A Synchronic Approach to the Serek ha-Yahad (1QS)

From Text to Social and Cultural Context

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For Luis and Lukas
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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the social and cultural contexts of 1QS (Serek ha-Yahad) by means of a textual study. The analysis of the text is performed in a synchronic perspective. This means that lexical choices, grammatical forms, references, topics, themes, and intertextuality are analyzed text-externally. By doing so, this study sheds new light on old questions of textual cohesion and coherence, questions that until now have been dealt with mostly from a diachronic perspective. The text analysis entails investigation in view of three interrelated dimensions of language function: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. These imply language as transmitting information, creating and sustaining relations, and functioning to organize itself into cohesive units.

Although applying some of the terminology from the field of text linguistics (SFL), the focus in this study is on what a text means rather than why. This means that the semantic-pragmatic aspects of language are of foremost interest here. The analysis is performed from bottom and up, then from top down again. Words, phrases, and sentences are investigated up to the broadest linguistic level, namely, to the semantic discourse itself. With an understanding of the larger discourse at hand thanks to this analysis of textual cohesion and coherence, textual details are once again revisited and interpreted anew. In this work, 1QS is analyzed from beginning to end—chronologically, so to say. Then, at the end of each major section, the discourse is analyzed overall.

Following the text analysis, conclusions of the investigations are presented. The conclusions argue that the hierarchal structure of the community and its stringent regulations are to be understood as a corrective in response to corrupt society. It is also argued that language in 1QS has a performative function. Rather than describing the way things are, it aspires to evoke the ideal society. Instead of understanding 1QS and the community mirrored in it as a deviant group with little or no contact with the surrounding world, it is then understood as a potent contribution to late Second Temple Jewish discourse concerning how to create a just society and a sanctifying cultic practice.

In the final chapter, the insights gained from textual analysis of 1QS are brought into encounter with the theoretical framework posited by French historian and philosopher René Girard (1923–2015). In light of Girard’s philosophy, the hierarchal organization of the community (the Yahad) as well as its regulations can be interpreted as an effort to prevent a mimetic crisis. The function of the scapegoat in 1QS is discussed in light of Girard’s grand theory of the mechanisms of scapegoating in all societies. The study closes with the tentative hypothesis that the community in 1QS deconstructs the scapegoating mechanism by taking the role of the scapegoat upon itself.
Acknowledgments

My first contact with the Dead Sea Scrolls was at the University of Göteborg in 1994. I was immediately allured by some of these enigmatic texts and the fascination has only grown over the years. The scholar who introduced me to these texts was later to become the principal supervisor of my doctoral dissertation: Thank you, Prof. Mikael Winninge for making this academic journey with me, sharing your expertise and encouraging me. Your appreciation of ancient texts beyond mere historical perspectives has been a great inspiration to me. I would also like to express my great appreciation to Prof. Bo Isaksson, the second supervisor, for your invaluable expertise on the Hebrew language and for always encouraging me in my work.

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In 2008 I spent a semester at the University of Manchester. Thank you, Prof. George Brooke, for giving me invaluable supervision, also after my stay in Manchester, and for introducing me to the philosophy of René Girard. I am grateful for the teaching and supervision of Professors Philip Alexander and Todd Klutz during this time. Thank you also Dr. Trine Bjørnung Hasselbalch for companionship in housing and work during our common stay in Manchester. I wish to express my gratitude to the Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education (STINT) and to the Foundation of Helge Axson Johnson for granting scholarships that enabled my stay in Manchester.

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My academic-theological journey that began in Göteborg has returned to Göteborg, where I teach Old Testament studies and Judaism. I wish to express my warm gratitude to colleagues here in the Department of Literature, History of Ideas, and Religion.

Göteborg
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Abbreviations and Sigla

AThR  Anglican Theological Review
ATR  Australasian Theological Review
BASOR  Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BBR  Bulletin for Biblical Research
BCE  Before the Common Era
BDB  Brown-Driver-Briggs Lexicon
BJS  Brown Judaic Studies
BZAW  Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ  Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CE  Common Era
ChrCent  Christian Century
ConBNT  Coniectania Neotestamentica or Coniectania Biblica: New Testament Series
DJD  Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DJDJ  Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan
DS  Dead Sea Scrolls
DSSEL  Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library
DSS  Dead Sea Scrolls
FAT  Forschungen zum Alten Testament
HSS  Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR  Harvard Theological Review
IOS  Israel Oriental Studies
JAJS  Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JBL  Journal of the American Oriental Society
JS  Journal of Jewish Studies
JSJ  Journal of Jewish Studies
JSJSup  Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods, Supplement Series
JSNT  Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNTSup  Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT  Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSup  Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series
JS  Journal for Semitic Studies
KJV  King James Version
KS  Kirjath-Sepher
LSTS  The Library of Second Temple Studies
LXX  Septuagint
MT  Masoretic Text
NASB  New American Standard Bible
NCBC  New Century Bible Commentary
NRSV  New Revised Standard Version
NTOA  Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS  New Testament Studies
RB  Revue Biblique
RevQ  Revue de Qumran
RHR  Revue de l'histoire des religions
SBL  Society of Biblical Literature
SBLSTL  Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and its Literature
SBLMS  Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
ScrHier  Scripta Hierosolymitana
SEÅ  Svensk exegetisk årsbok
SFL  Systemic Functional Linguistics
SNTSMS  Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SSEJC  Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
Qumran Texts

CD  Damascus Document
D   CD and 4QD manuscripts
S   1QS and 4QS manuscripts
1QH  Hodayot
1QM  War Scroll
1QS  Rule of the Community from cave 1
4QJ  Rule of the Community from cave 4
1QSa  Rule of the Congregation
4QDibHam  Words of the Luminaries

Josephus

War  The Jewish War
Ant.  Antiquities of the Jews

Symbols in Transcriptions and Translations

[   ]  Lacuna caused by physical damage to the leather
[שלום]  Text restoration
[... ]  Lacuna of unspecified length in the manuscript
[... ]  One or more undecipherable traces or untranslatable readings
   in the manuscript
   ◦  Undecipherable letter
   ()  Area of erasure
vacat  Uninscribed leather
אותי  Letters crossed out
{8}  Erased letter
[8]  Reconstructed letter
<8>  Modern editor’s correction or emendation
(?)  Some doubt concerning reading or reconstruction
Chapter 1

Introduction: Background, Aim, and Methodology

The Serek ha-Yahad (1QS) was among the first scrolls to be found in Khirbet Qumran in 1947.¹ In the following decades some 900 manuscripts were found in the 11 caves that gave shelter to the scrolls for about 2,000 years before they were rediscovered. These manuscripts have come to be known as the Dead Sea Scrolls or more narrowly defined as the Qumran writings.² 1QS has aroused much scholarly attention over the decades. Together with the historical accounts of Josephus and Philo and the archaeological findings from the site of Qumran, the group behind the scrolls was, in light of 1QS, early identified as Essenes.³ Following this theory, 1QS was composed by and for a sectarian group in deviance with the socio-cultural environment, to which it responded with difference, antagonism, and separation.⁴ Based on these criteria, the so-called “sectarian literature” from Qumran supports the “sect” label used to describe the community. In the sectarian literature, the world (real and/or symbolic) is depicted in a dualistic fashion. There is an “in group” and “out groups.” Good and evil strive in the heart of all humanity but God has chosen some human beings for good while others are destined for evil. The theory and practice of the Yahad is depicted as the way to live. Those who choose it have separated themselves from falsehood and evil. Still, the use of the term “sect” to designate the community—the Yahad—in 1QS is problematic from several aspects.⁵ The idea of a normative Judaism was not yet invented. To approach the Yahad as sect, which both geographically and mentally was separated from Jewish society, limits the discussion about this movement as “potentially wide-spread and effective part of Jewish society as a whole.”⁶ Further, the focus on the Yahad as a deviant group has led scholars to focus on questions of identity formation in the community and on the rhetorical strategies that aim to reshape individuals into sectarians.⁷ The antagonism and dualistic tendencies in the text are then regarded as part of the socio-symbolic world of the community with little or no contact with reality in the “outside world.” The hierarchal organization of the Yahad and the discipline that is demanded by each member is then understood as a manner of “producing” sectarians.⁸ In line with this, the political conflict that can be discerned in the texts is displaced into the realm of the self, and what the texts offer, as C. Newsom interprets them, are “imaginary solutions for unresolvable social contradictions.”⁹ Following this line of thought, the theory and practice of the Yahad is an imaginary world created in despair over the “real” political situation in society. The life within the Yahad replaces “real” life and provides meaning to the submissive adherent. Is this the only way to understand the purpose of the Yahad as depicted in 1QS? Or could it be that the way of life in the Yahad was not a substitute but rather a corrective for

¹ Manuscripts containing the Serek ha-Yahad have been found in Cave 1 (1QS), Cave 4 (4QShorterWeekly, 4Q255–64), and Cave 5 (5QS, 5Q11). These manuscripts display at the same time congruity and diversity when it comes to textual form and inclusion of the same textual sections. For a critical discussion of the so-called “S-tradition,” see J. Jokiranta and H. Vanonen 2015: 11–60.
² The site of Qumran has provided the largest textual findings but texts have also been found in other parts of the Dead Sea area, e.g., on Masada.
³ In J.W. (2.119–66) Josephus gives a long and detailed account of the Essenes. Philo’s reports on the Essenes are found in Prob. 75–91 and in Hypoth. 11. Pliny the Elder was a geographer and naturalist. He did not have firsthand knowledge on the Essenes and his information on them is brief, constituting only a paragraph in Natural History (5:73)
⁵ For a critical discussion of the appropriateness of labeling the Yahad as “sect,” see Schofield 2009: 21–33.
⁶ As A. Schofield (2009: 22) puts it. Schofield avoids the term sect in favor of the self-identifying term Yahad.
⁷ For the former see, e.g., Jokiranta 2005, for the latter see C. Newsom 2004. See also E. Regev 2007 and C. Wassen and Jokiranta 2007: 205–45.
⁸ See Newsom (2004: 99), who brings the rhetorical strategies of 1QS into an encounter with the theories of Foucault (1995).
⁹ Ibid.: 90.
the discourse of power in society? Such an understanding of the mission of the Yahad would bring the community back into the larger discourse of Second Temple Jewish society.

This thesis sets out to investigate the social and cultural contexts in 1QS by means of a synchronic text analysis. The analysis will pay attention to three interrelated dimensions of language function: ideational-transactional, interpersonal-interactional, and textual-linguistic. The first involves language in its function of transmitting information, the second in the function of creating and sustaining of relationships, while the third concerns its function of organizing itself as a cohesive unit. The analysis is performed from “bottom up,” then from “top down” again. It does so by investigating words, phrases, and sentences up to the broadest linguistic level, namely, the semantics of the discourse. Since the focus in this thesis is on what rather than why the text means, attention will be mainly put on semantic-pragmatic aspects of discourse. In light of the results of the analysis of textual cohesion and coherence, with an idea of the larger discourse at hand, details in the text will be revisited and interpreted anew.

The analysis of the text will, as far as possible, be performed in a synchronic perspective. This means that lexical choices, grammatical forms, references, topics, and themes will primarily be analyzed text-externally. No reading can however be purely synchronic since the questions posed to the text are colored by preconceived ideas of the one asking. It is even necessary to have some prejudged opinion of a texts historical setting in order to encounter with it at all. Language comes to life only in relation to a scenario, with at least an idea of the background from which the things that are said derive their meaning. Under the rubric “Contexts of Culture and Situation,” I therefore sketch some features of contemporary culture that have bearing on my preunderstanding of 1QS. In addition to this, no text exists on its own. It is always in dialogue with other texts that at times have to be identified in order to understand the discourse. Consequently the analysis of 1QS involves the identification and analysis of how the text interacts with other texts. Still, there is a difference in the attempt to understand a text on its own premises or as a brick in a larger historical reconstruction. The latter approach has dominated the scholarly approach to 1QS. By taking a synchronic approach, this thesis aims to shed new light on old questions of cohesion and coherence in the text as well as its function in the community and in society at large.

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10 Applying the terminology of M. A. K. Halliday and R. Hasan (1985: 5, 12, 46), co-text in this thesis refers to linguistic units that are part of, as well as surrounds, a particular point in discourse, while context refers to extra-linguistic features which influence discourse production and interpretation. The context is the representation of both the immediate and the wider concrete world in a text namely the “context of situation” and the “context of culture.” The former has to do with the historical producer and receiver of the message, the time and place of the production, and the social setting of the communicative event. The context of culture is the larger geographic and social setting of a text as well as the worldview in which it has been shaped.

11 These three functions of language—namely, ideational, interpersonal, and textual—are what systemic functional linguistics (SFL) calls meta-functions: see Halliday 1978: 46–50 and 1985: xiii. G. Brown and G. Yule (1983: 1) apply a different terminology to the three functions namely: transactional (the function of language as expressing content), interactional (the function involved in expressing social relations and personal attitudes), and linguistic.

12 Cohesion is a series of lexical, grammatical, and other relations that provide links between the various parts of a text. The two former constitute “linguistic cohesion,” while the latter concerns “pragmatic cohesion” or coherence; see Halliday and Hasan 1976: 18–19.

13 My definition of discourse lies close to that of S. Eggnis (2004: 24): “the level of meaning above the lexicogrammar.” Cf. N. Fairclough (2003: 3): “the particular view of language in use . . . as an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements.”

14 The questioning why in, for example, Systemic Functional Linguistics focuses on the quality of texts, namely, why a text means and why it is valued as it is; see Eggnis 2004: 2.

15 Halliday writes: “Essentially what this implies is that language comes to life only when functioning in some environment. We do not experience language in isolation—if we did we would not recognize it as language—but always in relation to a scenario, some background of persons and actions and events from which the things which are said derive their meaning. This is referred to as the "situation," so language is said to function in "contexts of situation" and any account of language which fails to build in the situation as an essential ingredient is likely to be artificial and unrewarding” (1978: 28).
1.1 Theoretical and Methodological Approach

The theoretical and methodological approach of this thesis depends on several different academic fields. First and foremost among these are discourse analysis (also known as text linguistics) and rhetorical criticism. Even though the theoretical perspectives on language differ, the common denominator of all these theories is the focus on the text and its language itself. Instead of “reading” in a symbolic and socio-cultural world (the context) this is read out of the text by the means of a close textual analysis.

The focus on 1QS as the physical object of my study relates to New Philology, or New Material Philology, where the idea of an abstract text is challenged in favor of the material context in which the text under study appears. In the academic field of biblical studies much effort has been put on creating Urtexts of which the physical manuscripts give witness. The “real” text is then an abstract text of which the physical manuscripts are incomplete or corrupt versions. Insights from this field shed light on the theoretical problem of the so-called “S” tradition, where 1QS is understood as one of twelve or so S-manuscripts. The problem is that none of these S-manuscripts is identical to another S-manuscript neither in regards to their textual form nor to their inclusion and preservation of the same textual sections. Although work on the textual history of 1QS (S) is still valid, this thesis will focus on the physical manuscript of 1QS as the object for a study on its own premise. This means that questions of textual history will be secondary. The reason for choosing 1QS in favor of the 4QS texts is due to several factors. The most obvious is the almost entirely intact state and large format of the text. In addition to this, the combination of different materials such as rule, didactic, and liturgical sections makes it a well-suited object for discourse analysis. To this, one may add the presence of many corrections in the text. Together these factors indicate that 1QS recorded and reproduced important concepts and events in the life of the community to which it adhered.

