teacher hymns (those seemingly expressing the experi-
ence of the Teacher of Righteousness) [13] and hymns of the community

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[11] Eileen M. Schuller gives some possible criteria for recognizing liturgical texts:
individual prayers are relatively short; they contain set formulae particularly at the
opening and conclusion; they employ rubrics or titles specifying the setting or the time
and sometimes by whom; they use elements indicating two or more voices; they are
formulated in first person plural; their content is communal or cosmological, instead of
individualistic and specific ("Some Reflections on the Function and Use of Poetical
Texts Among the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in
Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the
Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23
January, 2000* (ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 173-189). She
also discusses references for the communal singing of hymns in the community in 1QS
10:9-14; 1QS 6:7-8a and 1QH[a] 19.

[12] For mss. from Cave 1, see E. L. Sukenik, ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the He-
brew University*. (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955). All column references for 1QH[a] have
been adjusted according to Puech's reconstruction. Emile Puech, "Quelques aspects de
la restauration du rouleau des hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988): 38-55. For mss. from
Cave 4 see Eileen Schuller, "Hodayot," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetic and Liturgical
Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 69-232.

[13] The hymns in this group generally describe persecution and betrayal of the
speaker by others. According to Gert Jeremias, the teacher hymns are: 1QH 10:1–19;
10:31–39; 11:1–18; 12:5–13:4; 13:5–19; 13:20–15:5; 15:6–25; 16:4–40 (*Die Lehrer
der Gerichtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963)).

(those in which the 'I' is used in a more anonymous, impersonal, and general way, and the focus is on the communal life).[14] The *Hodayot*, although they have formulaic openings, also lack any explicit reference to the community's liturgical calendar.[15]

The *Hodayot*'s singular speaker and lack of explicit information about the nature of the collection have given rise to significant debate about the use of *Hodayot* within the life of the community. Scholarly assessments of the use of *Hodayot* at Qumran generally fall into two categories: a collective use as a cult hymnal, or a private non-cultic use as either a catechism of religious instruction or a collection of private meditations.[16]

The main advocate for a cultic use is Svend Holm-Nielsen. Holm-Nielsen claims that the *Hodayot* were developed as an expression of the history and theology of the community, to be used on various occasions in its cultic life.[17] He attributes the *Hodayot* to a group of cultic

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[14] According to Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, the following hymns belong to this group: 1QH 4.9–15; 4.17–25; 5.3–21; 6.8–22; 7.1–26; 8.1–20; 9.1–39; 11.19–36; 15.26–33; 17.37–18.12; 18.14–19.2; 19.3–14; 19.15–39 (*Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966)). The hymn at the end of 1QS also shows kinship with this group.

[15] Compare the works discussed in Chapter 4: *Daily Prayers*, *Words of the Luminaries*, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and *Festival Prayers*. However, Puech has reconstructed references to the *Maskil* in a number of places ("Quelques aspects," 38-55).

[16] Falk claims that the rubric from column 20 was not rigidly applied to the hymns that follow. "More likely, the rubric is a general statement about prayer at times established by God and its use to introduce a series of hymns shows their availability for use on a variety of occasions" (*Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers,* 101). As such, he distinguishes the *Hodayot* collection from that found in *Daily Prayers* or 4Q504, despite the fact that the content of the following hymns should be understood as appropriate topics for prayer. So this text, *Hodayot*, is not a liturgy that prescribes the prayers to be said at certain times, but rather it is a collection of appropriate hymns that could be recited during daily prayers. This assumes variability in the daily prayers, so that someone, either in the community or as an individual decides at certain points to use certain hymns rather than others. There is another hymn from *Hodayot* that contains a heading, reconstructed by Puech, Psalm for the *Maskil*. 1QH[a] 5:12-14. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 102-103, sees this as a solution to the debate whether *Hodayot* are liturgical or didactic. He claims "the two functions are not mutually exclusive as both worship and instruction are explicitly mentioned as purposes." The literature discussing this question of the liturgical use of *Hodayot* is found in Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 103 n. 18.

[17] Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Acta Theologica Danica 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960) 348. See also Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegen-*

personnel within the community who were well versed in the traditions of biblical psalmody.[18] This description is a reverse of the common assumption, also found in Psalms studies, that prayers were written by individuals as an expression of their own private experience, and were later adapted for public use. Holm-Nielsen claims instead that the community included cultic personnel who were responsible for developing a set of hymns for the purpose of communal worship.[19]

On the other side, many commentators have focused on the *Hodayot* as an expression of personal experience and have argued against its relevance for understanding Qumran liturgy. Nitzan, for example, makes her argument against the ritual use of the *Hodayot* based on the significant differences between these hymns and the other liturgical material found at Qumran.[20] She cites formal characteristics, contents and themes, and prosody. The length and content of the individual hymns do not conform to a set form and provide very little in terms of ritual connections. The hymns vary quite widely in length, some being less than ten lines and others exceeding a column. It is reasonable to ask whether or not these long hymns could have been recited by a group. Nitzan also questions whether expressions of concrete individual experience found in the Teacher hymns, and usually of persecution or suffering, could meaningfully be read as representations of the whole community's experience.[21]

However, even if we conclude that these hymns, or at least some of them, were written as an expression of someone's personal experience and gratitude to God for deliverance or protection, this does not eliminate the possibility of their being used liturgically.[22] The large number

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wärtiges Heil; and Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 103 n.18 for a bibliography of those who accept a liturgical use of the community hymns.

[18] Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 347. He does not reject the possibility that the Teacher of Righteousness may have been involved, but his main interest is in the idea that the hymns were written for public use.

[19] Such hymns composed for public use could also be adopted for private meditation or study by individuals, thus used in non-cultic settings. The presence of a pesher on Psalms indicates that some of the Psalms had begun to be read, not as liturgy, but as prophecy. Such a private use, however, is not mutually exclusive with a continued liturgical use.

[20] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 324. See also Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 301.

[21] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*. 326-328.

[22] Licht focuses on the doctrine of the texts, and so probably sees it as didactic but also addressing the spiritual needs of the people through the poetic elaboration of the

of copies, and the consistency of the language between these copies, support that these hymns were taken up as expressions of the community's experience. Within the *Hodayot* themselves, we also find some indications of liturgical use. The *Hodayot* contain references to communal singing and blessing,[23] first person plural speakers,[24] liturgical calls for congregational response,[25] and references to the *Maskil*, a figure elsewhere associated with the community's liturgical practices.[26]

The Cave 4 *Hodayot* texts preserve hymns whose basic text is quite similar to 1QH[a], but whose order within the collection may not have been fixed.[27] If these manuscripts are truly collections of established hymns without a fixed order, then the text as a whole is not precisely a liturgical text of the same type found in the *Daily Prayers*, *Words of the Luminaries*, or the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Instead, the *Hodayot* should be treated more like Psalms, which also occur in collections that contain different sequences.[28] Our task here, therefore, is not

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doctrine. Bardtke also emphasizes the didactic, private nature of *Hodayot*. It is possible that an individual may have recited such a catechism in the presence of others in the cult, but it is not necessary. Ringgren notes the difficulty of deciding between the two, and expresses the assumption that hymns of some kind must have been used cultically even though the character and style of the *Hodayot* point to private use. Nitzan indicates that the majority of scholars, even those who support the Teacher of Righteousness theory, believe that 1QH[a] was intended for general devotional use within the sect. This is based on the number of manuscripts, and then on the assumption that what was original personally composed poetry was transferred into the public realm.

[23] Examples are found in 1QH[a] 9:30; 11:23; 13:30; 19:5, 14, 23-27; 20:3; 4Q427 frg. 7 i 13-14, 17; frg. 8 i 7, 13; frg. 20 1. Schuller properly notes that it is difficult to determine if these references should be taken literally, or if they represent either metaphorical use or merely reuse of biblical language ("Some Reflections on the Function," 173-189).

[24] The two clearest examples are 1QH[a] frg. 10 2-10 // 4Q427 frg. 8 and 1QH[a] 27:7-9 // 4Q427 frg. 7 ii 14-22 // 4Q428 frg. 21 1-2. 1QH[a] frg. 47 1 also includes a 1cp verb, "we shall rejoice," but the text here is too fragmentary to discuss it further.

[25] There are three independent examples of such calls to praise found mostly in the Cave 4 manuscripts: 4Q427 frg. 7 i 13-21 // 4Q431 frg. 1 9; 1QH[a] 27:1 // 4Q427 frg. 7 ii 7 // 4Q431 frg. 2 6; 4Q427 frg. 7 ii 22 // 4Q428 frg. 21 4.

[26] Headings referring to the *Maskil* are found in 1QH[a] 20:4 (4Q427 8 ii 10); 1QH[a] frg. 8 10; 4Q427 frg. 3 4; 4Q428 frg. 12 ii 3 and 4Q433a frg. 2 2 (a *Hodayot*-like text). Puech has also reconstructed another heading relating to the *Maskil* in 5:12-14 [frags 15 1-3 + 31]. See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 100-103. The *Maskil* is referred to as the speaker of the hymn that begins in 1QH[a] 20 11 // 4Q427 8 ii 17.

[27] Schuller indicates, for example, that 4Q427 was organized very differently from 1QH[a]. In the four places where there are joins between two hymns, the cave 4 text connects hymns either not connected in 1QH[a] or with elements not attested in 1QH[a] ("Worship, Temple, and Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 140).

[28] See below for more on the manuscripts of psalms found at Qumran.

to find a setting for the recitation of the *text* of *Hodayot*, but rather to discuss potential ritual settings for the recitation of hymns of thanksgiving, and of psalms as well. This opens up the possibility that some of the hymns may have been used on one occasion while other hymns were better suited for other occasions, or for other use.[29]

1.1. *Liturgical Context*

Can we determine, based on connections with other texts, when the *Hodayot*, and perhaps others hymns might have been used? Scholars have proposed a few possibilities, the most compelling of which is the connection with the initiation and covenant ceremony described in the *Rule of the Community*.[30] Holm-Nielsen proposes a connection with the initiation and covenant ceremony based on similarities of language with the description of those liturgies from 1QS 1-2.[31] Interestingly those hymns that use such language appear to present a variety of perspectives on the covenant ceremony.

Two of the *Hodayot*, 1QH[a] 6:8-22 and 20:4-21:2, represent the viewpoint of the *Maskil* who, according to 1QS 9:14-16, was responsible for discerning the spirit of the members and ranking them according to God's will. The *Maskil* acknowledges his dependence on God's wisdom and gives God credit for drawing near the righteous and separating out the wicked. He promises to advance each man according to his insight, and not to be swayed or bribed by the wicked, but rather to perfectly reflect God's judgment of each individual.[32] One could easily

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[29] One question that could be investigated further is whether there seems to be a difference in this regard between the teacher hymns and the community hymns.

[30] 1QM 15:4-5, which refers to "all the words of their thanksgivings," has been read to indicate that the *Hodayot* were to be recited by the chief priest, together with the priests, Levites and all the men of the order before the battle lines during the eschatological war. It is unclear how this might relate to liturgical use within the present life of the community.

[31] He gives as examples 1QH[a] 4:9-15, 17-25; 6:8-22, 23-28; 8:1-7, 8-20. 1QH[a] 20:4-21:14 (the precise end of this section is unclear), and perhaps frg. 10 7-10, should be added to this list. The relevant language relates to turning from sin, loving and hating, being favored with the spirit of knowledge, clinging to truth of your covenant, etc. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 344-345. See also Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*.

[32] See especially 1QH[a] 6:18-22.

imagine the *Maskil* reciting such hymns either during his preparation for the ceremony or at the beginning of the announcement of the ranking of the members.[33]

At the same time, the majority of the sections that show similarities with 1QS represent the voice of the membership. For example, in 1QH[a] 4:17-25 the speaker gives thanks for the spirits that God placed within him. He seeks the proper response to describe God's righteousness, patience, and mercy. The speaker reflects on his former life of perversity and recognizes that God establishes the way of the chosen and teaches him to walk in the way of truth. Finally, he calls on God to strengthen him to "walk in all that you love, and reject all that you hate."[34] These words are precisely what we would expect from a new initiate into the community.

Hodayot[a] 6:23-7:7 and 20:24-21:17 follow the *Maskil*'s hymns and could also be understood as an initiate's acceptance of his place within the ranks. The speaker of 6:23-7:7 gives thanks for forgiveness and understanding that allows him to walk in righteousness. In 21:11-14, after the speaker reflects on human weakness as a creature of clay and on his own insignificance, he marvels at being brought into covenant with God despite having ears of dust and heart of stone.

The first person plural liturgy found in 1QH[a] frg. 10 3-10 // 4Q427 frg. 8 4-12 may also represent the expression of the members, in the context of the covenant ceremony.

ונר[ננה ...] [   ] בכו[ח עם גבוריכה ^{לכה}ואנחנו ביחד נועדנו ועם ידעים [נוס]רה
ובהפלא נספרה יחד בדע[ת אל ועם [   ] [   ] וצאצאינו הודע[תה ע]ם בני איש
בתוך[בני]אדם [   ]

> We are gathered in the association (or in the Yahad) and with those who know, [we shall be admonis]hed ^{by You} and sing f[or joy] [lou]dly with your mighty ones, and we will wondrously declare together in the knowledge [of God and with] [ ] and [You] make our offspring understand [   ] the sons of man (איש) amon[g the sons of] man (אדם). (1QH[a] frg. 10:7-9)[35]

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[33] The similarities between 1QH[a] 20:4-11 and the hymn of the *Maskil* in 1QS 9-11 may also support the use of some *Hodayot* on other occasions, especially those based on the calendar. See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 103.
[34] 1QH[a] 4:24. Compare with 1QS 1:3, 9.
[35] Translation from Parry and Tov, eds., *Poetic and Liturgical Texts*, 51-52.

This liturgy not only refers to the communal gathering of the Yahad, but also refers to recounting God's wonders, to receiving admonishment from God, and to singing for joy. These are all elements present in the community's covenant ceremony. As with other aspects of Qumran's communal life, members participate in these events according to their insight, that is, based on their ranking. The members of the Yahad declare themselves to be those who have wisdom, who have seen God's wonders, who are admonished by God, and who sing for joy in the midst of the community. The final line of the above quoted section may also betray the Yahad's distinction from the general population of humanity.[36]

1.2. *The Hodayot as Rites of Communion*

As hymns of communion, the *Hodayot* establish the community's relationships on three levels. First, they provide the members with appropriate language to express their experience of life, and thereby reinforce their communal identity by instilling in them a sense of shared experience. Second, the *Hodayot* provide assurance that the community shares a special place as God's chosen, separated from wickedness and with unique access to God's knowledge, understanding and mercy. Finally, the *Hodayot* depict the community's role alongside the angelic host, sharing with them the responsibility of maintaining holiness and praising God continually.