1.1.1 Discourse Analysis / Text Linguistics

The term discourse analysis—and its European relative, text linguistics—contains a number of approaches to analyze written and spoken language use. It is a subdiscipline of modern linguistics that seeks to understand the relationships between language discourse and situational context in human communication. Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach to human language and human communicative behavior. It draws on several academic disciplines such as psychology, sociology, linguistics, and philosophy. It thereby covers a wide range of approaches in the analysis of discourse. The interest in this thesis is limited to the linguistic approach of the analysis of discourse. According to discourse analysis, the meaning of a text lies beneath or even before the sentence and can therefore only be fully understood in dialogue with its larger discourse. A discourse has its own grammar, which means that an author is more restricted by the cultural and situational context in forming the language than by formal grammatical rules. In this way, the discourse determines the lexical choices and even the grammar of a text. A writer who wishes to communicate a message needs to follow the rules expected by his or her culture (genre) as well as those pertaining to the specific context from which the text originates: discourse

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16 For a discussion of new material philology, see the introduction by Lied and Lundhag, forthcoming, and Nichols 1990.
17 4QS, 5Q11 and perhaps 11Q29. See E. J. C. Tigchelaar 2000; see also J. T. Milik 1962.
18 See Jokiranta (forthcoming: 15).
19 Tigchelaar (2002: 451) suggests that it was held as a “model scroll” in the community.
20 Discourse analysis and text linguistics are closely related fields. Both consider the social implications on language context influence text production. A distinction with modifications is that text linguistics departs from the analysis of texts (written documents) while discourse analysis tends to focus on spoken language.
21 It can also be said to lie “beyond” but unlike the modern view on language as representation, i.e., as something beyond, or outside the sentence, it is stressed in this thesis that language use results from its context; it is embedded in its context.
types or text types—called “register” by M. A. K. Halliday. In addition to this, each author/speaker has a certain liberty to color the language with personal choices. The production of a text is thereby influenced by, and subordinated to, many factors: The cultural conventions for communication, the immediate social situation, and the experiences and idiolect of the producers of the text.

Halliday applies two categories to denote levels of discourse, namely co-text and context. Co-text refers to linguistic units that are part of, as well as surrounds, a particular point in discourse. Context refers to extra-linguistic features that influence discourse production and interpretation. The context is the representation of both the immediate and the wider concrete world in a text, namely the “context of situation” and the “context of culture.” The former has to do with the historical producer and receiver of the message, the time and place of the production, and the social setting of the communicative event. The context of culture is the larger geographic and social setting of a text as well as the worldview in which it has been shaped.

1.1.2 The (Co-)Text of 1QS

1QS is written in Hebrew, which is also considered to be its original language. Although the document is relatively well preserved, it has gaps located in the lower edges of the document. The document has many errors, corrections, and glosses, especially in columns VII and VIII. It is written on five leather sheets that are stitched together to give room not only for 1QS but also for 1QSa and 1QSB.

1QSa begins with a new column on a new sheet of leather, which indicates its status as a separate composition. Still, a primary question has to do with the relationship between these three literary works since they derive from the same scroll, date, and handwriting. 1QSa is often classified as an eschatological work and sometimes called a Messianic Rule. This reflects the common interpretation of the work as describing a future eschatological community. Because 1QSA is stitched to 1QS it may be regarded as an appendix to 1QS. The siglum 1QSc indicates this scholarly view. Still, 1QSa has been found in nine manuscripts from Cave 4 of which none contain material from S. Metso takes this fact as an attestation of its independence as a literary work. The letter b in the third composition of the scroll, namely 1QSB, stands for “blessing.” This work is labeled the Rule of the Blessing—somewhat misleadingly since it is not a rule but a liturgical text. The manuscript contains blessings that are pronounced over various groups and individuals. It has common features with the blessings in the covenant ceremony in 1QS but unlike 1QS it includes no curses. When discussing the relationship between these three manuscripts, Stauber argues for a “Community Cycle.” In these three separate but related works, the “end-time narrative” is unfolded as a move from worse to better times. This resembles the

22 Halliday 2004: 29, 38.
23 The term text is defined by Brown and Yule (1983: 190) as “the verbal record of a communicative event.” According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 2) a text is a “unit of language in use.”
25 In this thesis I refer to the “context of situation” as the “social context.”
26 Knowledge of the “context of situation” gives access to what the deictic forms in the discourse, references such as here, now, I, you, this, and that.
27 1QS takes up most of the space in the (preserved) manuscript with its eleven columns each containing about 26 lines. The length of the last composition (1QSB) is unknown. The scroll was rolled with the beginning of the text, i.e., 1QS, on the inside while 1QSB was written on the outer layers of the scroll. Since the outer layers have withered away the original size of the scroll is uncertain. 1QSB has only been found in one copy.
28 Milik DJD 1: 107.
29 Milik (ibid.) states that “l’écriture et le matériaux utilisé . . . sont identiques à ceux de 1QS.”
31 S. Metso 2007: 51. A critical question, however, is on what grounds these fragments can be deduced to the same literary work. The theoretical problem of what a text, composition, and work is and how to define a literary tradition such as “S” or “Sa,” is discussed by, e.g., Jokiranta, forthcoming, and Jokiranta and Vanonen 2015: 11–60.
33 C. M. Stauber 2013: 135.
traditional view on 1QSa as a rule for the eschatological time, while 1QS is the rule for the
time being. In line with this, 1QSb contains blessings to be spelled out during the Messianic
age. The absence of curses in 1QSb is then understood as due to the nonexistence of evil
people during that age. Although these three works may have formal, semantic, and
pragmatic coherences, it is still valid to think of 1QS as a single work that may then be part of
a tripartite composition.

1.1.3 The Scribal Markings

As is the case with many texts from antiquity, 1QS is more or less written in one long
sequence although the words are separated. There are however scribal markings that
structure the text. These consist of different signs such as hooks or larger paleo-Hebrew
signs, as well as spacing systems such as indentations or blank spaces within a line. The
markings divide the text into different paragraphs and highlight matters of special interest.
There are some instances where the function of a marker is unclear. This is in particular the
case when only one device is used, such as a single hook or blank space.

The hooks in 1QS have the form of a (lying) cryptic ‘ayin and appear either by
themselves or in conjunction with an indentation or a blank space. They usually mark the
end of a section but in some cases they highlight an important passage. When the hooks
occur together with a spacing device it usually indicates a greater content break. There are
three larger signs in the form of paleo-Hebrew letters that are placed in the margins. The
first one is a paleo-Hebrew waw placed in the margin of V, 1, which according to E. Tov
signifies a major content division. The other two, at the bottom margin of column VII and
in the margin of IX, 3 are according to Tov composite signs. These resemble in character,
though not in shape, the koronis in the Greek scribal tradition. The sign in column VII is
composed of a paleo-Hebrew zayin with an ornamental line on top and a triangular form
below. It could seal off a content unit or it could be taken as denoting a numbering system.
The sign in IX, 3 is composed of the paragraph sign above a paleo-Hebrew zayin and a
samek. The paragraph sign indicates the beginning of a new section while the letter
combination may, according to Tov, convey a sectarian message.

There can be no absolute certainty of how to interpret the marginal signs since their
function seem to differ in the different compositions from the Qumran caves. Still, a general
trend in 1QS is that a hook placed under a line highlights a special phrase or passage while a
hook placed above the beginning of a new passage, under the closing line, structures the text
into paragraphs. But there are a few cases that deviate from this trend. An example of this is
the instance in 1QS VI, 8 where both a spacing device and an introductory formula initiate a
new section, but the hook is still placed under the opening line. Therefore, each one of the
dubious cases must be discussed on its own premises. Two scribal hands have been

35 Schiffman 1989: 75. He argues (ibid.: 76) that its Sitz im Leben is a “mustering ceremony” to be held in the end
of the days.
36 An important difference between 1QS and 1QSa is that the term "יהד" only occurs adverbially in 1QSa (I, 26 and
possibly II, 17).
37 Schiffman 1989: 75. He argues (ibid.: 76) that its Sitz im Leben is a “mustering ceremony” to be held in the end
of the days.
38 A hook can be misplaced (due to copying). A blank space can be due to problems in the leather.
40 Ibid.: 63–64.
41 Another problem concerns the spacing system in the text. Usually a space indicates a smaller or larger division
of the content but there are blank spaces in the text which must explained otherwise. It appears as if the scribe
omitted words he was unable to read and so left a blank space. Some of these omitted words could later be filled
in by the second scribe (most of these cases occur in cols. VII–VIII). Spaces within the text can also be due to
defects in the leather. According to Metso (2007: 3) the following instances are due to such defects VI, 10, VII, 7,
IX, 9, 14 and 16.
identified in 1QS.\textsuperscript{42} The second scribe (B) is visible in some instances in columns VII–VIII and was according to Tov not planned from the outset.\textsuperscript{43}

\subsection*{1.1.4 Context of Culture and Context of Situation}

According to a majority of scholars 1QS is a product of the group that lived in Qumran. It is written/copied between approximately 100 BCE and 72–73 CE.\textsuperscript{44} It is written in a Hebrew that draws on Biblical Hebrew and has features of both Late Biblical Hebrew and Rabbinic Hebrew. Still, it has particular traits that connect it to, and distinguishes it from, other forms of Hebrew known from the period.\textsuperscript{45} When constructing the history of the Qumran community some scholars regard 1QS as the product of an outbreak Essene movement (the Groningen hypothesis).\textsuperscript{46} Others argue that it reflects a celibate Essene fraction that existed side by side with gender-mixed communities in the country, although the lack of women is implied but not spelled out in the text.\textsuperscript{47} The description of the practices and teachings of the community corresponds in many ways to how the Essenes are depicted in the writings of Josephus.\textsuperscript{48} The most striking parallels concern the procedure of entry into the community, the pooling of wealth, strict hierarchal order, common meals, and ritual washings.\textsuperscript{49}

The time during which 1QS was copied/composed concurs with the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE).\textsuperscript{50} He is known to the posterity for his cruelty and for taking on the role of the high priest although not descending from the right (high priest) family. The time of his reign was turbulent. Although having succeeded in achieving national independence, the shadow of the Seleucids still prevailed over the Jewish nation. At the same time the Roman Empire was growing stronger and began to pose a threat in the region. The reign of Jannaeus suffered from both external threats as well as domestic problems of which some may had to do with the way he conducted the offices of both king and high priest.

1QS does not make any explicit historical references. Historical events or persons that may be alluded to in the text are designated by code names that say something about their conduct. Apart from the final hymn (cols. X–XI), the communication in 1QS is conducted by an anonymous voice speaking about “they.” The message in 1QS is both general and extremely specific. It is general since it comprises all aspects of existence and specific in its preference for long specifying chains.\textsuperscript{51} Despite, or perhaps because of its many details the text is not easily accessible. It could be that 1QS was not meant to be comprehensible to an outside world but only for an esoteric movement. There are claims to possess hidden knowledge of the sacred scriptures that had to be kept secret from outsiders (1QS IX, 17, 21–22). One could expect that this “hiding” of the revelations resulted in a way of communicating that has left its marks in the text of 1QS. But the inaccessibility of the text could also be due to rhetorical strategies: conscious or unconscious strategies of maintaining power.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{42} The work of scribes A and B in 1QS VII–VIII was described in detail by Martin 1958: 1:43–56; see also P. Guilbert 1958: 199–212.
\textsuperscript{43} Tov 2004: 20.
\textsuperscript{44} This dating, which is based on paleography, is widely accepted among scholars today (F. M. Cross 1965: 170–264).
\textsuperscript{45} As A. Sáenz-Badillos (1993: 131–32) points out, it is not as simple as regarding the Hebrew of the Scrolls as a continuation of LBH.
\textsuperscript{46} See F. G. García Martínez and A. S. van der Woude 1990; compare Regev (2007: 264), who argues to the contrary that the Essene movement sprang from the Qumran community.
\textsuperscript{47} E.g., C. Hempel 2013: 58.
\textsuperscript{48} In J.W. (2.119–66) Josephus gives a long and detailed account of the Essenes; a shorter one is found in Ant.
\textsuperscript{49} As pointed out by Metso (2007: 1).
\textsuperscript{50} It has been argued that the historical person of Alexander Jannaeus lies behind the sobriquet “the Wicked Priest” in Qumran; see, e.g., M. Delcor 1951: 521–48.
\textsuperscript{51} Newsom 2004: 80.
\textsuperscript{52} For a discussion of the rhetoric as a power strategy in S and H, see Newsom 2004.
In the Jewish society of the last centuries of the Second Temple era, written material was part of the economic and legal aspects of everyday life. A great variety of literature was composed and circulated. Written texts, often ascribed to historical heroes of the past, were used in the identity making process of different groups as a way to position oneself. Judging from the efforts to translate important Hebrew texts into Aramaic and Greek one can assume that there existed a fairly large literary public in the country. But as M. Jaffee points out, it was not a “bookish” society since the ability to read and write was the privilege of a few.

Books were expensive to produce and the majority of the population only had access to written documents through their ears. Collections of literature were not part of private households but rather of priestly circles in the temple or created in ideologically self-conscious religious or cultic communities such as the one in Qumran. According to Jaffee, these communities did not preserve their texts merely as archives as has been suggested for the serek texts. These texts were rather of central ideological importance and as such consulted, memorized, and internalized in the context of public instruction.

At the same time this activity took place in an oral culture. Texts were not primarily read and contemplated on in private, but were part of public performances. This means that focus was not on the written product but on the oral performance of the text. Keeping this in mind, Jaffee defines the status of books as “ritual objects whose iconic significance transcended that of the information they preserved.” This means that a given book could circulate in many different textual forms, longer or shorter. The original text did not designate the first copy of the writing but the version that was heard when read to an audience. There was no sharp line between the original author, its scribal copyists, and the audience interpreting it. The relation between these was, according to Jaffee, “a rather blurry one and was often crossed in ways no longer retrievable by literary criticism of the surviving texts.” The correct text of a book was thereby linked to the social boundaries of the group that preserved it. Jaffee does not regard the Qumran movement as representative of the larger Jewish culture at the time. The reason for this is its ideological commitment to priestly norms and literary traditions. He concludes: “While a small minority would have mastered all the scribal skills, the entire group aspired to a degree of textual knowledge appropriate to scribes.”

The Qumran movement read the sacred texts, interpreted them, and wrote down their interpretations.

A factor that for long was disregarded when discussing the features of Second Temple Judaism is Hellenistic influences on ideology and practice. Scholars such as Hengel and M. Weinfeld were among the first to argue for Hellenistic influence in the way community life is structured in the “rule texts,” such as in 1QS. According to Weinfeld the organizational patterns of the Qumran movement correspond to a large degree to those of cultic associations in the Hellenistic and Roman world, in particular to those of Ptolemaic Egypt. According to him, Hellenistic influences can however only been seen in the group’s organizational patterns and not in its ideology, something that Weinfeld finds to be “unique.” It is beyond doubt that the Qumran movement, as it is mirrored in 1QS, understood its unique theory and practice to be strictly derived from the Law of Moses and the Prophets (see 1QS I, 3). Still, it seems strange to imagine that the organizational patterns did not influence, or even spring from, its ideology. Instead it is reasonable to assume that,

53 The following outline depends to a great degree on the studies of M. Jaffee (2001) and K. van der Toorn (2007).
55 P. Davies (1992: 152–63) regards them as archives.
56 Jaffee 2001: 16.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.: 18.
59 Ibid.: 21, 36.
60 The latter, the “writing down,” differs from early Rabbinic Judaism where the interpretations were orally transmitted.
63 Ibid.: 8.
just as form and content cannot be separated in a textual study, so organizational structure and ideology in human organizations must interrelate to some extent.

It has been suggested that the *Sitz im Leben* for 1QS was a public occasion such as a covenant renewal festival.\(^{64}\) Columns I–III and perhaps also the final hymn give witness to a covenant renewal as a recurring annual gathering. This festival could then have been a “real” gathering or else the reading and hearing of 1QS were translated into ritualized activity.\(^{65}\) Metso (2007: 63) \(^{66}\) suggests that the *serek* texts emerged from the context of judicial proceedings, that is, “live situations in which oral discourse played a dominant role.” The rule texts, according to her, should not be considered as prescriptive law books in the modern sense, but as a “recording of different judicial decisions and a report of oral traditions” (70).