1.2.1. *Shared Experience*

When new initiates came to join the Yahad, they were expected to learn the modes of discourse used within the community to describe their experience. According to 1QS 3:13, the *Maskil* was responsible for instructing the sons of light about the spirits. Much like the theological treatise on the two spirits detailed in the *Rule of the Community*, the *Hodayot* served to indoctrinate new members about their

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[36] See, for example, the similar construction found in 1QH^a 14:11, "the men of your council among the sons of man, to recount your wonders to the eternal generations." These texts emphasize the unique chosen place of the community in understanding God's truth and bringing it to the nations.

status before God. These hymns repeatedly emphasize basic theologi-
cal issues such as the weakness of humanity, the righteousness of God,
God's determined plan and selection of the chosen to fulfill that plan,
and the attempts by the wicked to interfere by persecuting the chosen.
The recitation of such theologically charged hymns, grounded in the
community's fundamental views of the world and their place in it,
would have been an ideal way of training new members in the way of
truth. Such indoctrination would also have provided the language of
discourse by which their own experience in the world could be ex-
pressed as essentially the same as that of the other community mem-
bers.[37]

A primary theme of the *Hodayot* emphasizes the distance between
the lowly human creature of clay, who is sinful, and the holiness, jus-
tice, righteousness, and goodness of God who chooses to redeem and
share God's wisdom and understanding. This is a situation that is de-
scribed as common to all humanity. However, since these hymns are
expressed as thanksgiving, even the descriptions of the lowliness of
humanity have the tone of gratefulness, such that the underlying mes-
sage is that even though we are not worth anything, God has helped us
and chosen us. This unlikely elevation was not universally experienced
by humanity – or even by all Israel – but only by those who were
granted the spirit of truth, and who were proven by their understand-
ing. In the same way that the exodus from Egypt provided a shared
experience to unite Israel, the elevation of the members in spite of their
weakness and insignificance united them as the community of God.

One such communal hymn, focusing on the distance between God
and the community, is found in 4Q427 frg. 7 ii. This manuscript pre-
serves a liturgical hymn addressed to God that contains first person
plural references, imperative calls to praise, and third person blessing
formulas.[38] Lines 12-23 read as follows:

12 יומרו ברוכ אל ה[מפ]לי [פ]לאות גאות ומגדיל להופיע גבורה] ומצדיק[

13 בדעת לכול מעשיו וטוב על פניהמה בדעתמה ברוב חס[דיו והמון[

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[37] For more on this process of training discourse see Csordas, "Genre, Motive, and Metaphor," 445-469. For more on the discourse of the Qumran community, see Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 1-21.

[38] Eileen Schuller, "Some Contributions of the Cave Four Manuscripts (4Q427-432) to the Study of the *Hodayot*," *DSD* 8 (2001): 283.

14 רחמיו לכול בני אמתו ידענוכה אל הצדק והשכלנו[באמתכה מלך]

15 הכבוד כיא ראינו קנאתכה בכוח גבורתכה והכרנו מ[שפטיכה בהמון]

16 רחמי{כה}ם והפלא סליחות מה בשר לאלה ומה יחש[ב עפר ואפר]

17 לספר אלה מקצ לקצ ולהתיצב במעמד[לפניכה ולבוא ביחד עם]

18 בני שמים ואין מליץ להשיב[דבר כפיכה   [

19 לכה כיא העמדתנו לרצ[ונכה   ונעצור[

20א   שמע נפלאות{יכה}[[

20 כוח {להשיב לכה} כ]אלה   [

21 דברנו לכה ולוא לאיש בי]נים   והטיתו[

22 אוז[ן]למוצא שפתינו השמי[עו ואומרו ברוך אל הדעות הנוטה]

23 שמים בכוחו וכול מחשביהמה מ[כין ב]עוזו ארץ בגבור[תו עושה]

¹²Let them say*:* Blessed is God who [wor]ks mighty [m]arvels, acting mightily to make his power appear, [and doing righteously] ¹³(in) knowledge to all his creatures and (in) goodness upon their faces, so they might know the abundance of his loving [kindnesses, and the multitude of] ¹⁴his mercies to all the children of his truth. We have known you, O God of righteousness, and we have understood [your truth, O king of] ¹⁵glory; for we have seen your zeal with your powerful strength, and we have recognized [your] ju[dgments in the abundance of] ¹⁶{your} mercies and marvelous forgiveness. What is flesh in relation to these things? How is [dust and clay] ¹⁷to be recko[ned] that he should recount these things continually, and take a stand in place [before you, and come into community with] ¹⁸the sons of heaven? There is no intermediary to ans[wer at your command   ] ¹⁹to you, for you established us at [your good] pleas[ure in… and we retain] ²⁰strength {to answer you} ᵗᵒ ʰᵉᵃʳ {ʸᵒᵘʳ} ᵐᵃʳᵛᵉˡˢ like [these   ] ²¹we spoke to you and not to an interme[diary   and you inclined] ²²an ea[r]to the utterance of our lips. Proclai[m and say: Blessed be the God of knowledge who stretches out] ²³the heavens by his might, est[ablishing] all their structures [by] his strength, [makes] the earth by [his] might.³⁹

The liturgical character of this text is clear, as it is employs a first person plural speaker and contains response and blessing formulae. The speakers recognize their shared weakness and helplessness before God. Despite this distance between God and his chosen, lines 9, 17, and 18 indicate that the assembly of the community is closely connected with the heavenly beings and also with God, such that there is no intermediary between the community and God. The central section emphasizes the shared experience of the members and their communal access to

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³⁹ Schuller, "*Hodayot*," 100.

God's knowledge, the understanding of God's truth, and the recognition of God's judgments. This text simultaneously highlights the distance and the unique communion between the community and God through knowledge.[40]

A strong sense of shared experience was also conveyed by the recitation of other hymns that were framed in the singular. By communally reciting hymns written in the first person singular, each individual would speak for himself, as a member of the community, all expressing the same experience.[41] Even the so-called Teacher hymns enable the members of the community to reiterate their founder's experience and to incorporate it by extension as their own experience. Somewhat paradoxically, the fact that these hymns use first person singular, and in some cases, refer to the experience of the Teacher, actually improves their usefulness for establishing communion.[42] Each individual who participated in the recital of these hymns entered the Yahad as an individual, but gradually adopted the common experience of his fellow members as his own. He also gained, through recitation, a taste of the persecution, affliction and exaltation that the Teacher experienced, and he learned to see his own experience as following this basic pattern.[43]

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[40] See also 1QH^a 21 for the contrast between the limitations of humanity as dust and stone and God's decision to bring such a one into covenant with God and even to establish some association with the heavenly realm.

[41] This point is highlighted by Denise Dombkowski Hopkins: "The 'I' of 1QH, as in the biblical Psalms, does not represent a particular author in a particular historical situation espousing an official group doctrine, but rather any individual member of the congregation as well as the community of individuals at the same time giving expression to their faith" ("The Qumran Community and 1QHodayot: A Reassessment," *RQ* 10 (1981): 337). Newsom argues that the complete otherness of the divine addressee creates a situation in which the speaker is to be understood as simply a person and not a type of person. She describes it as the universal or absolute quality of the speech situation. She claims that this aspect of prayer masks many of the social dimensions of hierarchies and social interests, which are there but are overcome by the relationship between the speaker and the absolute addressee (*Self as Symbolic Space,* 205).

[42] Jacob Licht resolves the individualistic view of the speaker of the *Hodayot* by making a claim to leadership. "The conflict is resolved by his claim to leadership, i.e. by our author's endeavor to dominate or excel, as an individual in the community to which he belongs; to identify himself with the aims of the community" ("The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," *IEJ* 6 (1956): 101). The member reciting these hymns would begin to see himself as sharing those aims and would seek to excel within the structure of the community.

[43] See, for example, 1QH^a 15:6-25 in which the Teacher thanks God for sustaining him in the face of the attacks of the liars and for setting him on level ground. The hymn also indicates that God's covenant was taught to him and that his "tongue was as

1.2.2. *Separation from Outsiders*

The members' connection with the Teacher also reinforced their identity as those set apart from the rest of the people and brought into a special covenant with God. The hymn in 1QH^a 12:5-13:4 highlights the distinction between the one who seeks God and who is rewarded with revelation, and the people who go astray. The hymn describes the people's rejection of good works and of the Teacher, whom they drove from the land. While this experience may have primarily applied to the Teacher, the community itself also experienced the effects of this rejection and separation from the people and from Jerusalem as central to its identity. The people's rejection, however, is contrasted by the assurance of God's favor upon him, and upon all those <יחד> הנועדים לבריתכה "who are gathered $^{together\ (or,\ in\ the\ Yahad)}$ according to your covenant."[44] The Teacher, along with those who have listened to him, is protected by God, separated from the people, and brought into the council of the holy ones.

1.2.3. *Connection with the Anglic Realm*

A number of the *Hodayot* refer explicitly to a close connection between the community and the angelic realm.[45] A few examples will suffice to demonstrate the significance of this theme for establishing the community's communion with the divine realm. 1QH^a 11:19-36 records a hymn of thanksgiving for being redeemed from the pit. Not only is the speaker delivered from Sheol, but he is established in an elevated place, on a limitless plain, in the eternal council. He is cleansed from transgression to stand with the host of the holy ones, to enter together (or, in the Yahad) with the congregation of the sons of heaven, for the purpose of giving praise to God and recounting God's wonders. The hymn then returns abruptly to the theme of human

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one of your disciples" (15:10). The community's use of language connects them with God, and sets them apart as God's disciples.

[44] 1QH^a 12:24. The hymn continues with descriptions of this unnamed group of those who shared the Teacher's fate before the people and his favor before God.

[45] Frennesson, *In a Common Rejoicing*, 45-60, discusses in this context 1QH^a 11:21-23; 14:12-14; 19:10-14, 24-26; frg. 10 1-7 and 4Q427 frg. 7 i 13-18. A few fragmentary references may be found in 1QH^a 24:10 and frg. 5 3.

weakness as creatures of clay. This hymn provides not only an expression of deliverance, but also a clear expression that deliverance leads to the establishment of the community of holiness that is closely connected with the divine realm. Exposure to the divine realm is purposely balanced by the recognition of the weakness of humanity, or at least by the temporary nature of humanity. In this case, the speaker appears to stand in the realm of Belial, and not yet actually among the host of the holy ones. But it is expected that he will attain such an exalted destiny.

1QHª 14:10-13 describes God's upright judgment and establishment of the law and truth for:

אנשי עצתכה בתוך בני אדם לספר לדורות עולם נפלאותיכה ובגבורות[יכה
יש]וחחו לאין השבת

the men of your council among the sons of men, to recount your wonders to the eternal generations and to sp]eak unceasingly about [your] mighty works.

Here we have a basic description of the community's self-identity. The community is God's council, whose job it is to recount God's mighty deeds and give praises, having access to God's true judgments. God also brings truth and glory to the men of God's council ובגורל יחד עם מלאכי פנים. ואין מליץ "in the lot together (or of the Yahad) with the angels of the Presence. And there would be no mediator" (1QHª 14:13). Here we not only have a description of the community, but also a description of its connection with the divine realm, accompanied by the assurance of unmediated access to God. This shows that the angels are not here considered to be mediators between God and humanity, but rather that the council has gained access to God alongside the angels.

The connection and participation with the angelic host is also depicted in the so-called self-glorification hymn, which is found in three manuscripts from Cave 4: 4Q427 frg. 7 i, 4Q431 frgs. 1-2, and 4Q491 frg. 11 i.[46] The first part of the hymn has received much attention based on the highly elevated language of the speaker, who claims to

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[46] The first two represent the same text and are connected with *Hodayot*. 4Q431 has also been published as 4Q471b. 4Q491 is similar, but not the same text, and is usually connected with the *War Scroll*. For comments on the parallels in these texts see John J. Collins, and Devorah Dimant, "A Thrice-Told Hymn: A Response to Eileen Schuller," *JQR* 85 (1994): 151-155. There are also some similarities with 1QHª 26-27.

have an exalted place among the heavenly beings.[47] Proposals for iden-
tifying this speaker have included the angel Michael,[48] the Teacher of
Righteousness,[49] an eschatological high priest,[50] and King Messiah.[51]
As with the other Teacher hymns, we are not primarily interested in
who the original speaker was, but rather in how this hymn might have
been used. One might imagine that it would be difficult for an individ-
ual member of the community to make such elevated claims about
himself. However, this elevated language is immediately followed by
liturgical calls for the community to praise, and by first person plural
references.[52] How, then, can we understand this text in a liturgical con-
text?[53]

Michael Wise proposes a collective interpretation so that the
speaker should be identified as a member of the community.[54] Once
the hymn was inserted into a collection of the *Hodayot*, the identifica-
tion with the Teacher was made, and through the collective recitation
of his words, each member of the community identified with it. Wise
indicates that even though these assertions were literally true only for
the Teacher and not for everyone else, each individual believer could
partake in this status by connecting himself with the Teacher: "That

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[47] For a detailed bibliography and discussion of interpretations of the early part of
this hymn see Florentino García Martínez, "Old Texts and Modern Mirages: The I of
Two Qumran Hymns," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 78 (2002): 321-339.

[48] Baillet, DJD VII, 26-29.

[49] Martin Abegg, "Who Ascended to Heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427 and the Teacher of
Righteousness," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Craig
Evans and Peter Flint; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 61-73.

[50] Esther Eshel, "The Identification of the "Speaker" of the Self-Glorification
Hymn," in *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Donald W.
Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 619-635. She claims that the
scribe is thinking of the Teacher of Righteousness after his death in describing the
eschatological priest.

[51] Israel Knohl, *The Messiah Before Jesus* (Los Angeles: University of California
Press, 2000).

[52] Such liturgical calls to praise are unique to this passage in the *Hodayot* and may
indicate that this whole section has been adopted into this collection from somewhere
else.

[53] Most discussions of this text fail to address the connection between the exalta-
tion and the liturgy of praise. As such, the possibility that this text contains a liturgy
led by the words of a priest or leader, followed by the response of the people has not
been pursued as far as I can tell. I suspect that the leader, although reciting that section
alone, was speaking on behalf of the community as a whole.

[54] Michael O. Wise, "*Mi kmoni baelim?* A Study of 4Q491c, 4Q471b, 4Q427 7 and
1QH^a 25:35-26:10," *DSD* 7 (2000): 218.

happened partially for recitation. In this sense, the group became what their charismatic founder had been."[55]

Crispin Fletcher-Louis also discusses the speaker in connection with a liturgical context: in this case a mystical practice of participating with the hosts of heaven. He claims that, although there might be some connection with the Teacher of Righteousness, the most plausible explanation is that "the hymn is simply used on a regular basis by those priests who do actually enter the realm of heaven in the cultic setting."[56]

Following Wise and Fletcher-Louis we conclude that the "I" of the hymn is really a collective referring to the community, rather than to any one individual. In Qumran thought, the community is connected with the divine realm through its liturgy. The members join with the angels and they are like angels in praising God.[57] This is most clearly indicated in the liturgical section that follows the glorification hymn, which shows similarities with the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The claim that the community is sitting among the angels does not mean that it is divine, but rather that it is giving praise in the congregation of the holy ones. The Qumran members are unique among the angels because they are not divine, but human. The central point being made here is that the community is assured communion with the divine presence, through its liturgy.

2. PSALMS

There is no doubt that the Psalms were important in the life of the community. The Psalter is more abundantly represented at Qumran than any other biblical book, or, for that matter, than any book of any

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[55] Wise, "*Mi kmoni baelim?*" 218.