### 1.1.5 Genre

In the field of discourse analysis and text linguistics, genre is related to cultural context, that is, a set of culturally known ways of communicating a message. Genre structures texts in specific ways. Just as Gunkel connected social events (*Sitz im Leben*) with text types (*Gattung*), so N. Fairclough defines genre as “specifically discoursal aspects of ways of acting and interacting in the course of social events.”\(^{67}\) According to him, genre originates as a demand to simplify the social interaction.\(^{68}\) Although this may be a too narrow way of defining “genre,” it points to an important aspect of it, namely certain ways of patterning texts that make the hearer/reader know what to expect. Genre and culture are thereby interdependent and the definition of a genre has to do with the identification of a particular text as reminiscent of other texts circulating in a culture. Many of the “sectarian texts” from Qumran do not have known counterparts in the surrounding culture. These may be the result of invented, combined, or perhaps imported genres.\(^{69}\) In light of this, one may ask what sociological situations that aroused the need and development of a new expression. But it may also say something about the cultural impact of the community or communities that managed to create new genres.

1QS is often defined as a “rule-text” together with other compositions such as the Damascus document (CD) and 1QSa.\(^{70}\) Out of the varied material that these compositions display, this genre is then constituted by a collection of several subgenres such as legal texts, didactic material, liturgical material, hymns, and regulations. The rules then regulate many aspects of life, from practical instructions to its underlying ideology. Weinfeld holds that the genre of the Qumran rule books had counterparts in the Hellenistic world.\(^{71}\) He argues that the Qumran movement was organized in a way similar to cultic associations reflected in Hellenistic writings, both in terminology and practice. As an example of the former is the central term סرص (*rule, order, and bond*) in 1QS. According to Weinfeld this term was coined intentionally to serve as a substitute for *taxis*, the common Hellenistic term for an

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\(^{64}\) E.g., R. Arnold 2006.

\(^{65}\) For the meaning of the concept “ritualized texts,” see F. Gorman 2009: 41–50.

\(^{66}\) Metso 2007: 63.

\(^{67}\) The earliest systematic presentation of Gunkel’s principles was given in Gunkel 1906; see also Fairclough 2003: 65.

\(^{68}\) Bakhtin (1994: 84) argues that genres exist for economic and essential reasons: “If speech genres did not exist and we had not mastered them, if we had to originate them during the speech process and construct each utterance at will for the first time, speech communication would be almost impossible.”

\(^{69}\) For the case of imported genres see Weinberg’s study (1986) on 1QS in relation to Hellenistic rule books.

\(^{70}\) CD and 1QSa are writings that are in many respects akin to 1QS. The quest for the sociological development of the Essene community involves analyses of the interdependence between these three writings as reflecting different sociological contexts; see, e.g., Hempel 1996, H. Stegemann 1998, and the discussion in J. Collins 2010.

\(^{71}\) Weinfeld (1986) argues that the organization of the sect in 1QS, as well as the rules in the penal code (1QSI VI, 24–VII) are reminiscent of those of the cultic associations of Ptolemaic Egypt as well as of other regions of the Hellenistic and Roman world.
association. Besides terminology, Weinfeld also demonstrates that the organizational patterns in 1QS columns V–VII are congruent to those of Hellenistic guilds. As an example of this, the Qumran priest corresponds to the leading priest or magister in Hellenistic and Roman guilds. A second point of contact is the procedures of initiating new members. In the Iobacchi associations just as in 1QS, a candidate was “registered” and then approved by the “vote.” In both communities, periods of probation were common after which the candidate took an oath and became a full member (see V, 8). The laws and penalties also show congruency with Hellenistic association where violations against the discipline and disrespect of fellow members, as well as treason against the own group were punished (see VI, 24–VII, 25). Regulations concerning morality with regard to money and property also correlate, as well as the internal judicial system of courts and regulations concerning witnesses and proof. The difference between 1QS and Hellenistic rules is, according to Weinfeld, that “the religious-moralistic rhetoric which adjoins the ordinances of the Sect is not to be found in the ordinances of pagan associations.” In addition to this, the existence of hymns and liturgies such as the initial covenant renewal feast are not found in the codes of Hellenistic associations. 1QS then expands the genre by placing the laws and rules into a larger rhetorical and liturgical framework.

Stauber argues against the traditional definition of 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSb, D, and M, as “legal texts” that display a list of rules to be followed by a community. Instead he argues for a reconceptualization of this genre, which he defines from a number of common denominators. One such denominator is the narrative about the eschaton where a move from a worse situation in the present to a better situation in the future is recounted. In this narrative he includes 1QSa and 1QSb, “the Community Cycle.” Another is the presence of a common central theme, namely of the “enemy other.” He also argues for a common overarching philosophical tenet of “divine design” in which the texts emphasize how God’s plan manifests itself in history. In addition to this he suggests a new contextual conceptualization of the root סרה according to a four-fold semantic range where the hierarchal disposition of the community is at stake from a spatial, hierarchal, martial, and procedural aspect. Stauber claims, quite contrary to the traditional definition, that these texts should be labeled prophetic with the function of establishing the present time of the audience and predicting future outcomes.

1.1.6 Text Types and Discourse Types

As a subcategory to genre, a tool in the text linguistic analysis is the investigation and definition of different text types in a composition. Although differing in definitions and terminology, these theories have in common that they distinguish narratives and other text types grouped under the label “besprechende” or “discursive” texts. R. E. Longacre has singled out a number of different text types within this broad category, namely, “predictive,” “procedural,” “Instructional,” “hortatory,” and “expository.” An analysis of a text’s verbal system, together with other linguistic markers, reveals the text type of the section where it occurs. The verbal conjugations within the discourse belong either to the main line of the

72 סרה (community) together with פלס (many, multitude) corresponds to the Greek Κοινωνία and πλῆθος, πολλοί, which were commonly used at the time to designate groups and sects in the Hellenistic world (see Weinfeld 1986: 13–15).
73 Likewise the two officials paqqid and mebaqker, who were overseeing officers of the common property as well as over the group at large, have their counterparts in the Hellenistic guilds as well as in the early church (episkopos).
74 SIG 3 1109.
75 The code of the Iobacchi association is dated to 178 CE and thereby later than 1QS.
77 Weinfeld 1986: 47.
78 Ibid.
79 Stauber 2013.
81 For an overview of the different text types and their verbal forms see Longacre 1992, 1994, 1995a, 1995b.
discourse (also called “on-stage”) or to the secondary line (“off-stage”), where background or additional information is presented. Each text type has its “favorite” verb forms and its own verbal hierarchy. The text types also differ in temporal aspects. Unlike expository text types, a narrative has temporal sequencing. The latter text type prefers dynamic verbs and uses only few static ones, while the former favors static verb forms and the nominal clause. In addition to this, the way of defining text types relates to them as being agent-orientated or non-agent-orientated. An example of the former is instructional texts that are addressed to a particular person or group of people. Procedural texts, on the other hand, are an example of the latter. They are addressed to whoever happens to be in a position to carry out an act, for example instructions on how to celebrate a ceremony.  

A problem with these theories is that they only take the Hebrew Bible into consideration and not later Hebrew texts such as the Dead Sea Scrolls. An example of this is the function of the weqatal, which in traditional Hebrew grammar is regarded as consecutive to the yiqtol (thereof its name “perfect consecutive”). This conjugation is defined by Longacre as the main line of predictive, procedural, and instructional discourse while an initial yiqtol gives the background or a circumstance, and could imply a temporal or spatial shift of focus. In his analyses of the War Scroll, S. Holst has however demonstrated that in the Qumran texts, in particular 1QM, it is the yiqtol and not the weqatal that constitutes the main line verbal form. The weqatal gives the off line information. The same applies to 1QS, where a grammatical difference from biblical Hebrew is that the long yiqtol replaces weqatal as the main-line verbal form and that the liqtol (infinitive) often replaces weqatal. This change is of course due to a development of the Hebrew language but it can also be seen as a development of the discourse type rather than a criticism of the theory itself.

1.1.7 Cohesion and Coherence

Halliday distinguishes between three meta-functions of language namely ideational, interpersonal and textual. A text makes sense when it expresses simultaneously ideational, interpersonal, and textual meaning. These three functions of language are intertwined in each linguistic unit. The ideational function of language is that which is going on in the text in relation to that which is going on outside of the text. It refers to how experience is represented in language. Worldview, ideology, and theology are embedded in the language. The ideational function involves language as a way to communicate ideas and

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82 The six text types, according to Longacre (1992, 1994, 1995a, 1995b), are: (1) Narrative discourse where the main line verbal conjugation is the preterite (waw-consecutive with the imperfect). The narrative clauses are mainly verb-initial and represent punctiliar, sequential happenings with causal connections. It is agent-oriented and has temporal succession. (2) Hortatory discourse has command forms as its main line, such as imperatives, cohortatives, jussives, and mitigated commands. It is interpersonal; one person tries to influence another. Hortatory discourse contains a variety of linguistic forms. It is agent-oriented but has no temporal succession. (3) Expository discourse is static with verb-less nominal clauses and periphrastic clauses with the verb haya (to be) as its mainline conjugation. Dynamic verbs occur only in the function of anecdotes or illustrative material. Finite verbs rank lowest and function as reason, result, comment, and amplification, rather than thesis. It is the opposite of narrative discourse. It is non-agent-oriented and has no temporal succession. (4) Predictive discourse is an agent-oriented story that is projected into the future and addressed to a specific hearer. Its main line is made up of weqatal while the yiqtol serves in the off-line function. It can be described as a prophetic narrative since it posits an event in the future. (5) Procedural discourse is, unlike predictive discourse type, goal oriented. It is non-agent-oriented; it is addressed to whoever happens to be in need of the instruction to carry out the procedure involved. It has a temporal succession. It uses the same verbal conjugations in its on-line and off-line material as the predictive. It displays habitual procedure: “It should always be done like this.” (6) Instructional discourse is, unlike the procedural discourse type, agent oriented. The verbal conjugations forming the on-line and off-line in the discourse are the same as for the previous two types. It has temporal succession. Instructional discourse deals with that which is to take place on one occasion.

83 Holst 2008.


85 Reed 1997: 199.

86 The ideational function includes an experimental and a logical function.

87 This function of language corresponds to what Brown and Yule (1983: 1–2) call transactional. A transactional text contains information that is to be transmitted to a receiver as correct in detail as possible; it is message
meanings. It can both be investigated through the analysis of grammatical forms but the most obvious way is by means of lexis and word choices. A lexical item must however primarily be understood within its sentence and within the larger entities of text up to the level of discourse (and not as an isolated phenomenon).

The interpersonal function has to do with language as a medium to create and sustain relationships and to express personal feelings and attitudes. It is language in the function to please, to anger, or to influence a certain kind of behavior. It is language as a way to express attitudes and evaluations on the surrounding environment and on how other participants in the communication are viewed. 88 The relation between the speaker and an utterance/sentence, and the way the speaker estimates the hearer's knowledge about the spoken topic, can be investigated with help of the terms reference, presupposition, implicature, and inference.89 Reference is the author's way of using an expression to refer to something, for example “he” instead of “my uncle.” Presupposition is the appreciated knowledge of the reader/hearer, that which does not have to be spelled out since it is part of the common knowledge of the participants in a discourse. Implicature has to do with what is suggested in an utterance but for some reason is not spelled out. Inference, finally, denotes the interpretative process of a discourse. This concerns the conclusions that the hearer/reader draws from previous, or following, sections of a discourse in order to understand the current.

The textual function is the way in which language organizes the ideational and interpersonal functions in a unified manner so that it creates cohesive and coherent units. It involves the smallest linguistic unit (phoneme) to the largest (discourse). Through the textual function language “creates a semiotic world of its own: a parallel universe, or ‘virtual reality’ in modern terms.”90 In distinguishing text from nontext, Halliday and Hassan introduce the concept of “texture” to signify that which holds the clauses of a text together to create unity.91 This involves the interaction of two components namely coherence and cohesiveness. Coherence relates to the social and cultural contexts of a text while cohesiveness is the way elements within a text works to form a unity.92 Halliday suggests that the relation between the different parts should be such that “the one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it.”93 By investigating the formal, semantic, and pragmatic relationships between different parts of a text and the thematic elements that run through it, questions about cohesiveness can be analyzed by singling out those features in a text that make the reader/hearer appreciate it as coherent.94 A text is, according to Halliday and Hasan, best regarded as a “semantic unit: a unit not of form but of meaning”; it is related to the clause or sentence by realization, “the coding of one symbolic system in another.”95 A text is cohesive when it “expresses simultaneously ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings”; meaning is created on all these different levels of language use.96 No text is however completely cohesive, a majority of texts fall on the scale between cohesive and incohesive. Cohesion is then the “set of possibilities that exist in the language for making the text hang together; the potential that the speaker or writer

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90 Halliday 2003: 276.
92 Eggins 2004: 23.
94 Halliday and Hasan (ibid.) have coined the term cohesive ties to explain how language is used to create cohesive relationships in a discourse. There are, according to them, two types of cohesive ties: organic and componential. The former primarily concern the conjunctive systems of language, prepositions, grammatical structure, and conventionalized lexical items, while componential ties concern the meaningful relationship between individual linguistic components in the discourse, e.g., repetition of words; in other words, the semantic relationship between words and phrases.
95 Ibid.: 2.
has at his disposal." Halliday and Hasan list five general categories of cohesive ties that create coherence in text. These are: Reference, the semantic relation between two items in the text. It can point to what precedes (anaphoric) or forward (cataphoric). Substitution, when a word is substituted for a more general word (e.g., “it” instead of “the car”). Ellipsis refers to the omission of words when a phrase is repeated. Lexical cohesion concerns related words that are chosen to link elements to a text by reiteration and collocation. Finally, conjunction sets up a relationship between two clauses. The most obvious conjunction is and.

I have found the above-mentioned approaches to analysis of texts and discourse as fruitful guides to my own pursuit. The purpose of this study is however not to investigate the language of 1QS as a means to form cohesive units in itself (i.e., “why a text means”) but rather to investigate the language of 1QS as a communicative event (“what a text means”). The overarching questions that guide this thesis are: What message is being communicated (ideational)? What types of social factors influence the communication between (implied) author and (implied) reader/hearer (interactional)? Is 1QS a coherent text? If so, how do the bits and pieces fit together to create a cohesive whole (textual)?

The analysis of the text will follow the paragraphs and subparagraphs made by the scribe(s). Where no such divisions exist, and the chunk of text is too lengthy for analysis, it will be structured according to textual markers such as the topic under discussion, change of voice, or scope. 1QS will be analyzed from beginning to end, sentence by sentence and paragraph by paragraph. At the beginning of each major section there will be an introduction that presents the major features of the section and a suggested outline that chunks the text into units of analysis. This is followed by my translation of the text and an analysis of it. At the end of every major section the discourse will be analyzed at a “top level” where the implied social and cultural contexts will be discussed. The analysis of 1QS overall will be discussed in Chapter 7: Conclusions and Summary.

The focus in discourse analysis is on author’s intention and reader’s act of interpretation must be secondary in 1QS since we lack knowledge of original author and audience. One can only speak in terms of implied author and implied audience. Focus has to be on the text as a witness to a communicative event where ideas and values are communicated, and relations created and sustained. To read a text bottom-up and top-down, as J. T. Reed puts it, sheds light on the organic whole of a text. This may prove to be especially helpful when interpreting an ancient text where many contextual clues are lacking for the modern reader. In this way can the meaning of a word or a phrase be enlightened by the larger discourse and reversed. The single lexical choices of an author may reveal the overall discourse. As Brown and Yule put it: “Even in the absence of information about place and time of original utterance, even in the absence of information about the speaker/writer and his intended recipient, it is often possible to reconstruct at least some part of the physical context and to arrive at some interpretation of the text. The more co-text there is, in general, the more secure the interpretation is. Text creates its own context.” Since the co-text of 1QS is relatively large, it could be a text well suited for a synchronic analysis.

1.1.8 Intertextuality: Methodology and Terminology

The question of intertextuality, a term coined by J. Kristeva, has been in focus for much postmodern criticism. This field holds that no text is a separate unit, but rather is in constant communication with other texts. This is referred to as intertextuality and is part of

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98 “SFL investigates why a text means and, why it is valued as it is” (Eggin 2004: 2).
100 Reed 1997: 191–92. With this he means moving attention from the smaller units in the text such as words and sentence to the discourse at large, and then with the larger image at hand, moving attention back down to the details again.
102 Kristeva 1980.
the meaning-making process. In the present study intertextuality is applied as a wider term denoting the different ways of adopting a text to a new source.

The field of intertextuality is surrounded by both theoretical and methodological problems. There is no consensus among scholars how to define the different ways, or techniques, of using the Hebrew Bible in the New Testament or the Qumran literature. Secondly, the use and reuse of texts in antiquity did not fulfill a modern academic standard where the reproduction of the actual words of the source text is a priority. Further, one has to differentiate between idioms and quotes/allusions. The latter add to the meaning of the context while the former are fixed expressions. These may have originated as allusions but in its current form they have a nonallusive meaning. A problem of a different kind is the various recensions of the source texts that may complicate the identification of a specific text quoted or alluded to. It is therefore important to consult several recensions and not least the ones held in the Qumran library. Still, since many factors are at play when trying to detect interaction with other texts, the decision does not only rest on the literal reproduction of a specific recension but also takes the adopted contexts into consideration.

Quotation. The term quotation will mainly be used in instances that are “marked” in order to create a distance in the section where they occur. This is the case when an adopted text is either initiated by a formula or by a change of voice. M. V. Fox differentiates between two main categories of quotations: (1) words originating from another source but now used as the speaker’s words; (2) words that are meant to be understood as belonging to another person than the primary speaker in the text. The latter category is easier to detect and classify as a quotation since it explicitly announces its status as a quote. In order to classify as the former there will have to be a strong verbal resemblance between the adopted text and the adoptee.

Allusion. The term allusion will be used to label verbal interactions with textual sources that are not introduced in a certain way or involve a shift of voice, but that add to the meaning of the text and even directs the reader to a particular aspect of the source text. Many theoretical and methodological problems surround the task of discerning allusions from mere echoes or idioms. A theoretical problem is whether we can define an allusion in terms of the author’s intention, from textual criteria, or from the perspective of the implied audience. To some degree must however these perspectives converge in that it is likely that allusions that are recognized by readers would have been intended by the author. Since the author’s intention is both inaccessible in ancient texts, and outside the scope of this thesis, textual criteria for defining allusions and an appreciation of the implied audience will be in focus. Concerning the latter, there is always a risk of creating an “ideal reader/hearer,” namely someone who fits the modern scholar’s view of the text. The estimation of an allusion will always depend on the reader. Since two readers never are identical in skill and background, the allusive meaning of a text will appear differently to them. A criterion for defining an allusion is whether the proposed literary source was known to the implied audience. In the case of Scripture this assumption is reasonable since the community is urged to study Scripture in 1QS. Familiarity with the source texts is most likely also the case with important Second Temple writings such as Jubilees and 1 Enoch. When it comes to other Qumran writings, the existence of different copies, revisions, and strands within a text tradition sometimes complicates the decision as to which text is the dependent one. This

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103 The following outline is indebted to the chapter on methodology in the dissertation of Hughes (2006: 41–55).
104 S. Porter (1997: 80) in his attempt to raise methodological questions in the discussion of the use of the Hebrew Bible in the New Testament, lists the range of terminology in use in different studies: “Citation, direct quotation, formal quotation, indirect quotation, allusive quotation, allusion (whether conscious or unconscious), paraphrase, exegesis (such as inner-biblical exegesis), midrash, typology, reminiscence, echo (whether conscious or unconscious), intertextuality, influence (either direct or indirect), and even tradition among other terms.”
106 J. Hughes 2006: 51.
107 But as Hughes (2006: 49) puts it, “it is possible that the intended allusions may go unnoticed and that phrases not intended as allusions may be so interpreted by a reader.”
108 The books of Enoch (from the collection known as 1 Enoch) and Jubilees are found in multiple copies at Qumran, except for the Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71).
problem is non-existing in the case of Scripture since all the scriptural texts, in some form, predate 1QS. Allusions to other Qumran writings must therefore be considered from case to case.  

Only allusions to written texts will be discussed in this thesis, and as such only those with a verbal parallel as the marker. As working criteria it is possible to define a minimum of corresponding words between the source text and the adoptee text. However, also allusions where few corresponding words exist but where the texts share “strong words” will be considered. The same goes for cases where the verbal marker is weak if this “weakness” is strengthened by a similar structure and/or combination of ideas as in the source text. This means that the identification of an allusion must be discussed from case to case. I will also be guided by compilations of allusions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and 1QS. There is always the risk of treating an idiom as an allusion. Due to this, more than mere similarity of vocabulary must exist in order to define an allusion. I consider those scriptural (or other) expressions that occur frequently in the Qumran literature as idioms.

Finally, since the scope of this thesis is not to make a survey of all allusions in 1QS, only identifications of those adopted texts that enlighten or contrast a passage will be discussed. The adopted texts that are “misread” are most interesting here, since these instances, more than other, display the own original contribution of the tradition. This is the case when the adopted text is slightly changed in wording or syntax in order to give it a partly new meaning while its “old” meaning remains a sounding board. The term echo will be used for interaction with texts in a way weaker than what is the case for allusions. It does not say anything about the author’s intention to make the reader detect the source. It does not in a profound way add meaning to the adoptive text.

1.2 A Hermeneutical Experiment: René Girard

Lastly in this thesis, as a hermeneutical experiment, my analysis of 1QS will be brought into communication with the theories of French historian, literary critic, and philosopher René Girard (1923–2015). Girard has provided theories in the field of philosophical anthropology for understanding the underlying mechanisms of society, culture, and religions. In his quest to find the origin of all human cultures and societies he has created universal theories attempting to be religion’s equivalent to Darwin’s *The Origin of Species*. His theories have met admiration for being eye-opening and consistent, and criticism for their universal claims.

According to Girard, violence is the foundation of all culture. The religions contain knowledge and strategies to deal with violence through rules, rites, myths, and organization. In his theories of violence, the scapegoat takes a central position. All religions can, according to Girard, be explained from an understanding of the mechanisms of sacrifice. He boils down all myths and rites, in all cultures and in all times to an answer to the same problem, namely “mimetic violence.”

The theories of René Girard spring from his literary analysis of Shakespeare, Dostoevsky, and Proust, among others, during his time as a professor of French literature

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109 One important Qumran writing with which 1QS is conversant is the Damascus Document, which according to most scholars today predates 1QS.

110 As Hughes (2006: 46) points out it is “theoretically possible to allude to a text by using a similar structure, narrative sequence, or combination of ideas, without using the same vocabulary.”

111 By “strong word” I mean rare words that occur in few known sources, hence the source text is easily identified.


114 H. Bloom (1975) defines a strong (mis)reading as a “strong trope,” that is, to use a familiar text or image in a new way where the “old” meaning is remembered and at the same time transformed into a new meaning.

115 Charlesworth (1997: 197–224) uses the term “echo” to describe an exegetical method that is visible in 1QS. In col. V, Isa 40:3 is quoted. This quotation has a prelude, leading up to the quotation, which is followed by what he calls an echo of the quotation.

116 J. Hollander (1981: 64) defines an echo as a similarity between texts that is not meant to be detected by the audience.
and civilization at Stanford University. From his literary analysis he finds a common theme, namely that desire is mimetic and triangular with a constructive and a destructive side. The constructive side lies in its potential of creating society. We desire what others have and what others are—a desire that in turn binds us to each other. Desire is shaped from models and mediated by third person but the object is soon forgotten and only the rivals prevail. This is the destructive side. Desire contains a potential for rivalry and violence. In order for a society to hold together it must resist disintegrating forces. This is the role of culture and religion. It builds in differences in society such as roles, rules, and institutions in order to alleviate potential harm. If a society becomes disintegrated, violence will spread like an epidemic that in the end only can be cured by accusing somebody, or some group, guilty for the chaos. This is the function of the scapegoat.

In his work Des choses cachées depuis la fondation du monde (1978), Girard takes the biblical material into discussion. This is a dialogic work pursued in the form of a conversation. In addition to discussing his own work, Girard here responds to various criticisms against his theories.\(^{117}\) I agree with Olsson that it is as a Socratic, such as he appears in this work, rather than as a theorist that Girard’s ideas must be understood. He is not a theologian but a literary scholar whose thinking departs from texts rather than from theoretical postulates.\(^{118}\) The latter is important for my own approach where I intend to bring the texts of Girard into an encounter with the text of 1QS. In this encounter, the overarching theories of Girard as well as the implied context of 1QS hold the conversation together. It is however on a text-to-text level that the interesting encounter takes place. Still, by being conversant with the theories of Girard, I am not proposing that this is the only way to understand the roles of sacrifice, rites, rules, and taboos in 1QS or other ancient writings.\(^{119}\) Rather, that this particular encounter sheds light on something that otherwise might remain undiscovered.

### 1.3 History of Research: Prerelease of 4QS

The scroll that contains 1QS was one of the first seven scrolls to be found in the Judean desert in 1947, in what came to be called Cave 1 (out of the 11 caves containing scrolls and artifacts that have been found). 1QS was published in 1951.\(^{120}\) It was early labeled the Manual of Discipline by the American School of Oriental Research and regarded as an equivalent to the Methodist Book of Discipline. Already H. Yalon suggested instead the title that was carried by the writing itself, which is now increasing in use, namely, the Serek ha-Yahad.\(^{121}\) The scroll was evaluated by W. F. Albright as “unquestionably the most valuable of all the scrolls yet known from the standpoint of history.”\(^{122}\) 1QS, as well as the serek texts from Cave 4, have played a prominent role in the investigations of the community or communities behind the scrolls. When comparing 1QS to the historical accounts of Josephus, Philo, and Pliny, and to the interpretation of the archaeological excavations of the site, the

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\(^{117}\) To boil down all kinds of sacrifices in all cultures and times to one single meaning has certainly generated criticism from the scholarly (postmodern) world. This is also the case with Girard’s evolutionary view on sacrifice in Scripture where Jesus is the one who deconstructs the scapegoat mechanisms once and for all. One of Girard’s interlocutors, J.-M. Oughourlian (2007), has objected to his overall view of desire and suggests that it imitation can be totally peaceful and make people sensitive to social and political problems. Girard’s boiling down of the meaning of all taboos has been criticized. R. Pommier (2010: 38) argues for the impossibility of explaining the existence of taboo desires, such as homosexuality in repressive societies, on that basis.

\(^{118}\) Olsson (2007: 8) writes, “och det är som sokratiker—inne som ren teoretiker—som jag helst betraktar Girard . . . . I sin undervisning var han uppfyld av en upptäckt som han ville dela med sig och som hela tiden utgick från det som stod i texterna, aldrig från teoretiska postulat.”

\(^{119}\) For a discussion of the social meaning of sacrifice, see D. Janzen (2004) and J. Milgrom (1991: 49–50) who, while not directly criticizing Girard, argues that “no single theory embraces the entire complex of sacrifices.”

\(^{120}\) M. Burrows, J. C. Trever, and W. H. Brownlee 1951.


\(^{122}\) Albright 1950: 4.
identification of the group as Essene was made.¹²³ The way that Josephus described the Essenes correlates even in some detail with the life, thought, and practices of the group reflected in 1QS.¹²⁴ Today most scholars adhere to this theory, some with the modification that the Yahad (community) in 1QS was a sectarian breakout group from the larger Essene movement.¹²⁵

In the first decades after its discovery much scholarly interest was put on the world of ideas in 1QS. Self-images, theology, and practices in 1QS were compared to those of the early church. The role of a holy spirit in the atoning process, the metaphoric identification with the temple, messianic expectations, and a realized eschatology parallel New Testament theology.¹²⁶ When 1QS was discussed within a Jewish and biblical context, terms like “sectarian” were used to describe those ideas that deviated from the Hebrew Bible and contemporary “normative Judaism.”¹²⁷

During the first few decades after the discovery of the text, the peculiar ideas expressed in “The Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS III, 13–IV, 26)—henceforth referred to as the Treatise—were debated. One debate concerned the origin of the imagery in the Treatise as reflecting either Iranian or biblical ideas.¹²⁸ Still, the Treatise was regarded as the group’s doctrine per se and as a highway to understanding the particular outlook of the group that were settled in Qumran. J. Licht writes, “the third and fourth column in the Manual of Discipline . . . gives us . . . the fullest and clearest information about the beliefs of the Dead Sea Sectarians, telling even the most casual reader what the sect stood for, and providing a convenient point of departure for a more extensive study.”¹²⁹

1.3.1 The Literary Development of 1QS

When all the material from Cave 4, with its several manuscripts of the Community Rule became accessible in the 1990s a new era of research on the Serek ha-Yahad began. Still, even before the release of the Cave 4 documents, it was acknowledged as a collection from various sources.¹³⁰ Different suggestions as to the stages of redaction were proposed. Common for all of them, with some variations, is that they considered all, or parts of 1QS VIII–IX, 12 as a nucleus text, all or parts of 1QS V–VII as a second redaction, and columns I–IV and X–XI as resulting from the final stage of redaction.¹³¹

In 1959 two important studies on the textual development, or textual coherence of 1QS, saw their light. P. Guilbert, in his defense of the literary unity of 1QS suggested an outline of the text built on the scribe’s use of introductory formulas, paragraph indentations, spacing devices and right hand marginal signs in the text.¹³² Guilbert viewed 1QS as a prequmranic composition, written before any settlement in the desert and before the

¹²³ For Josephus, see J.W. 2:119–66; for Philo, see Prob. (75–91) and in Hypoth. 11; for Pliny the Elder, see Natural History (5,73).
¹²⁵ This theory is called the Groningen hypotheses; see Garcia Martinez and van der Woude 1990: 521–41. G. Boccaccini (1998: 16) identifies the Essenes as stemming from Enochic Judaism, from which the Qumran movement parted as a radical dissident and marginal offspring.
¹²⁷ Today the idea of a normative Judaism of the time is challenged, and the appropriateness of an anachronistic word such as “sectarian” as a way to describe the group behind the scrolls is questioned, although still used to a great extent.
¹²⁹ Licht 1958: 88–100, quote on 88. This point of view has been challenged in recent decades when the particularity of the Treatise has been stressed. See, e.g., J. Frey (1995: 290, 334ff.), who argues that the Treatise is not to be considered as “a definitive summary of the Community’s ideology.”
¹³⁰ See, e.g., H. E. del Medico 1951: 27–30; Dupont-Sommer 1953: 90; and Wernberg-Moller 1957: 56 n. 49.
¹³² Guilbert 1959: 323–44.
persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness.\textsuperscript{133} He regarded columns VIII–IX to be the youngest part of 1QS reflecting the time just before the settlement.\textsuperscript{134}