[56] Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002) 215-216.

[57] In his section on joining the angels in praise, Licht indicates that companionship with the angels was attained through membership in the sect. The author does not claim to have joined the choir as an individual, but as part of the sect that praises, the sect's choir is parallel to the angels' choir. "The company of the elect as a whole deems itself 'to belong in one lot with the angels of presence.' (14:13) By joining the sect our author becomes somehow a citizen of heaven, an almost superhuman being" ("The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," 101).

kind.[58] Uncertainty remains, however, in determining how the Psalms
were used in the life of the community. On the one hand, the Psalms
were treated as authoritative texts for guiding the life of the commu-
nity. The Yahad produced *Pesharim* on the Psalms, which indicates
that the Psalms were considered in some sense prophetic.[59] Verses
from individual psalms were also used as prooftexts in other interpre-
tive texts.[60] On the other hand, these texts are by nature prayer texts
and as such they contain many liturgical elements. They also served as
models for the language of the *Hodayot* and other liturgical collections
found at Qumran.

One might argue against liturgical use of such psalms at Qumran
based on the evidence that the synagogue service did not include reci-
tation of the psalms until much later.[61] We should not assume, how-
ever, that the liturgical practices of the Qumran community developed

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[58] Three from Cave 1, one each from Caves 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8, twenty-three from
Cave 4, and five from Cave 11 for a total of 36. For a complete survey of the extant
manuscripts see Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 27-49. Given the fragmentary nature
of many of the scrolls it is impossible to determine if each can be assumed to have
contained a complete collection of the Psalms. In particular, three manuscripts (4QPs^g,
4QPs^h, and 5QPs) preserve fragments of Ps 119 alone. The longest of the scrolls,
11QPs^a, has engendered a persistent debate over its status either as authoritative col-
lection of the book of Psalms or as a liturgical collection of psalms dependent upon the
MT Psalter. James Sanders argues in favor of canonical status based on the emphasis
on the collection as Davidic (*The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*; "The Modern History of the
Qumran Psalms Scroll and Its Relation to Canon Criticism," in *Emanuel: Studies in
Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (eds. Sha-
lom M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 393-412). For arguments against Sanders, see
Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a): A Problem of Canon and
Text," *Textus* 5 (1966): 22-33; and Shemaryahu Talmon, "Pisqah Be'emsa' Pasuq and
11QPs^a," *Textus* 5 (1966): 11-21. For complete analysis and discussion of the debate,
see Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 202-227. For our purposes, it is important to rec-
ognize that the Book of Psalms is itself a liturgical collection. Therefore the liturgical
elements highlighted by Goshen-Gottstein, such as the refrain in Ps 145 and the catena
added after Ps 136, are not unlike those also found in the MT Psalms and should not be
used to categorize the text as liturgical rather than canonical. Whether 11QPs^a was
considered an official book of Psalms or not does not substantially affect the potential
liturgical role of the psalms.

[59] The *pesher* Psalms manuscripts are 1Q16, 4Q171, and 4Q173. All the other *Pe-
sharim* are commentaries on prophetic books. Notice also that the prose section known
as David's Compositions, in 11QPs^a explicitly indicates that David composed all these
things through the spirit of prophecy.

[60] See for example CD 1:20; 4QFlor frg. 1-2 i 14, 19; 4Q177; 11QMelch 2:10-11.

[61] L. I. Rabinowitz (1944) claimed that during the period of the Talmud public
worship had no place for the Psalms except for the Hallel. Lawrence Hoffman's work
on the canonization of the siddur reinforces this claim (*Canonization*, 127-128).

in the same way as the synagogue's did. The evidence from Qumran indicates that the religious identity of the Yahad was closely connected to the priesthood. Therefore, it was more likely to continue the Temple practice of singing psalms as part of its service.[62]

Two other comparisons support the liturgical singing of hymns and psalms at Qumran.[63] First, singing communal hymns was prominent in Greco-Roman voluntary associations. Such associations have been shown to share much in common with the Yahad in terms of social organization and communal practices.[64] Second, it has been shown that the Qumran community viewed itself as "an angel-like priestly community."[65] It was also understood that the primary task of the heavenly angels was to sing praises and psalms and hymns to God.[66] If the Qumran community sought to be like the angels, then they must also have regularly engaged themselves in reciting such praises.

Some of the Psalms manuscripts themselves support their liturgical use. The first two lines of the Psalms manuscript from Cave 2 were written using red ink. This phenomenon also appears in 4QNum[b], where it has been interpreted to introduce sections for liturgical reading. As mentioned above, the collection and arrangement of the psalms in 11QPs[a] reflects liturgical concerns such as the refrain in Ps 145 and the grouping together of Pss 135, 136+Catena and 145, as well as Pss

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[62] For the use of Psalms in the Temple see J. A. Smith, "Which Psalms Were Sung in the Temple?" *Music & Letters* 71 (1990): 167-186, and Peter L. Trudinger, *The Psalms of the Tamid Service: A Liturgical Text from the Second Temple* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). Smith delineates ten criteria that indicate liturgical use of individual psalms. He concludes that between 75 and 85 percent of the MT Psalms show evidence of being sung in the Temple. Although there are some problems with his categories, the general conclusion that the majority of the Psalms indicate a public use seems justified. Trudinger focuses specifically on the Tamid Psalms and their connections with the Temple service.

[63] Early proposals about the use of psalms at Qumran based on comparisons with later Christian monasticism have little merit. Likewise, Kaufman Kohler's claim that the Essenes were referred to in *b. Šabb.* 118b as those who finished the Hallel everyday has little evidence to support it.

[64] Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern*; Klinghardt, "Manual of Discipline"; Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls."

[65] Devorah Dimant, "Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community," in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Adele Berlin; Bethesda, Md.: University Press of Maryland, 1996) 93-103.

[66] This is confirmed by descriptions in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice of the heavenly worship and perhaps also *Jub.* 2:19-21; 50:9.

149, 150, and the *Hymn to the Creator*.[67] The prose section at the end of 11QPs[a], known as *David's Compositions*, explicitly connects the songs written by David with daily, Sabbath, and festival sacrificial contexts.

According to Flint's reconstruction, 11QPs[a] contains 52 main psalms associated with the solar calendar and a strong Davidic emphasis.[68] Flint also describes internal groupings of psalms within the text according to form or genre, the juxtaposition of opening and closing formulae, and thematic linkage.[69] However, he does not discuss the liturgical implications of having a collection of 52 psalms. In fact, he says, "[e]xactly how these psalms were used for worship or teaching, and how they related to the festivals, must be explored at another time."[70] It is certainly tempting to connect the 52-psalm collection with the 52-week calendar and search for ties between the psalms and the festival cycle. However, such connections remain speculative, so we must be content to discuss a few of the psalms and their role in establishing and reinforcing communion between the community and God.[71]

2.1. *Communion Elements in 11QPs[a]*

The first element of establishing communion deals with the importance of membership within the group. An interesting example in this regard is found in Ps 154. This hymn calls for the people to glorify God, join together with those who are good and pure, and החבירו יחד להודיע ישעו "form an assembly to proclaim his deliverance" (11QPs[a] 18:1-2). This

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[67] See Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPs[a])," 22-33.

[68] Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 200. Flint also describes alternative interpretations of the structure of the Psalms Scroll by Wilson, Wacholder, and Chuytin.

[69] Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 191. Goshen-Gottstein claims that the order of the psalms is not relevant for understanding the meaning of the collection because any randomly chosen order of the psalms could be ascribed some meaning ("The Psalms Scroll (11QPs[a])," 32 n. 42). If he is correct that 11QPs[a] is a liturgical collection dependent upon the MT Psalter, however, he should provide some explanation for this particular order. Flint's reconstruction explains the order in some cases based on forms or themes, but he does not discuss any liturgical implications of the ordering.