The same year E. F. Sutcliffe suggested an outline for the textual development of 1QS in distinguishing columns VIII–IX in a way opposite to Guilbert, namely, as being the nucleus part of the text. He argued that this section reflects the time just before the foundation of the community while the rest of 1QS is produced by the community in the desert. He built his arguments mainly on the three-times repeated reference to “when these exist in Israel,” regarding it as a future prediction not yet fulfilled.\textsuperscript{135} Picking up on his idea a decade later, Murphy O’Connor singled out columns VIII, 1–16 and IX, 3–X, 8 as the nucleus of 1QS. He called it a “manifesto” for the group. According to him the text developed in three stages, each reflecting the life of the group behind it. As a first stage a legislative section for the small community was added (VIII, 16–IX, 2). The second stage mirrors a period of redefinition of the group (V, 1–13) when the more elaborate legislation of V, 15–25 was required. In a third and final stage, material from various sources was added in order to form an exhortation to authentic observance.\textsuperscript{136} Among these we find the initial liturgical section (I, 1–III, 12) the Treatise (III, 13–IV, 26), and the final hymn (X, 9–XI, 22). Accepting the basic outline of J. Murphy O’Connor’s four stages but modifying them, J. Pouilly “moved” VIII, 10–12 to the first stage of redaction and V, 13–VI, 8 to the final stage.\textsuperscript{137} E. Puech following the idea of a manifesto, argued for a three stage redaction, where parts of columns VIII–IX (le noyau de foundation) constitute a first stage, the major part of columns V–VII (motivations d’entrée dans la Communauté et le code penitentiel) a second stage, and columns I–IV and IX–XI (considerations pour l’instructeur et hymnes) a final stage.\textsuperscript{138}

Contrary to these theories, Stegemann argued for understanding 1QS as a collection of rules originating from different groups over time. According to him, columns V, 1–XI, 22, reflect the development during the first decades of the Yahad while 1QS\textsuperscript{a} is the oldest rule of the Essenes.\textsuperscript{139}

\textbf{1.3.2 Post-Release of Cave 4}

The existence of more serek manuscripts was known to the scholarly world long before they were made accessible. Milik reported already in 1956 that Cave 4 contained portions of eleven manuscripts of the Manual of Discipline. He listed some of the different readings in 1QS and the 4QS manuscripts. He also reported of the existence of a possible twelfth manuscript from Cave 5 (5Q11)—this could correspond to 1QS II, 4–7, 12–14—and of 5Q13, which seems to be quoting 1QS III, 4–5.\textsuperscript{140} A more thorough study of the relationship between these manuscripts would have to wait until they were published. Vermes and Qimron were the ones in charge of preparing the 4QS fragments for publication. In 1991 Vermes made some preliminary remarks on the relationship between 1QS V, 1–4, 4QS\textsuperscript{d} I, 1–3 and 4QS\textsuperscript{b} frag. 5 I, 1–5.\textsuperscript{141} These sections have since been central in the discussion of the

\textsuperscript{134} Guilbert’s theories never won acceptance in the scholarly world, but his outline have been generally accepted. It is reflected in most translations and commentaries of 1QS. His defense of the literary unity of 1QS has been challenged by the 4QS fragments.
\textsuperscript{135} Sutcliffe 1959: 134–38.
\textsuperscript{136} Murphy O’Connor 1969: 528–49.
\textsuperscript{137} Pouilly 1976: 19–34.
\textsuperscript{139} Stegemann 1998: 107–16. Following the ideas expressed by Stegemann but taking a much more radical step, P. R. Davies (1992: 152–63) describes 1QS as “a repository of rules, a rather muddled archive” without any internal organization.
\textsuperscript{140} Milik 1960: 60–62, 410–16.
\textsuperscript{141} Vermes 1991: 250–55.
history of the *serek* texts. The main issue is that current passages in 4QSbd display a shorter reading than the corresponding one in 1QS and that there is some difference in content. 1QS mentions the sons of Zadok while 4QSd only mentions the *Rabbim* (and most likely so also 4QSb) as the group in authority. Based on this difference, Vermes regards 1QS V, 1–4 as an addition reflecting a more hierarchal development of the group. Although 4QSbd are copied at a later stage than 1QS, he claims 1QS to be an expanded version of the textual strand to which they all belong.

With the Cave 4 manuscripts available in the 1990s, a new step could be taken in the investigation of the textual development of the *S*-material. The total of 12 (or 13) manuscripts of *serek* found in Caves 4 and 5 agree to such extent that it is reasonable to speak of a common tradition, but at the same time they differ in content and wording in a way that excludes thinking of copies, and perhaps even identifying an *Urtext*.

In the 1990s two major contradictory theories concerning the textual development of the *S*-tradition where developed. On the one side were those following the evaluation of the manuscripts made by Milik in 1977 and Vermes in 1991. According to this, 4QSb and d are considered as representing an earlier *S*-version than the one found in 1QS. Among these are Hempel, who agrees with Vermes on the idea of two major strands of the *S*-tradition and argues for the existence of a Zadokite recension in 1QS. She argues that the communal legislation in 1QSa I, 6–II, 11 reflects a similar or even identical social situation as in the communal rules in the laws of the Damascus Document, which go back to the Essene parent movement of the Qumran community. She regards the opening lines of 1QSa I, 1–3, which mention the Zadokites, as a later addition. This corresponds in terminology to 1QS V, 1–3, and is due to a Zadokite recension. Concurring with Milik, Vermes, and Hempel, Metso argues that the forms of *serek* as represented by 4QSb and 4QSd, although copied later than 1QS (ca. 50–1 BCE), reflect two lines of the *S*-tradition. Both these lines derive from an earlier version of *serek*. She claims that the redaction of 1QS is a combination of these two lines (“e” and “b/d”) and holds 1QS to be an update version of 4QSb. The biblical quotations in 1QS, which are lacking in 4QSb and d, have the function of strengthening the group’s self-understanding and of legitimating its rules in a time of distress. These are later additions. In tracing the content of an older version of *S* (Metso doubts the existence of an *Urtext*) she argues that 1QS I–IV, VIII, 15–IX, 1 and the final hymn in X–XI were not included. The older version began with the corresponding text of 1QS V and was addressed to the *Maskil*. This version could have contained the calendar text *Otot*. She draws the conclusion that the community continued to copy older versions of the rule even when newer expanded versions, where available.

It is on this latter conclusion that P. Alexander disagrees. He regards the dating (paleographic and carbon) of the different manuscripts as decisive for the times when the different versions originated. Consequently, 1QS (copied about 100–75 BCE) reflects an older version of *S* than 4QSbd and 4QSb, which he then regards as the youngest. Interpreting the data contrary to the scholars mentioned above, he argues that the Zadokites were out of the picture in the early Herodian time and the references to them were therefore removed from the text. Likewise, the section of VIII, 15–IX, 11, which is lacking in 4QSb, he regards as an intentional omission due to contradictions and repetitions in the section. He suggests that the shorter forms of the 4QS manuscripts could have served as abridgements, filling the purpose of private use or use by the *Maskil*. So then, the data could be interpreted in totally different ways. Either the community moved from a more democratic movement

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142 The *Rabbim* is taken as the lay representation in the community.
143 Rather than the contrary, namely, that the 4QS manuscripts are abridgements of 1QS (Vermes 1991: 255).
144 4QSbd, 5Q11, and perhaps 11Q29; see Tigchelaar 2000: 285–92.
147 See Metso 2002.
148 4Q319, which could have been part of 4Q259 (MsE).
(however we picture it) to a more hierarchic one or from a Zadokite-run sect to a more democratic group. The textual development is explained from each respective theory.150

Very little has been done concerning the functions of the texts. It has been suggested that the shorter forms of S, copied in a time later than 1QS, could be abridged texts aimed for a special purpose.151 J. H. Charlesworth and B. A. Strawn suggest a twofold investigation to understand the textual development of the serrek tradition: A transmission historical and a composition historical investigation. At the same time they conclude that the former supposes the comparison to an autograph, something that doesn’t exist in the case of serrek.152 This fact, and the doubt expressed by Metso that there never existed such a thing as an Urtext common for all the serrek manuscripts, argues for the need of further investigations of the function(s) of the texts. Charlesworth and Strawn discuss the use of excerpted texts in antiquity and the use of phylacteries.153 They build their argumentation partly on the work of S. A. White (Crawford), who argues that excerpted texts could have filled the purpose for some devotional and/or private purpose. The work of White (Crawford) and scholars such as Weinfeld point toward the existence of a special Qumran practice of abridging texts, especially in the case of the biblical texts for liturgical or devotional purpose.154 Charlesworth and Strawn draw the same conclusion for some of the S manuscripts, namely that they could have been abridged for private use or for the use of a leader, probably the Maskil. This is not however the only explanation they give for the existence of different versions. When it comes to the missing Messiahs of 1QS IX in 4QS⁵, a version they regard as older than the one in 1QS, they interpret it as an indication of the nonmessianic origin of the group.155 A. Schofield challenges all these theories by suggesting that the different versions of S reflect the existence of various Yahad communities.156

The above-mentioned theories all depart from redaction critical and sociological perspectives to explain to explain the joints, contradictions and duplicates in 1QS. Other approaches have been made by, for example, D. Dimant, who argues for a chiastic pattern in the ordering of the material built on a literary and ideological analysis of the redaction history of 1QS.157

1.3.3 Recent Interpretive Trends

In the last decade, the idea of a single community (Yahad) living in the desert has been challenged in favor of understanding the Yahad as an umbrella organization. Schofield argues that the term denotes multiple communities in Judea who in turn lie behind the different versions of S.158 In addition to this, the very idea of an S tradition is today challenged by scholars such as Jokiranta, who stresses the diversity of the manuscripts related to the S tradition. These diversities consist in differences in date of origin, material, length, script, layout, and preservation of different sections and textual forms. In light of this one must ask on what grounds we can speak of an S tradition.159 A different approach to questions of coherence in 1QS has been taken by Newsom in her socio-rhetorical analysis on 1QS and the Hodayot. Without neglecting the historical layers due to a redaction history of 1QS, she argues for a rhetorical coherence in the extant text.160 A recently submitted dissertation by Stauber, which treats 1QM, 1QS, 1QSa, and D, considers the question of the

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150 For the former, see R. Kugler 1996: 315–20; for the latter, see Alexander 1996: 437–56.
151 See above; Alexander 1996: 448.
153 Excerpts of Deuteronomy, for example, have been found in Qumran: 4QDeut⁴⁰.
156 Schofield 2009.
158 Schofield 2009.
159 Jokiranta (forthcoming): 15. She asks “how much parallel material is required and how much variation is allowed for a manuscript to ‘qualify’ as ‘S’” (14).
genre of 1QS from an analysis of the term serek. Against the traditional scholarly view on 1QS as a “rule text,” he suggests that its genre ought to be reconceptualized as propheti
c, and then as a development of the prophetic genre.\textsuperscript{164}

\textsuperscript{164} Stauber 2013. “The serek texts . . . set themselves up as prophetic compilations that the covenanters used to establish their present time and to predict future outcomes, all under guise of hard determinism” (226).
The Meaning of True Conversion:

Entering the Covenant of Loving Friendship

(I, 1–III, 12)

The first three and a half columns of 1QS (I, 1–III, 12) deal with entrance into the covenant from different perspectives. In the first paragraph (I, 1–20) the liminal status of the convert is outlined. He leaves the old ways of thinking and behaving for a new form of existence, which is conveyed in the term the serek. This is followed by the renewal of the covenant ritual (I, 18–II, 18). In the last subsection, the meaning of true conversion is outlined (II, 19–III, 12).

The scribal markings divide the larger section into paragraphs: I, 1–20; I, 21–II, 10; II, 11–18; II, 19–III, 12. The last paragraph (II, 19–III, 12) is not internally divided by any scribal markings. A division in content can be discerned in II, 23b where focus shifts from instructions about the ritual to its ideological significance. More common, however, is to discern a subdivision in II, 25b where the account of the one “refusing to enter the covenant” begins. The whole paragraph is a rhetorical unit, I argue, in that the discourse of the one who refuses to enter the covenant must be understood in light of the instructions in II, 19–23a as well as the ideological purpose of the ceremony in II, 23b–25a. The paragraph will nonetheless be analyzed in three parts according to the subject treated (II, 19–25a; II, 25b–III, 6a; and III, 6b–12).

The section I, 1–III, 12 is replete with allusions and echoes from Scripture. The contexts of the adopted texts deal to a large extent with covenant ceremonies and issues of purity and atonement. The biblical language is closely intertwined with the typical language of the community, which according to Newsom facilitates the transition (conversion) from the broader linguistic community of Judaism to the “dialect” of the Yahad.

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162 It is widely held among scholars that 1QS deals with a male community. This is however never spelled out, only implied. The lack of specific rules that deal the relationship between male and female members of the community may argue in silence for a male community. Still, as shall be argued, there are no specific halakhic rules at all in 1QS. Purity is discussed within the realm of moral issues. For the sake of simplicity, I will use the generic masculine “he” instead of “he or she,” but this should not rule out the possibility of the existence of female members.

163 Guilbert (1959: 323–44) argued that the first part of the first paragraph (I, 1–15) is an introduction to the whole composition of 1QS and not immediately related to the covenant renewal ceremony. He identifies I, 1–15 as a “general introduction” to 1QS and I, 16 as a “prologomena” that initiates the first section in 1QS (“entry into the covenant,” I, 16–III 12) and opens with the introductory formula וְכָּל הַנְּלֵאָמָה (“and all who enter”). In I, 18 begins the “ritual of the covenant entry ceremony” initiated by the words: וְבִ֖אוּ הַפְּרוּשִׁים (“and when they cross over”). The prologomena, according to Guilbert, was added by the scribe to bind the introduction and the ceremony together. Burrows (1951: 6–7, 56) understood the first part of the paragraph as presenting the covenantal vows. The whole paragraph (I, 1–20) was according to him part of the same implied context. Regardless of the textual history of the different units of the text, they are treated as a unit by the scribe; there are no scribal markings that divide the first paragraph internally.

164 Deut 27–30, Lev 16 and 26, and Ps 106 influence the section at large.

165 Newsom (2004: 108) notes: “The text begins, not with exclusively ‘insider’ language, but rather with a sophisticated rhetorical movement that takes the language of the broader linguistic community of Judaism and gradually transforms it into the distinctive accents of the sectarian community.”
2.1 Preamble: Entering the Covenant by the Serek (I, 1–20)

2.1.1 Translation of Text

To the [ ] ᵇ.sym for his life [the book of the or]der of the Yahad.

They shall seek God with [all their heart and all their soul] in order to do what is good and right before him, as he commanded through Moses and through all his servants the prophets. They shall love all that he has chosen and to hate all that he has rejected. They must keep away from all evil but cling to all good deeds and so perform truth, righteousness, and justice in the Land. They shall no longer walk in the stubbornness of a guilty heart and of lustful eyes only doing evil. They are to bring into the covenant of loving friendship all those who freely offer themselves to do the statutes of God. These shall be joined to the council of God and so walk perfectly before him (according to) all the revealed laws at the times decided for them. They must love all the children of light each according to his lot in the council of God, and hate all the children of darkness each according to his guilt when God avenges.

All those who freely offer themselves for his truth shall bring all their knowledge, skills, and property into the community of God. They shall purify their knowledge by the truth of God’s statutes. They shall exercise their skills according to his perfect ways and all their property according to his righteous council. They must not depart from any single one of God’s words in their times, neither advance the times, nor postpone any of their fixed times. They must not step aside from his true statues by walking either to the right or to the left.

Instead all those who cross over into the covenant, before God must enter by the serek of the community in order to act in accordance with everything that he commanded. They must not turn back from him because of any fear, terror, or persecution during the reign of Belial.

While they cross over into the covenant the priests and the Levites continuously praise the God of salvation and all his true works. All those who cross over into the covenant shall respond to them: “Amen, amen.”

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166 The translations of 1QS in this thesis are my own, unless otherwise indicated. I have consulted other translations, above all Qimron and Charlesworth 1994, Abegg 2006, Knibb 1987, Wernberg-Møller 1957, and in the final hymn, Vermes 2004 and Falk 1998.

167 I, 1b: In the second part of the line, the words “rule” (סרכ) and “book” (ספר) are reconstructed with help of the corresponding passage in 4QS (ספר סר). The same words also are reconstructed on the verso of the handle sheet as part of what seems to be a written title of the composition: ומן סר where the first two words usually are taken as a designation of 1QS and the last as the opening word of the title of 1QSa (and b).

168 The phrase is reconstructed by Licht (1965): ולנפש לא ישא图案 לדרוש אל בכול לב ובכ. See 4QSc.

169 For the interpretation of hesed in the meaning “covenant of friendship,” see Burrows 1951: 6–7 n. 15. The term hesed is according to him, more than loving kindness and mercy. It combined the qualities of love and loyalty in friendship (ibid.: 48–49), which goes well with its meaning in 1QS.

170 The phrase may be understood in relation to the calendar as referring to the holy days and then translated differently.

171 Lohse (1971: 5) renders the passage elegantly: “und ihre Kraft einzusetzen nach der Vollkommenheit seiner Wege.”

172 The sentence may be rendered differently. Cf. Wernberg-Møller: “All those who enter into the order of the community, shall enter into the covenant before God.” I take the entering of the serek as a prerequisite for entering the covenant.

173 The phrase לומדוות נוכדמ literally means “crucible testing.”
2.1.2 Text Analysis

In the opening part of the first line, only one letter namely \textit{lamed} (ל) is preserved. This letter initiates a break comprising about 21–22 letters.\textsuperscript{175} The letter \textit{he} (ה, for, by) indicates that what follows is an addressee. A common scholarly suggestion is \textquotedblleft For the Maskil\textquotedblright\ (עברית מַסְּקִיל) although no single letter remains to support such conjecture.\textsuperscript{176} The lacuna is followed by the words/letters \textit{שם לחיו} of which the first (שם) may be the ending of a longer word.\textsuperscript{177} In his analysis of Isaiah 53, H. S. Nyberg translates \textit{שם} in Isaiah 53:10: \textquotedblleft when you make his life an offering for sin\textquotedblright\ (םא אִשָּׁה לְאֹיִян).\textsuperscript{178} He does so by means of Job 17:3, where \textit{שם} comes in the meaning \textquotedblleft lay down a pledge.\textquotedblright\ Nyberg takes \textit{שם} in Isaiah 53:10 in the meaning of what this pledge consists and renders it: \textquotedblleft If his soul lays down a pledge consisting of a sin offering\textquotedblright\ (my translation from Swedish).\textsuperscript{180} He then understands the servant as paying the ransom for someone in debt. In this opening part of 1QS, the corresponding words \textit{שם לחיו} occurs.\textsuperscript{181} It is intriguing, although speculative, to suggest a similar solution here. The textual evidence is too weak to argue for such an allusion. But the ideas correspond. 1QS communicates the image of the suffering servant as a role model for the identity and mission of the community. Just like the servant they offer their lives as a ransom (see VIII, 3b–4 and 10; IX, 3–5). It could be the Teacher of Righteousness whose life became a pledge for the community, or that each convert into the covenant is addressed here. They all give their lives as a ransom by entering the \textit{serek} of the community. The implications of which are outlined in the \textit{Serek ha-Yahad}.

Along with some other terms, which in a special way carry the ideology of 1QS, one finds the term \textit{serek} (סְרֶק). It is often rendered with \textit{“rule”} and \textit{“order.”}\textsuperscript{182} In this opening line it is related to the \textit{sefer} (book) and is therefore often taken in the meaning \textit{“rule”} in parity with rules for monastic orders. The term \textit{serek} has been taken as an indicator of genre, which has defined 1QS as a legal text, or rule text. Stauber argues against the traditional definition of 1QS as a \textit{“legal text”} displaying a list of rules to be followed by a community.\textsuperscript{183} He argues for a reconceptualization of this genre, which he distinguishes from a number of common denominators. One such denominator is the narrative about the \textit{eschaton} where a move
from a worse situation in the present to a better situation in the future is recounted. He suggests a new contextual conceptualization of the root יָהֳדָד according to a fourfold semantic range where the hierarchal disposition of the community is at stake from a spatial, hierarchal, martial, and procedural aspect. The occurrence of the term יָהֳדָד in 1, 1 he takes in the latter meaning (procedural) and renders: “the list of instructions/teaching.” This since it describes arrangement of procedures rather than of arranging physical objects.¹⁸⁴ It is clear that the phrase in I, 1 is rendered more generally as “(book of the) order of the community.” The reason for this is that the term “order” may convey both the regulations that govern community life (I, 1; V, 1; VI, 8) and the hierarchal “list” into which members are inscribed (V, 23; VI, 22). As will become clear in this thesis, these two aspects of יָהֳדָד are interdependent. יָהֳדָד connotes both the basic ideology of the Yahad as well as its hierarchal organization, which in turn stems from the ideology. It is likely that both these aspects are conveyed in the term already in the opening line. The reconceptualization of the genre according to these denominators is meaningful for this opening part of 1QS. What is about to be outlined is knowledge of the way in which God’s plan is manifested in history and how it involves the community (Yahad). This knowledge is however only accessible by entering the order of the Yahad. This in turn implies discipline within the social hierarchy that controls all human interaction.

The second important term that is introduced in the first line is Yahad (יהָד). It translates to the English “together,” “community,” and “unity.” This term is frequent in all sections of 1QS, except in the Treatise (III, 13–IV, 26).¹⁸⁵ In its nominal form it is the main way of designating the community in 1QS (e.g., I, 1; V, 1). In its verbal form it denotes the joining of the council and the community (see I, 8; VIII, 6). In the adjective and adverbial forms it describes the quality of the common life where all major activities shall take place “in unity.” They shall pray, eat, judge, and study together (e.g., VI, 2b–3a). To become a member is to be united to the community (I, 8) and to be ascribed a particular placement within it (the social ladder). This placement decides and defines the relationships between members and is the very prerequisite in creating a community of the highest ideals (see 1QS V, 20b–VI, 1a). Talmon claims that יָהֳדָד is employed as a noun in the meaning “congregation” or “assembly” already in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁸⁶ His first example comes from 1 Chronicles 12:17. It tells the story of David, who was offered support on his way to the throne: “David went out to meet them and said to them, ‘If you have come to me in friendship, to help me, then my heart will be knit to you’” (וַיָּגְדוּ לְאָדָם בְּחֵצָא אֲלֵהֶם לְאוֹלָם יָהֳדָד). Instead of rendering יָהֳדָד with “knit,” Talmon interprets it as a noun, arguing that the term conveys the concept of a covenant. He translates: “My heart will be bent upon you for a covenant if in peace you come to me.” His second example is from Ezra 4:3: “The setting of this passage is in postexilic Judah when neighboring tribes offer the returning exiles help in rebuilding the temple. This is not desired by the returnees and the answer given to the ones offering labor is: “You shall have no part with us in building a house to our God; but we alone will build to the LORD, the God of Israel” (וַיִּדְרֹךְ וְלָבְנָה בֵּית לַהֲדוֹת אֲלֵיהֶם מִי וְאֵם לֹא לָבְנָה וּלְאָלֶיהֶם בֵּית לַהֲדוֹת אֲלֵיהֶם). Talmon regards יָהֳדָד as an apposition to the noun and renders it as “the community” and regards it as “a perfect parallel” to 1QS I, 12 and II, 22. According to him, the few examples of the biblical use of יָהֳדָד as a noun ought then to be taken in the meaning “covenant,” “assembly,” and “community.” The verb points in the direction of “becoming a member of such covenant, community, or assembly.” Although the scriptural material is limited, it is interesting since it deals with the creation of a covenant and the construction of a sanctuary. These two activities are central in 1QS and thereby already in its opening lines.

Regardless of how one renders the first broken line in 1QS, it is clear that it leads up to the required duties and attitudes of the members of the community in the form of

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.: 23–83, 68.
¹⁸⁵ Since the community as an organizational body is not of primary interest in the Treatise.
¹⁸⁶ Talmon 1989: 53–60. Talmon also claims that it in some instances it has a strictly technical quality, referring to the governing body of the community (Deut 33:5; Ps 2:2).
commands, or urges. The first ten and a half lines in 1QS are dominated by nominal clauses constructed with liqtol (infinitives) as the main verbal form.\(^{187}\) These may function as yiqtol by continuing and modifying an initial (lost) finite verb and then expressing purpose, consequence or result of it (“in order to”). They may also be understood as imperatives and then part of a hortatory section (“they shall”).\(^{188}\) Newsom argues for an intentional stylistic strategy in the use of infinitives here: “Unlike final verbs which include information about subject, aspect and mood, the infinites expresses only purpose.” This fits well in a voluntary society such as the Yahad, since it is constituted on the motives provided by common purpose.\(^{189}\) The context of entering a covenant argues for taking the liqtol as imperatives here, that is, as commands related to the covenant. The first command (I, 1b–3) recalls public scenes in Chronicles and Deuteronomy, where entering the covenant implies the end of apostasy and the beginning of searching for God wholeheartedly: They shall seek God with [all their heart and all their soul] in order to do what is good and right before him, as he commanded through Moses and through all his servants the prophets (I, 1b–3). The phrase recalls Deuteronomy 4:29: “If you search after him with all your heart and soul” (ibir hayah elohei avot echu b’k’l b’b’v).\(^{190}\) The wording in 1QS lies closer to 2 Chronicles, for example, 2 Chronicles 15:12: “(They entered into a covenant) to seek the LORD, the God of their ancestors, with all their heart and with all their soul” (lain’ru es hayah elohei avot echu b’k’l b’b’v).\(^{191}\) Both biblical texts hold law-abidance to be the only way to reestablish the covenant with God. The context in Deuteronomy is a hortatory sermon by Moses before crossing over the Jordan into the Promised Land. In 2 Chronicles 15:12 the context is that of a public gathering where all the people promise to search God with all heart and soul and they “enter” into a covenant with God. Interestingly we find both terms for making a covenant in the ceremony in 1QS: They both “cross over” and “enter” (I, 16) which, if we imagine a “physical” ceremony, may have taken the form of a crossing over the Jordan as well as entering the covenant by taking on the vows, which implies a return to the Mosaic Law. The starting point for the section, and 1QS overall, is thereby biblical. According to Newsom this argues for understanding this section as addressed to new members who are about to enter the community. The scribe opens with a language that all Jews would understand, after which he gradually introduces the inside language of the community.\(^{192}\) The thick web of Scriptural allusions could however also be a way of demonstrating the community as the true inheritor of the scriptural promises. The latter would have motivated both old and new members.

In the following lines (I, 3b–11a) the implications of “doing what is good and right” is worked out within the concepts of love and hate. The objects for love and hate can be understood either as fellow members and opponents or as the right and wrong interpretations of the law. These two aspects are always interrelated in 1QS. The urge to keep away from all evil, “to hate,” implies a separation from both physical persons as well as from their total activity (see V, 15–18). The norm is to keep away rather than to engage in open conflict in order not to be contaminated by evil (see V, 1–2 and IX, 21–22). In the same manner, but reversed, one must “cling” to all good deeds. To do so renders possible the

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\(^{187}\) E. Qimron (1986) argues for the “predicative use of the infinitive” and that the infinitives in some passages function as imperfects. Holst (2008) makes the same reflections in his analysis of the verbal system in the War Scroll; in some passages (2:1–3) he finds no difference in the function of yiqtol and liqtol but he suggests that the liqtol could have the function of “expressing the purpose or result of the preceding verb.” The latter could be argued for the first paragraph in 1QS where I, 1b and I, 16 are opened by yiqtol clauses followed by series of liqtol. Perhaps the first broken line once contained a finite verb that the liqtol follow up on. But then again, in other sections (e.g., V, 1; VIII, 1) the liqtol alone could initiate a section.

\(^{188}\) For an analysis of the function of the liqtol in 1QS I, 1–11a, see Isaksson 2008: 79–91.

\(^{189}\) Newsom 2004: 109.

\(^{190}\) See also Deut 6:18 and 12:28.

\(^{191}\) See also 2 Chr 31:20–21.

\(^{192}\) As Newsom (2004: 108) puts it: “To enter the community is to learn a new language, one distinct in its choices of diction, syntax, structure, and genre, as well as its content. Such a language cannot be too novel or foreign, however, but must begin on common ground.”
vision constructed on Micah 6:8 “to perform truth, righteousness, and justice in the land.”193

As will become clear from other occurrences of the term “truth” it implies to be part of a particular interpretation of contemporary time and of Scripture (see, e.g., IV, 20, IX, 3 and 18). The concept “truth” in 1QS conveys the understanding of how good and evil are manifested through history and in the present time. This is what has led the community to its particular form of ideological and organizational structure. “Truth” reveals the evil inclination that leads human beings to follow the desires of their hearts and end up in rivalry and conflict. “Truth” means that only in the community can the evil structures that corrupt mankind be replaced by good structures (serek) that heal society, restore the covenant, and atone for the land (see IX, 3–5a). Truth is the ideological foundation of the community. To this each individual offers himself in order to become part of the metaphorical temple that exercises atonement and justice in the land (I, 5b–6a, 11).194

The opposite of “doing truth” is to walk in the stubbornness of a guilty heart (I, 6). This idiom is repeated many times in 1QS.195 The expression comes to fore in II, 11–18 where it describes the mind of a false convert. Such a person keeps following the old tracks of thinking and behaving and accepts no chastisement. In the current instance the expression is related to “guilt” and “lustful eyes” that lead to evil acts. The old way of living, which the initiate leaves behind, is a life led by the ego and guided by desires. Instead, the initiate into the community is constrained to walk in one direction instead of another, to desire something other than that which the eyes see, namely “truth.”196

That a personal sacrifice lies at basis of the covenantal relationship between God and the community becomes clear in the following passage: To bring into the covenant of mercy, all those who freely offer themselves to do the statutes of God. In light of the influence of Chronicles in the first lines of the paragraph, the meaning of the term פִּינָחֵשׁ (a freewill offering) may be enlightened by its use in the books of Chronicles. There it denotes a person who gives him- or herself as a gift to divine service in war or in the service of building the temple (see 1 Chr 29:5b–6, 9, 17b).197 Although the term occurs as a formalized way of expressing membership in postbiblical literature, the choice of term in 1QS stresses two important aspects of membership. The first is the sacrifice of the self as necessary in order to submit oneself to the legislation of the community. The second aspect is the freewill attitude to membership, which in IX, 24 is explained as an acceptance of God’s will. The use of the term strengthens the identification of the community with the temple. In line with this, Dimant claims that “the concrete cultic vocabulary of the biblical texts was transformed into figurative terminology, yet it never lost it cultic flavor.”198

The term פִּינָחֵשׁ “statutes” (also “law,” “prescribed task,” “limit”) appears in 1QS in relation to the covenant. In the covenant they keep the statutes of God (I, 7b–8a; V, 20, 22, and indirectly V, 11), from these one must not deviate (I, 15; III, 9–11).199 In the section

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193 This passage from Micah is the number one scriptural text when it comes to expressing the identity and purpose of the Yahad (I, 5b; IV, 4b–5a; V, 3b–4a; VIII, 2; X, 26).
194 The term “truth” occurs most frequently in the Treatise on the Two Spirits (III, 13–14, 26), where it is opposed to “lie” and personified as someone who suffers under the current age (IV, 19–20). There is a dualistic undertone in the use of the expression throughout 1QS in that there are “true knowledge” (IX, 17), “true council/counsel” (III, 6), “true ways” (IV, 2) and “true community” (II, 26) as opposed to what is unjust and false. Truth comes from God who reveals it to the community in their investigations of the law.
195 1QS I, 6; II, 14, 26; III, 3; V, 4; VII, 19, 24; IX, 10. For a scriptural background to the idiom see, e.g., Jer 3:17.
196 The opposite of walking in a stubborn heart is “to walk perfectly before God” in 1QS I, 9b–9a. This passage may allude to Gen 17:1 (“walk before me and be blameless”). In Genesis, the perfect conduct of Abraham is part of the covenantal contract between Abraham and God (Gen 17:2). For a possible allusion to Genesis, see Wernberg-Møller (1959: 46 n. 19).
197 In her analysis of the use of the term mitnadevim in 1QS, Dimant (2007: 233–45) argues that the “Qumranites borrowed the participle mitnadevim already invested with a particular cultic meaning” since they were familiar with the accounts of Ezra and the Chronicler (ibid.: 238). In the Hebrew Bible the hitpael forms of nadav dominate in the late biblical books in the meaning of “doing something willingly” always in relation to the temple (see 1 Chr 29:5–6; Ezra 1:6 and Neh 11:2). See also A. Fitzgerald (1974: 495 n.1), who claimed that the term in postexilic writings is strongly associated with generosity to the temple.
198 Dimant 2007: 238.
199 A majority of the occurrences of the term is found in the texts dedicated to the Maskil (the term only occurs in cols. I–III; V, 7–22 and IX, 12–X, col. V is in 4QS5:8 dedicated to the Maskil). The Maskil has “statutes” that shall
instructing the Maskil (IX, 12–26) the concrete implications of the statutes concern interpersonal relationships. The statute is that certain attitudes must be held toward the inside group and the adversaries respectively (IX, 12). Toward the former an attitude of critical evaluation and confidence is demanded (IX, 14–16a, 17b–19). Toward the adversaries, the anger must be hidden under a veil of humbleness (IX, 16b–17a, 21b–23a). In light of this, the urge to love and hate relates to norms of behavior (I, 9b–11a; IX, 21).