[70] Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 193.

[71] Given that these psalms were not written by the community, what follows will highlight those elements of the psalms that, when recited by the members of the community, would have elicited a certain understanding. This speculation is based on our knowledge of their ideology.

language reaffirms the need to form the Yahad as a separate community whose task it is to proclaim God's greatness through the wisdom they have received. The hymn also assures that one who glorifies the Most High would be accepted as if he had brought all kinds of offerings and sacrifices.[72] This psalm confirms that the establishment of a separate community was a key element in maintaining communion with God.

A number of other psalms reinforce the boundaries of membership by separating members from the wicked and calling for the destruction of the wicked.[73] The psalmist in Ps 139:21 (11QPs[a] 20:13-14), declares his loyalty to God using the language of hatred of God's enemies, which is required of those entering the covenant.[74] Psalm 149 (11QPs[a] 26:1-3) combines the two roles of the members, to praise God and to fight the wicked. The people have hymns to God in their throats, and double-edged swords in their hands. They participate in exacting retribution upon the nations and executing the doom decreed upon them.

As in the *Hodayot*, communion with God is also described in some of the psalms as a function of access to the heavenly realm. Psalm 103 (11QPs[a] frg. C ii 12) ends with three calls to praise addressed to God's angels, God's hosts, and God's creatures. Psalm 148 (11QPs[a] 2:6-16) similarly calls for those in heaven (vs. 1-6) and those on earth (vs. 7-12) to come together to praise God's name. Another possible connection with the heavenly realm is found in the *Hymn to the Creator* (11QPs[a] 26:9-15). This hymn refers to the angels' singing out upon witnessing the separation of light and darkness. Although human participants are not mentioned in the hymn itself, allusions to the throne imagery from Ezekiel, and possibly to the heavenly throne vision from Isa 6:3 support seeing the hymn as a vehicle for joint worship with the angels.[75]

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[72] Prayer and raising hands are also compared to offerings and sacrifices in Ps 141:2. Ps 141:5 also speaks positively about receiving rebuke from the righteous. Rebuke and reproof were important elements in the hierarchy of the community.

[73] Some examples include Ps 101:8; 104:35.

[74] Psalm 139:21 reads, "O LORD, you know that I hate those who hate you and loathe those who rise up against you. I hate them with perfect hatred and they shall be my enemies." Compare with 1QS 1:3-4, "to love all that God has chosen, and to hate all that God has rejected."

[75] For discussion of the allusions in the hymn see Chazon, "The Use of the Bible," 85-96. Both Weinfeld and Chazon have discussed the similarities between this hymn

One of the main differences between the Psalms and the *Hodayot* is the prominence of David. Not only is David considered the author of the Psalms, but according to Flint, the entire structure of 11QPs[a] is designed to emphasize David. This is evident by the inclusion of the prose description of *David's Compositions* and the inclusion of Pss 151A-B (11QPs[a] 28:3-14), which recount in poetic form David's anointing (2 Sam 16) and his defeat of Goliath (2 Sam 17). In addition, the Psalms of Ascent (Pss 120-132[76]), preserved in 11QPs[a] 3-6, highlight the connections between God, David, Jerusalem, and the priesthood.[77] God's favor for Zion, and by extension for the priest, is derived from God's eternal covenant with David, the anointed.[78]

3. 4Q380-4Q381

Although the psalms preserved in this collection share much common language with other psalms, none of the fragments of this collection

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and the *Qedushah* blessing read before the *Shema* in rabbinic liturgy (Moshe Weinfeld, "The Angelic Song Over the Luminaries in the Qumran Texts," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* (eds. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 131-157; Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer," 35-47; Chazon, "Liturgical Communion," 95-105. Chazon, "The Qedushah Liturgy" 7-17). We should not conclude, however, that these similarities necessarily indicate that this hymn was recited at Qumran daily in connection with the *Shema*. We simply lack sufficient information to make such a determination.

[76] Flint argues that by separating this collection from Psalms 133 and 134 (both also psalms of ascent), David's role in bringing the ark into Jerusalem is highlighted (*Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 193).

[77] See especially Ps 132, which accompanies David bringing the ark of the covenant into Jerusalem. As a result, Zion is to be God's resting place, and the priests are to be clothed with righteousness and salvation.

[78] The prominence of David in 11QPs[a] leads us to ask, what is the significance of David at Qumran? There are references to David in the broader community texts, such as CD and MMT as the model for proper behavior and for forgiveness, and then a number of references to David in eschatological and war texts, as the ancestor of the future messianic leader and king. David is also clearly seen as the psalmist, although there is no indication of David's role in arranging either the *mishmarot* (1 Chr 16) or the festival cycle (*Sir* 47:10). Perhaps the emphasis on David in this collection serves the community by simultaneously elevating the Teacher of Righteousness by association. If the *Hodayot* are rightfully to be attributed to the Teacher, then it is possible that the community viewed him as their psalmist, and as such, as their own David. He was for them a singer of songs based on his own experience that then served as the standard for the community.

have been directly connected with any of the MT Psalms.[79] In addition, these psalms were ascribed to figures other than David, a feature that may account for their separation from the Psalms scrolls.[80] Schuller describes this collection as non-Qumranic in origin, based on the lack of key vocabulary, ideology, or theology, and on the use of key Qumran words in different meaning.[81] The text also uses the Tetragrammaton. Although the lack of Davidic authority probably implies that these psalms were less significant for the Yahad, there is nothing in their style or language that would preclude them from being used liturgically in a manner like the psalms.[82]

Presuming these psalms were in fact used as liturgy on various occasions in the Yahad, they would also have served to bind the community together against outsiders and reinforced their sense of having been chosen by God. 4Q381 frgs. 76-77 and frg. 69 describe God's decision to take out a people from among the peoples of the land who had acted abominably, and to give them laws and prophets to instruct them, so that they would take possession of the land and it would be purified.[83] While this type of description was certainly Deuteronomic in its formulation, and therefore not unique to Qumran, any such description of the divine selection of those chosen to be righteous and to receive instruction would have been read self-referentially.

Fragments 76-77 also contain important elements that would sup-

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[79] For details on these manuscripts, see Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*. Although, she designated the collection Non-Canonical Psalms, I choose to avoid this designation because it presumes a canonization process that came about later.

[80] 4Q381 contains three extant titles: the King of Judah in frg. 31 4; Manasseh in frg. 33 8-11; and the Man of God in frg. 24 4-11. For a discussion of the possible referents for the Man of God, see Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 28-29. 4Q380 has two headings, in only one of which has the name survived. Fragment 1 ii 8 refers to Obadiah (probably either the minor prophet of the head of Ahab's household in 1 Kgs 18).

[81] However, as we have seen above with Ps 154, the community likely recognized in such texts a double meaning that reinforced their identity.

[82] These psalms, like many other Second Temple period prayers, utilize earlier biblical texts and images in their presentation of their experience. See Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*; and Chazon, "The Use of the Bible," 85-96. This interpretive quality does not limit the liturgical effectiveness of such hymns, but rather it actually enhances the associative meaning for those reciting the hymn and those hearing it.

[83] Schuller remarks on the thematic connection between frgs. 76-77, which completes a column with the language of chosenness, and frg. 69, which begins a column with the historical description of God's selecting Israel (*Non-Canonical Psalms*, 225-226).

port liturgical use. The individual speaker addresses those chosen to be
God's people directly, as "[the congrega]tion of the holy of holy ones,
the lot of the king of kings."[84] The speaker calls on the people to hear
his words of wisdom and recognize their inability to stand before
God's judgment. He asks:

בכם כח להשיבנו [ ]   [ש"9]   [ ]ושפט אמת ועד נאמן אם
[   ]מו[לשמיע מי בכם ישיב דבר ויעמד בהתוכח ע]   10 [ ]
[   ]כי רבים שפטיכם ואין מספר לעדיכם כי אם[11 [ ]
[   ]י יהוה ישב במשפטכם לשפט אמת ואין עולה[12 [ ]

9. [ ]a true judge and a faithful witness. Do you (pl) have the power to
respond to him?[ ]
10. [ ]to announce. Who among you (pl) can answer a word, and stand
to argue with hi[m?]
11. [ ]For many are those who judge you, there is no number to your
witnesses, but[ ]
12. [ ] YHWH sits in judgment of you (pl) to judge truthfully and with-
out perversion[ ][85]

Despite their collective weakness in the face of God's judgment, the
speaker reminds them that God chose them over all the great nations,
to rule over them. The liturgical recital of this text within the Yahad
would underscore God's perfect dominion over all the nations as the
true judge. God's power is complete and overwhelming. However, the
fact that God chose the hearers of the liturgy to rule over the nations,
allows them to share in God's power, to truly be God's lot.

Similar themes of judgment and chosenness can be found in the
psalm from frg. 46. This section is actually a prayer addressing God
directly, and it acknowledges what God had done through examination
and judgment. [ב]חנת כל ובחרים כמנחת תטהר לפניך ושנאי[ם   ]כנדה תזנזח
"You examined everything and you purify the chosen ones like an of-
fering, while you reject the hated ones like impurity" (4Q381 frgs.
46a+b 5-6). This verse combines a number of important ideas that
would have resonated with the community's view of the world, and its
members' place in it. As with the frgs. 76-77, God is described as a
judge who examines and tests all the people. The result of the exami-
nation is the division of humanity into two categories: the chosen and

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84 4Q381 frgs. 76-77 7.
85 4Q381 frgs. 76-77:9-12.

the hated. The chosen ones are purified and accepted as an offering.[86] The hated ones, in contrast, are rejected and sent away as impure. The requirement to love those whom God loves and hate those whom God rejects, which is prominent in 1QS, also appears in 4Q380 frg. 1 ii 5.

Finally, 4Q381 frgs. 33+35 3-6 expresses the connection between the individual speaker and the community of God's servants. First, the speaker addresses God concerning his own sins, expecting God's mercy in the midst of judgment. He describes himself as עבד קרב לך "a servant close to you". Then he turns to offer further praise for God's righteous judgment and mercy, this time on behalf of the community of God's servants: [א]רננה ואגילה בך נגד ירא[יך] כי [תשפט] עבדיך בצדקך וכחסדיך "I cry out in joy, and I rejoice in you before those who fea[r you.] For [you judge] your servants in your righteousness, and according to your loving kindness" (4Q381 frgs. 33+35 5-6).

Even though an individual speaks the praise, the presence of the community before him transforms this speech into a communal act. The speaker, designated as a servant near to God, aligns himself with the whole community of servants. He acts, in some sense, on their behalf, and at the same time he reminds them that his experience is inextricably linked to the experience and fate of the community to which he belongs. As such, we have here an excellent example of the recital of a liturgy establishing a bond of communion, not only with God, but also between the individual and his community.

4. *BARKHI NAFSHI*

A collection of psalms has been discovered in five manuscripts that begin with the opening formula "Bless the Lord, O, my soul." This formula is found in Pss 103 and 104 in the MT Psalter. Apart from Weinfeld's attempt to connect 4Q434 frg. 2 with the grace after meals in the house of a mourner,[87] no clear liturgical setting has been identified for the recital of these psalms. There are, however, a number of

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[86] Notice the similarity with 1QS 3:6-12, where one who submits to the discipline of the community is to be purified and if he lives in accordance with the law, will be accepted as an atoning aroma before God and become part of the eternal Yahad.

[87] See Weinfeld, "Grace after Meals at the Mourner's House."

passages that would reinforce the communion of the members within the community and with the heavenly realm.

In the beginning of 4Q434 frg. 1, the speaker is singular, but he repeatedly refers to the poor, the humble, the helpless, the orphans, and the needy. All these have been helped, delivered, and shown mercy by God. They were not judged or destroyed based on God's wrath, but rather were judged in God's mercy and delivered. They were hidden and not judged among the nations. As with some of the psalms from 4Q380-381, this hymn presents God as the righteous judge over the people.

The speaker of this hymn continues with a recital of what God had done for the ענוים, the needy (4Q434 frg. 1 i 9-12).[88]

9 ויתן לפניהם מחשכים לאור ומעקשים למישור ויגל להם תורות שלום
ואמת[ ]
10 לב א[ח]ר נתן להם ̊ במדה רוחם מליהם במשקל תכן וישרם כחלילים ~ו~
וילכו בד[רך]
11 בדרך לבו גם הוא הגישם כי ערבו את רוחם שלח ויסך בעד[ם ומכו]ל נגע
צוה לבלת[י הנגף]
12 ויחן מלאכו סבי[ב] ̊ שמרם[ ]ל פן ישחיתם[ ]

> He made darkness light before them, and made the crooked places straight, and he revealed to them the laws of peace and truth. He set to measure their spirits, he meted out their words by weight and caused them to sing like flutes. And he gave them another heart, and they walked in his way, in the way of his heart. He also brought them near because they pledged with their spirit. He sent and he made a fence about [them] and he commanded [eve]ry plague not to touch them.
> *Vacat*[89] His angel encamped around them, he watched over them lest he destroy them.

This recital draws on many different images from the prophets. The first image of turning darkness into light and the crooked places straight is taken from Isa 42:16, where God, as a mighty warrior goes

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[88] This term is especially common in the *Pesharim* as a designation of the community. See 4Q171 (4QpPs[a]) frgs. 1-2 ii 9; frgs. 1+3-4 ii 10.

[89] The *vacat* in the manuscript here does not indicate a break between separate compositions, but rather between sections within this composition. The first section talks about exile, the second talks about restoration, and the third begins with the angel encamped around them watching over them and probably focusing on protection in the post-exilic period.

before them to clear a path for the blind. In *Barkhi Nafshi*, the result is the revelation of God's laws of peace and truth. The members of the Yahad would have recognized in 4Q434 frg. 1 i 10 an understanding of their very speech as determined by God, tuned like a musical instrument, that is prominent in the community's own hymns.[90] The idea of giving them another heart is found in the biblical prophets, as well.[91]

4Q437 frg. 2 i is a hymn of thanksgiving for deliverance from the congregation of seekers, that is, the congregation that is pursuing the speaker of the hymn. But their attempts to pursue him not only fail, but also backfire. The speaker responds with praise to God for deliverance, preservation, and protection. Drawing on imagery from Isa 49:2, the speaker describes himself as being hid in God's quiver, and made into a sharp arrow. In Isaiah, this image of care follows after the assertion that he was appointed and named by God before he was born. The *Barkhi Nafshi* hymn emphasizes both the safety of being hid in God's quiver, but also the war imagery indicating God's battle against the enemies.

After describing being brought forth from the underworld, the psalmist mentions the congregation of the men of portent (אנשי מופת), who have been made to sit before him. This phrase may refer to Zechariah 3:8, which talks about Joshua the high priest, and the colleagues who sit before them, as an omen of the good things to come: the bringing of the Branch of David. In the *Barkhi Nafshi*, the אנשי מופת are described in parallel with the children of righteousness (ילדי צדק), both of which indicate the community that comes around in support of its leader in the face of opposition.[92]

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[90] See 1QS 10:9; 1QH^a 19:23.
[91] 1 Sam 10:9; Jer 31:33.
[92] See also 1QH^a 15:20-21, which parallels אנשי מופת with another name for the community, בני חסד.