A person who clings to good deeds and makes a personal sacrifice as just described enters the covenant in order to be joined to the council of God (I, 8). When the term מועצה, which in the scrolls usually is rendered with plan, council, or counsel, occurs frequently in 1QS, it in its nominal form it designates the institution where the law is investigated (council). The verbal form denotes the activity of “counseling” which take place within the council (see VI, 9, 22–23). The meaning of מועצה in this instance may then be double: It both refers to God’s counsel/secret intentions and the council of the community where these secrets are revealed. This is what the immediately following passage (I, 8b–9a) points to: ...and so walk perfectly before him (according to) all the revealed laws at the times decided for them. It is in the council that they investigate the law in order to understand the intention of God in their daily lives.

Directly after this statement follow the concrete implications of the revealed laws (I, 9b–10). They shall love the children of light according to each member’s hierarchical placement in the community. They shall hate the children of darkness each according to his guilt when God avenges. The two categories of children of light and darkness occur only in the first three columns of 1QS. The children of light are mentioned in II, 16 as the group from which someone who enters the covenant insincerely shall be cut off. The children of light thereby constitute the human counterpart of the covenant. The third occurrence of the children of Light is in the Treatise on the Two Spirits (III, 13–IV, 26). The Maskil shall teach them about the underlying order of existence. Light and darkness appears in wisdom literature in a derived sense for knowledge and ignorance, and this is also the way it ought to be understood here. Those belonging to light are the enlightened ones who have access to the right interpretations of the law (see II, 1b–4a). It is therefore that they, and only they, can fulfill the human counterpart of the covenant. The category “children of darkness” occurs only in this instance. The sobriquet is as D. Peters puts it, one of “pithy condemnatory expressions of judgment” and part of a speech act of judgment in which they (the community) took part

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200 These are the statutes by which the Maskil shall be instructed (in his interaction) with every living being. He shall be guided by the doctrine appropriate to each era and the weight of each person.

201 Qimron and Charlesworth 1994: 7 n. 11.

202 In the first two and half columns, the terms community and council often come in construct forms with “God,” i.e., “the community of God,” or “his true community” (e.g., II, 22. 26) and the “council of God” (I, 8, 10). The reason for this may be rhetorical; to demonstrate how the community that they are about to enter is part of God’s plan and not a human invention.

203 It is in the council of the community” appears as synonymous to the community (see I, 12 and III, 2). There are however cases where the two seems to imply different things, e.g., in the account of the procedures of initiation where a person during his two year probation time to become part of the council of the community already lives within the community (VI, 16b–18). This instance argues for understanding the council as a special function within the community into which only certain people had access (full members) and where the (secret) knowledge of the group was kept and developed (see IX, 17).

204 The last part of the phrase “at the times decided for them” is one of three related passages occurring in the first major section (I, 13–15 and III, 9–11). These have been interpreted in two different ways by scholars. The main dividing line is whether “the times” mentioned here refer to the Jewish calendar or more generally to epochs of time. For the latter, see Wernberg-Møller (1957: 49 n. 36), who early stated that “an action, in order to be morally perfect, should not only formally comply with a commandment but should also take place at the right time.” The phrase reoccurs in cols. 8–9 in almost identical constructions with the one difference that another term for time, namely מועד, comes instead of מועצה. The term מועד is primarily found in documents that are associated by scholars with the Yahad, such as the Rule of the Community, the War Scroll, and Hodayot, where it takes on meanings such as “fixed time” or “assembly”; see Falk 1998: 25 n. 26.
as God’s coworkers.\textsuperscript{205} The children of darkness are in this instance defined in relation to their “guilt.” The guilt lies at the basis of God’s judgment. Those belonging to darkness are blind to the true interpretations of the law. The consequence of this is to be guilty of transgressing the law. This excludes them as a covenantal partner. The “lot” (יָהַד), which decides how to relate to the other, in other instances denotes the hierarchal standing place of each member in the Yahad (see VI, 22). Someone with a higher standing in the hierarchy demanded more “love” from his co-members. The meaning of “love” is respect, critical evaluation, and confidence (see IX, 12–21). The members should not be treated alike but in accordance with their status (see VI, 26). From this background, the display of the hierarchal order in II, 19–22 is of great importance so that “every single Israelite knows his standing place in the community of God.” The urge to hate the adversaries informs us that the Yahad was not isolated but stood in (a power struggle) relation to other groups and individuals, something that becomes evident in other parts of the composition (see, e.g., V, 10–20a)\textsuperscript{206}

In I, 11b the first yiqtol occurs preceded by a noun clause: \textit{those who freely offer themselves to his truth}. They shall bring (יָשֶׂם) all their knowledge, skills and property into the community. In line with Longacre’s theory of the (1) subject-yiqtol construction, this yiqtol functions as introducing or bringing back a person or an element into focus.\textsuperscript{207} In this case those “who freely offer themselves” in I, 7 (and maybe also who lay their lives as a pledge” in I, 1, 7) are in focus again. They shall now bring in their assets. This yiqtol is followed by several infinitives expressing purpose, consequences and results of the “bringing in.” They shall purify their knowledge by the truth of God’s statutes. They shall exercise their skills according to his perfect ways and all their property according to his righteous council.

The category \textit{those who freely offer themselves} (יָשֶׂם) is the way members of the community are labeled in the context of entering the covenant (see V, 1, 6, 8, 10, 21, 22 and VI, 13b).\textsuperscript{208} In the first column the term comes in the niphal stem, which may imply an aspect of reflexivity and a degree of passivity. It involves those who are about to devote themselves—if they are allowed to do so. If so, they shall bring all their knowledge, skills, and property into the community of God. These assets correspond to what in particular was valued in the Yahad. A member was judged by his mental capacities (e.g., V, 23) and his strength (see III, 1). More importantly, these assets were potential causes of conflict and strife. Knowledge and intelligence, which manifest itself in speech, is strictly controlled in 1QS both in relation to outsiders (e.g., X, 19) and insiders (e.g., VI, 25b–27a). Knowledge had to be “purified” in the line of thought of the community. It must only be articulated within the limits of the special social forms of speech in the community (see VI, 8bβ–13a). The skills had to be channeled and controlled. A man was not allowed to take power into his own hands (see V, 25b–26). Property could be the cause of conflict. This becomes evident in the penal code where the first listed offense is “lying about property” (VI, 24b–25). Therefore, all that which belongs to the initiate must be purified and put under the control of the community. The knowledge must submit to the verity of God’s law. The strength is to be channeled into moral perfection. The property, finally, is to be put under the control of the council of the community.\textsuperscript{209} In the more elaborate account of entrance in VI, 13b–23, one

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{205} Peters, forthcoming.
\item \textsuperscript{206} In the instructions for the \textit{Maskil} it says that this “hate” shall be concealed under a veil of humbleness (IX, 21b–22).
\item \textsuperscript{207} That is, when the subject is placed before the verb, see Holst 2008:73.
\item \textsuperscript{208} Although the steps for entrance into the community are only briefly accounted for in the first paragraph, it seems that the same order is followed here as in VI, 13b–23. First they enter the covenant as an act of loyalty to the hierarchal system (I, 7b), after which they are inaugurated in the council and may share the secrets of the community (I, 8–9a).
\item \textsuperscript{209} A biblical parallel to this passage is Exod 35:29: “All the Israelite men and women whose hearts made them willing to bring anything for the work that the LORD had commanded by Moses to be done, brought it as a freewill offering to the LORD.” The context of this Exodus text belongs in the preparations for the tabernacle. All the people, women and men, are asked to bring things but also talents that could benefit the ornamentations of the sanctuary. In both Exodus and 1QS abilities and wealth are brought in (but with different terminology).
\end{itemize}
can note that the assets of the initiate are only gradually brought into the community. The reason for this is that the initiate is in a liminal phase, in between falsehood and truth and in between the old and the new, which is why both he and his assets pose a threat to the community (see III, 2). 210

In the passage just discussed, the metaphor “temple” is a primary means by which group identity in 1QS is visible. 211 This metaphor plays a prominent role in columns V–IX and XI where the identification of the community in terms of the temple is made explicit. 212 In columns I–III, temple imagery is evoked through allusions and echoes in Scripture and in the cultic language of offerings and purity. As was discussed (above) those who enter the covenant are “those who freely offer themselves.” They and all their belongings are considered as freewill offerings to the community whose metaphorical identity is the temple. Newsom states: “Whereas the community leaders gave gold, silver, bronze, iron, and precious stones for the building of the temple, the addresses of this teaching bring their knowledge, ability, and (mental) capacity.” 213 The high demand on purity for those entering the temple area is transferred to those entering the community: The implicature is that just as impossible as it is for a pollutant to enter the temple area, so is it for a morally defiled person to enter the community. 214

Following this, they are forbidden to deviate even in the smallest detail from the words of God in the time being (I, 13b–14a). 215 This admonition is developed as a warning against preponing or postponing the times, as well as against deviating from the statutes. The admonition displays the close interrelation between the law, the times, and the conduct of the individual as it was understood by the community. As Newsom puts it, “one cannot really know one thing without knowing many other things and their relationship.” 216 To understand how these factors correlate is part of the secret teaching of the community. It may be that Daniel 11:35 is alluded to in this passage (I, 11b–20). The Daniel text tells about a chosen group of wise people who shall restore the covenant by the refinement of their own spirits “Some of the wise shall fall, so that they may be refined, purified, and cleansed, until the time of the end, for there is still an interval until the time appointed.” 217 In Daniel, only those who know God shall stand firm during these horrible occasions. Wise people (Maskilim) shall guide others, but some of them shall also “fall” in order to be purified and cleansed. This process of refining goes on until the end time that is appointed for it. The idea of a chosen group who suffers and are tested by an evil rule, and who will be purified by God at a certain time compares well to the community. This idea is in particular displayed in the Treatise (III, 13–IV, 26). It tells of how the righteous ones have fallen under an evil rule, just as they fall in Daniel, and become polluted (III, 21b–23). The righteous ones are in a process of refinement, which also inaugurates the time for judgment (IV, 20–21). It is in the “interval” before the time of judgment that this purging takes place both in Daniel and in 1QS. The verbal likeness to the Daniel passage in column I is first and foremost seen in the three terms for time (וֹרְאֵי עֵתִים�; see Wassén 2013: 55–73 and Haber 2008: 103–18). The use of the metaphor “temple” to identify the community is prominent in S (V, 5–7; VIII, 4–11; IX, 3–6; XI, 6–9); see also 4QFlorilegium 1–2 i 6, and CD III, 18–IV, 12 of which the latter instance is disputed. See Wassén 2013: 58.

Newsom (2004: 114–15) states that “the only adequate language for the truth of what the community is, is the language of temple” (ibid.: 157). The term “implicature” refers to what is suggested in an utterance, though not expressed. 214 Literally, “in their times” בָּכַיֵּים�.

Newsom 2004: 80.

In Dan 11:35 the temple is defiled and the covenant is violated. A chosen group of wise people shall restore the covenant by the refinement of their own spirits. This compares well with how the cult and the covenant shall be restored by the refinement of the members of the Yahad in 1QS. 218 The combination of these three terms designating time are only corresponded with in Dan 11:35 in Scripture.

form of freewill offerings or freewill skills. In 1QS there is a stronger connection between the gift and the human being since the people joining the Yahad are those who both offer themselves and all their abilities, knowledge, and wealth with free will.

210 The assets of a person, his property and his abilities, are also a potential source of defilement.

211 For an analysis of the function of the temple metaphor in S, see Wassén 2013: 55–73 and Haber 2008: 103–18.

212 The use of the metaphor “temple” to identify the community is prominent in S (V, 5–7; VIII, 4–11; IX, 3–6; XI, 6–9); see also 4QFlorilegium 1–2 i 6, and CD III, 18–IV, 12 of which the latter instance is disputed. See Wassén 2013: 58.

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218 The combination of these three terms designating time are only corresponded with in Dan 11:35 in Scripture.
The Daniel passage may also be heard in the somewhat rare term "testing/melting" (I, 17). In both Daniel and 1QS suffering is regarded as purging (see 1QS VIII, 3–4) but in 1QS the term comes in a construct with בַּזָּן wherefore I render it "persecution." That suffering led to atonement is spelled out in VIII, 4 where the term בַּזָּן occurs again, this time as a means for "paying for iniquity."

In light of the Daniel passage, it is not calendrical times that are at stake in I, 13b–15 but rather time in relation to God’s unfolding of his truths, which in turn demands something of the righteous ones. In the time being, the community is inaugurating the messianic era by being purged.

In I, 16, the account of the two opposed ways is summed up Instead (of deviating) all those who cross over into the covenant before God, must enter by the serek of the community, Other parts of 1QS informs of the hierarchal list "serek" in which members of the community are inscribed according to their rank (see VI, 22). This hierarchal list lies at the basis of all interaction with fellow members. To enter the covenant is to accept and to display one’s placement within the hierarchy (as becomes clear in II, 19–23). To enter the serek and the covenant are thereby overlapping concepts. Further, when they enter the covenant they do so in order to act in accordance with everything that he commanded (הַעֲבָרָה עַלָּה). These words refer to the opening part of the paragraph (I, 2b–3) and remind the audience of the commands/vows. This is what they pledge themselves to do when entering the covenant.