5. Summary

We have, unfortunately, very little information about specific situa-
tions for the use of the *Hodayot*, the Psalms, and the other psalms and
hymns. However, we can safely conclude that the community would
have used these compositions both in liturgical ways, and in instruc-
tional settings. The *Hodayot* have been connected with the covenant
ceremony, as well as with the nightly assemblies, which focused on
reading, studying, and blessing. The Psalms scrolls show evidence of
being read as prophetic Scripture, and they also show clear liturgical
elements. If Flint is correct that there are 52 main psalms in the
11QPs[a], then even if the Qumran community did not arrange this col-
lection, they would likely have found some use for it in connection
with weekly or daily prayer according to the solar calendar.

    The two other collections of psalms, 4Q380-381 and *Barkhi Nafshi*,
share much language and form in common with the MT psalms, al-
though they may not have achieved the same level of importance or
authority because they were not connected with David, the author of
the Psalms. However, there is no reason to rule out the possibility that
these texts were used by the Yahad, alongside the Psalms, on various
occasions.

    The use of such psalms and hymns from these collections reinforced
a few key elements of Qumran's identity. First, the *Hodayot* reinforced
the connection with the Teacher of Righteousness, who was persecuted
but who attained a special status and gained special access to under-
standing God's ways. By reciting the hymns of thanksgiving associ-
ated with deliverance, instruction, wisdom, and knowledge, the Qum-
ran community rallied around their leader/founder and learned to un-
derstand and interpret their own experience through that of their foun-
der. The *Hodayot* also emphasized the distance between God and hu-
manity, reinforcing God's righteousness, perfection, and holiness, and
humanity's weakness, sinfulness, and temporal existence. The fact that
God chose to make them holy, in spite of their weakness, gave rise to
thanksgiving as their primary attitude in prayer.

    Despite the rich variety in the themes and messages of the psalms,
one thing that stands out is God's selection of God's people, the right-
eous. The distinctions made, in many of the psalms, between the right-
eous and the wicked would certainly have been read by the community
at Qumran as a confirmation of their place in God's company, of their

separation, and of the denigration of those outside their community. Some of the psalms also connected the community with the past, with Israel's history, and also with the angelic host who were busy praising God.

CONCLUSION

The Qumran community developed an elaborate and extensive liturgical practice that encompassed all aspects of its communal life. This practice included a complex ceremony associated with initiation and covenant renewal, rites accompanying communal meals, liturgies designated for specific occasions within the calendar, rites to deal with affliction and impurity, political rites, and hymns designed to establish communion with God and with each other. These practices served a variety of functions for the community and carried meaning in many ways. This complexity proves that, although there are connections with the Temple practice in a number of these liturgies, we are no longer justified in saying that liturgical prayer can be explained simply as a replacement for sacrifice. Instead, we have discovered that these practices serve essential social functions within the community. They established and reinforced group boundaries, provided assurance and justification for God's election of the Yahad, and gave structure and significance to the society and the world in which it lived.

Several aspects of the community's social structure contributed to it developing a religious life with such a high ritual density. The Yahad was primarily invested in establishing its communal identity according to God's law. The members believed that they were uniquely selected to receive, interpret, and walk in the way of perfection. They were expected to separate themselves from outsiders and join themselves to God through membership in the Yahad. Central to this status as God's lot, was a commitment to perfect holiness in all aspects of life. In order to ensure such holiness was maintained, they developed a strict system of discipline, which was enforced by regular examinations and ranking according to one's knowledge and deeds.

The Yahad's most important rite was the annual initiation and covenant ceremony. Its liturgy forms the nucleus, and perhaps the *Sitz im Leben* for the community's central text, the *Rule of the Community*. The initiation and covenant ceremony was the main vehicle for establishing communal identity within the membership. The process of examination and probation for initiates preserved the boundaries separating the sons of light from the sons of darkness. The danger of being

infiltrated by the spirit of wickedness was expressed through curses designed to warn those present to be diligent in following truth. Separated from the outsiders, the members' positive identity was shaped by a sense of priestly responsibility to maintain holiness, to mediate blessing to the people, and to secure atonement for the land. These responsibilities were instilled in new members through the recital of a ritual confession, which according to Lev 26 is required for the land to be atoned, through the use of the priestly blessing from Num 6:24-26 as a means for identifying them as the men of the lot of God, and through instruction in the way of perfection, which allowed the community to serve as a holy of holies and for each member to be accepted by God as an atoning aroma.

The influence of the initiation and covenant ceremony can be seen on many of the Yahad's other rituals. For example, the rankings that were established during the ceremony determined the order of participation within all communal meals, and within all assemblies. As a result, each of these occasions contained an implicit political message reinforcing the authority of the established hierarchy as the natural order of things. Membership was determined by God's election, as was the outcome of the yearly examinations. The fact that these other communal rituals proceeded according these rankings conferred divine authority to the social order.

Despite the divine sanction of the community's social order, the Yahad recognized that it inhabited a dangerous world during an age of wickedness. The members had to be diligent to keep the forces of evil from infiltrating the community and compromising its holiness. The long process of initiation was a safeguard against allowing access to any of the sons of darkness. However, the initiation ceremony also contained curses against those who entered the covenant insincerely. The implication is that the Yahad recognized the possibility that one of its members could be revealed as one destined for Belial. The doctrine of the two spirits (1QS 3-4) further indicates that the battle between truth and wickedness was contantly being waged within the hearts of every human being. The members of the Yahad combated these dangers on two fronts. First, they pronounced curses, apotropaic prayers, and incantations as weapons against the spirits of wickedness. It is noteworthy that, despite the magical quality of these practices, there is no evidence for the use of amulets or explicit magical formulae at Qumran. Instead, the members believed that their most effective

weapon in this battle was their speech. The *Songs of the Maskil* indicates that they believed that their acts of worshipping God would be sufficient to terrify the demons. Second, the Yahad developed elaborate laws and rituals designed to ensure the purity of its members. Purification liturgies were employed whenever defilement occurred to remove the affliction and restore the purity of the community. The members also purified themselves in water on a regular basis in order to be certain not to compromise the community's integrity. When purification was established, the Yahad could fulfill its calling as a "House of holiness," and be assured of divine favor.

Qumran's most extensive set of liturgies were associated with the cycles of the calendar. The Yahad placed great importance on marking the turning points in these cycles with blessings and prayers. Although some of these liturgies were adopted from practices shared with the Temple (e.g. *Words of the Luminaries, Festival Prayers*), the Yahad brought them together under the framework of adherence to the solar calendar. Following this divinely ordained calendar was not only a matter of communal identity, it was a central aspect of righteousness. The turning points in the calendar were of particular importance because of the liminal quality of these transitions. Much like rites of passage, the Yahad's calendrical rites ensured the successful transformation from day to night, from week to week, and from season to season. Participating in these transitions also brought them into correspondence, and therefore association with, the worship of the angelic hosts in the heavenly abode.

The priestly community at Qumran viewed also its rites at these important times as part of the way of perfection required to ensure righteousness, holiness, and atonement for the community and for the rest of the land. As a community of holiness, which consisted only of members living in perfect obedience to God's commands, the Qumran covenanters did not emphasize repentance or confession in their daily lives, nor in their regular prayers. They believed that God's restoration would come at the time determined for it, without their petitions. They believed, instead, that their task was to maintain their community of perfect holiness so that they would be ready when that that day arrived.

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