The second reason for entering the covenant is in order not to turn back from Him because of any fear, terror, or persecution during the reign of Belial. This is the first time that Belial is mentioned in 1QS. It may be that a historical figure hides behind this title. It may also be a general term for falsehood/lawlessness or a designation for an eschatological ruler. What can be claimed on basis of the text itself is that Belial’s reign is counted in time. It has repercussions on the contemporary time of the community, and it has an end (decided by God). It causes sufferings, something that may argue for understanding Belial as someone(s) exercising power over the land. In Scripture, Belial is not personified but an adjective meaning “worthless” (בָּלֶל יִשְׁרָאֵל). In the Qumran writings Belial may sometimes be personified. This may be the case in the War Scroll, where he is the leader of the children of darkness. In CD he is unleashed against Israel, whom he catches in three nets that appear as three kinds of righteousness; namely, fornication, wealth, and defiling the sanctuary (CD IV, 12b–19a). Attempts have been made to identify Belial with historical figures. It has been suggested that John Hyrcanus hides behind the “real” identity of the “man of Belial” in 4Q175. A problem with understanding Belial as a historical figure (or group) is that Belial is opposed to God in II, 1b–10 and thereby appears to be a cosmic force. In later rabbinic writings the term Belial is understood as people without yoke, that is, without moral. Although the rabbinic texts and 1QS stem from different times and contexts, this proves to be an interesting antithesis to the use of term serek in 1QS as the bond/yoke that prevents moral decay (following a guilty heart and lustful eyes). All occurrences of the term Belial in 1QS are found in the opening ceremony and the final hymn. In the latter the Maskil states that he will not “keep Belial in his heart” (X, 21b–22). In that instance Belial is likened to deceitful speech. Taken together, Belial is a symbolic way of designating the evil structures of society that produce corruption and real suffering. From this perspective, Belial may also be a particular person in power who reinforces the evil structures of society. These structures

219 Stauber (2013: 48–49) classifies this occurrence of serek under “hierarchal disposition” and translates “thux all those who enter into the hierarchy,” depending on 4Q8.

220 One can pose the historical question whether the expression “entering the covenant by the serek of the Yahad” gives witness to an outbreak group within the greater “new covenant” movement where the “new thing” concerns the hierarchal discipline as pivotal in order to perform a perfect conduct (see II, 25–III, 6).

221 1QM I, 1: “the army of Belial: the troops of Edom”; translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls other than 1QS are from Tov (1994) unless otherwise stated.


223 The Talmud (b. Sanh. 111b) regards it as a compound word, made up of beli and 'ol (without a yoke). Such unmoral people are related to a servant of the Devil who engaged in lustful living.
are what an initiate into the covenant leaves behind. And in light of this, *serek* is the bond that restrains the evil inclination of each individual. It separates the community from evil society and so prevents corruption on all levels. It is therefore that they both enter the *serek* and cross over into the covenant (I, 16). The covenant depends on the restraining bond of the *serek*.\(^224\)

So instead of deviating and violating the boundaries, the people now cross over into the right boundary. They leave the evil situation behind, as well as everything in themselves that has the potential of leading astray from God’s ordinances. All evil inclination is now repressed by the *serek* of the Yahad.

The third, and last, *yiqtol* (יִקְטֹל) in the paragraph (I, 18) is an x-*yiqtol* with a pre-posed element other than a subject, namely, *While they cross over* (משביחים פנים הרה). The pre-posed material accomplishes a focus shift. The focus can be temporal, spatial or concern other circumstances about the subject already known.\(^225\) In this instance it is a temporal shift of focus in that the reader/hearer is drawn into the present time of the liturgy, which from now until II, 19 is accounted for.\(^226\) Those who enter the covenant by the *serek* are now saved hence the epithet: the “God of Salvation.” The first paragraph closes with the double response of the initiates into the covenant: *amen, amen.*\(^227\)

\[\text{2.2 The Ritual: Putting an End to Rebellion (I, 21–II, 10)}\]

\[\text{2.2.1 Translation of Text}\]

\[\text{21} \text{Then the priests shall recount God’s righteous deeds (seen) in their mighty acts} \text{\(^228\)} \text{heralding all the merciful love toward Israel.} \text{\(^229\)} \text{The Levites shall enumerate the iniquities of the children of Israel and all their guilty rebellions and sins during the reign of Belial.} \text{\(^24\)} \text{[And all] those who cross over into the covenant shall confess by saying: “We have committed iniquities, we have [tr]ansgressed, we have done evil, we [and] our [anc]estors before us, by our walking \text{\(^26\)}[ \text{truth. And righte[ous] is the [Go]ld of} \]

\[\text{224} \text{A quite stunning comparison to this part of 1QS comes from 2 Cor 6:14–17: “Do not be mismatched with unbelievers. For what partnership is there between righteousness and lawlessness? Or what fellowship is there between light and darkness? What agreement does Christ have with Beliar? Or what does a believer share with an unbeliever? What agreement has the temple of God with idols? For we are the temple of the living God; as God said, ‘I will live in them and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.’ Therefore come out from them, and be separate from them, says the Lord, and touch nothing unclean; then I will welcome you.” Just as in 1QS, Beliar is here associated with darkness, lawlessness, ignorance, and moral defilement. The implied community on the other hand is righteous and likened to the temple. The only way to escape the dominion of Beliar/Belial is by separation from society.} \text{\(^225\)} \text{Double amen occurs only in Ezra-Nehemiah. Ezra opens the scroll in front of all the people they all respond “amen, amen!” If there is a parallel between the *serek* and the book that Ezra reads it may be that the *serek* was understood as a book of the covenant. The first section thereby opens and closes with the allusions to covenant renewal ceremonies as they are accounted for in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.} \text{\(^226\)} \text{This expression is reversed in 1QS II, 1. See Ps 103:4, where the same words occur, joined with “and” (\textit{waw}).} \]
[Israel since] he has judged us and [our] fathers 2 but he has [requ]ited us with his loving mercy from eternity and to eternity."

Then the priests shall bless all 2the people of God’s lot who walk perfectly in all his ways and say: "May he bless you with every good and keep you from every evil. May he enlighten your heart with life-giving wisdom, 231 and graciously bestow upon you eternal knowledge. 4May he lift up the face of his mercy upon you for everlasting peace."

The Levites shall curse all the people of 5Belial’s lot and say: “Cursed be you because of all your guilty wicked deeds. May God give you up (to) terror 232 through all those who breathe vengeance. May he visit you upon destruction 233 through all of those who take revenge. Cursed be you without mercy 234 in accordance with the darkness of your deeds. Damned be you 6in everlasting murky fire. May God have no mercy upon you when you cry out. May he not forgive you by atoning for your iniquities. 9May he lift up his furious countenance upon you for vengeance. May there never be peace for you according to all who hold fast to the fathers.” 10And those who cross over into the covenant shall respond after those who bless and those who curse: “Amen, amen.”

2.2.2 Text Analysis

The second paragraph (I, 21–II, 10) brings the audience into the present time of the ceremony. The paragraph contains a recounting of history, blessings, curses, and a confession of sins. Scribal markings single out two subsections: II, 1b–4a and II, 4b–10a. These contain the blessing and the curse over the “lots” (יתר) of God and Belial respectively. 236 The paragraph ends with the joint response “Amen, amen” from those entering the covenant. The verbal forms that express the actions of blessing and cursing, confessing and responding, are participles filling a verbal function. These participles continue the periphrastic verbal construction in I, 18, which is the starting point of the liturgy. In all cases the participles come in the subject–predicate sequence, which according to Joosten represents the action as actually taking place at the time of speaking. 237 In addition to this, the participles bring the events forward: Then the priests shall recount . . . then the Levites shall enumerate. . . . All those who enter the covenant confess. . . . Then the priests shall bless. . . . Then the Levites shall curse. . . . And then all those who enter the

230 The last three lines in the lower first column are broken: [כּוֹל הנַקְמוֹת בֵּבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל יְעַבְּרֵי אֲשֶׁר הוּא מְלֹא כּוֹל מַעֲרַשֶּׁהוּ | כּוֹלָהוּ כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת | כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹל כּוֹל

Lines 24 and 25 are easily reconstructed since only single letters are missing and the context is clear: The second word in line 24 is בֵּית (see same phrase in I, 19–20 and II, 10). Line 25 continues the subject that begun in I, 22b and repeats the vocabulary in I, 23 and can therefore be reconstructed: [כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹל כּוֹל נַקְמוֹת כּוֹ

In line 26 the reconstruction/conjecture is more complicated: The first lacuna held one or two words where the material now has withered away. Due to what follows where “his judgment/justice” ought to refer to God, one can argue for reconstructing the preceding single identified 5 with an 8, i.e., “[Go]d.” It could be that God is given the epithet “God of Israel” here, since the children of Israel are dealt with in the section. This also compares with Psalm 106, which influences the section at large. The last word should most likely be reconstructed with the suffix נו (“our”) reconnecting to the previous words and creating the phrase: “on us and on our fathers.” The opening broken part of line 26, which follows the words “in our walking” in line 25, could have read “contrary to the covenant” (in comparison with Ps 106:45), or “contrary to true ordinances” (Brownlee 1951: 8). The latter solves the problem with the word “true,” which sometimes is taken as an adjective in parity with the following word “righteous.” At least one can be sure that the walking was not in accordance with God’s will since it is the root of all the iniquities committed by the Israelites (I, 24–25).


232 Literally, “after you.”

233 My translation in lines 5b–7a depends on Nitzan 1994: 151. The phrase אָדָם אֲשֶׁר הוּא מְלֹא כּוֹל מַעֲרַשֶּׁהוּ in 5b may also be rendered “God of terror.” The phrase אֲדָם אֲשֶׁר הוּא מְלֹא כּוֹל מַעֲרַשֶּׁהוּ (by the hand of all avengers) is rendered idiomatically by Nitzan as “all those who breathe vengeance,” which captures the intense meaning of the word נוּקָם. The words אֲדָם אֲשֶׁר הוּא מְלֹא כּוֹל מַעֲרַשֶּׁהוּ I render “offspring” in the meaning that “all that which results from your activity” may be destroyed.

234 Or “compassion.”

236 The two subsections are initiated by blank spaces.

covenant shall respond and say after them."\(^{238}\) The ones who spell out the blessings and curses are the Levites and the priests, just as in Deuteronomy 27, whose structure has influenced the section as a whole. The account of the ritual consists of the actual (wording of) blessings and curses as well as descriptions of procedures that shall take place. Sometimes only a heading of an action is given. Two such headings are the priests shall recount God's righteous deeds (seen) in their mighty acts (lines 21–22a) and the Levites shall enumerate the iniquities of the children of Israel (lines 22b–24). The actual content of these activities are not outlined.\(^{239}\) This may imply that not all parts of the liturgy were formalized or/and that the text served as a handbook for someone in charge, perhaps the Maskil. At the same time, there is a rhetorical function in the section that seems to exceed the demands of mere specification in a handbook.\(^ {240}\)

A problem with textual accounts of liturgy is the uncertainty of how it relates to “actual” practice. E. Chazon suggests five criteria for differentiating between actual practice and literary accounts of it (fiction): (1) directives instructing worshippers to pray; (2) titles assigning prayer to a specific time or day; (3) antiphonal refrains; (4) closing responses; (5) consistent speech in the first person plural. The current section corresponds to criteria (1), (2), and (4) and is thereby a dubious case. Another way of understanding the account of the ceremony is within the genre “ritualized texts.”\(^ {241}\) This means that the reading and hearing of the text were translated into ritualized activity. This may be what Newsom aims at when she states that “although the account of the entry into the covenant community refers to a ritual event, in the Serek ha-Yahad it is a textual event.”\(^ {242}\)

During the ritual, the congregation is called “Israel” (I, 22, 23 and II, 22). This compares well to Deuteronomy 27ff, Psalms 106 and Leviticus 16, the three main scriptural texts that influence the subparagraph of I, 21–II, 1a. It is only in this first section (I, 1–III, 12) that the term “Israel” occurs as a self-designation. In other parts of the composition Israel denotes the “others” from whom a convert arrives (VI, 13b). The place where the new creation shall take place, as well as the object for their mission (see, e.g., V, 5; VIII, 4).\(^ {243}\) This could argue for understanding the participants in the ritual as new members who convert from Israel. Such an interpretation compares well with the first two instances where it occurs, but not with II, 22 where the whole community is designated as “Israel.” It may also be that the text gives witness to a time when the group regarded themselves as Israel, where no clear schisms yet had occurred. But it can also be that “Israel” is used rhetorically to stress a continuing line yet had occurred. The verbal forms that give the impression of the action occurring during the time of the speaking argues for understanding the ceremony as a textual event.

The many echoes of Leviticus 16 in I, 16–III, 12 led early scholarship to argue for a Day of Atonement setting for the entire ceremony.\(^ {244}\) It is first and foremost in the confession

\(^{238}\) Holst 2008: 121.

\(^{239}\) See the akin to 1QS/4QS writing 5Q13 1–3, which is about recounting God’s past deeds. This passage is reminiscent of Psalms 105 and 106. 5Q13 contains a description of the ceremony similar to 1QS. It parallels 1QS/4QS when it comes to the themes of the covenant renewal and in particular phrases (e.g., 5Q 13 frg. 4. 3) but the order of themes is reversed from 1QS.

\(^{240}\) E.g., I, 22b–24a where it then would have been enough to state that “the Levites shall recount the transgressions that Israel has committed” instead of “the Levites shall enumerate the sins of the children of Israel, all their guilty transgressions and sin during the reign of Belial.”


\(^{242}\) Newsom 2004: 118.

\(^{243}\) Except for perhaps V, 22, where “the multitude” is said to be of Israel.

\(^{244}\) The many allusions and echoes of Leviticus 16 in the section of I, 16–III, 12 (I, 23; II, 2; III, 4, 5, 7f., 8, 11–12) in general—and the allusion in this passage and in II, 4 in particular—have led scholars like Wernberg-Møller (1957: 50) to the conclusion that the ceremony described in the opening columns of 1QS took place on Yom Kippur.
of the sins of the Israelites in I, 22b–25, that Leviticus 16 is heard: “Then Aaron shall lay both his hands on the head of the live goat, and confess over it all the iniquities of the people of Israel, and all their transgressions, all their sins (אֵלֶּה הַצְּרֵעֹת מִמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל אצָּאֲרֵם וְאֵלֶּה לְפָשְׁעֵיהֶם) putting them on the head of the goat, and sending it away into the wilderness” (16:21). In both Leviticus and 1QS, the ones who have sinned are called “the children of Israel.” The terminology for the recounted transgressions is identical and occurs in the same order. There is however one striking difference. The sins of Israel, which in Leviticus are transmitted to a goat and driven out in the wilderness to atone for the people, are in 1QS carried by the people themselves. They are the ones driven out in the wilderness to atone for the land (see I, 6 and VIII, 13–14), at least from a spiritual point of view. Leviticus 16 may also be heard in terminology of the divided mankind as the two “lots” (תְּמֻקִּים) with different destinies (I, 10; II, 1b–5a, alluding to Lev 16:8). In the last paragraph (II, 19–III, 12) terminology from Leviticus 16:24 and 26 communicate concepts of purity and atonement (see III, 4–9). Finally, both 1QS and Leviticus conclude that the rituals for purging and atoning are statutes to be kept (1QS III, 8b and Lev 16:30–31). There is no need to draw the lines as far as arguing for the same setting, that is, as an indication of a Day of Atonement ritual also in 1QS. What correspond are rather the concepts of sin, purity, and atonement.

In 1QS V–IX, cultic language that usually adheres to the activity of the temple is used figuratively to describe the activity and mission of the community. Just like the sacrificial service of the temple, the community mediates atonement through repentance and purity. In her analysis of the use of the term כפר in the Serek ha-Yahad, S. Haber understands the community as both the subject and object of atonement. They atone and are atoned for by their flawless conduct. Although the term “atoné” is absent in this very passage, it is implied in the context. It is spelled out at the very end of the larger section (III, 6–8 and 11). There it is the humble attitude and flawless conduct that grant atonement for the individual and in the end for the land. What is found in the current passage under discussion is the first step toward atonement. Atonement begins with awareness of one’s guilty inclination. Each member must correct his own “ways” in order for atonement to take place (III, 6b–9a). But it also stresses the need for historical awareness. Rebellion and sin are historical problems that permeate society. This is why they enter the covenant by the serek and separate from a corrupt society.

A question is whether the allusion to Leviticus 16 means that the community identifies itself with the scapegoat who, driven out of society, carries the sins of the Israelites. I hold it possible that the community made such an allegoric interpretation of this text. The community understood its mission to be “atoné for the land”—something that is spelled out in VIII, 6 and 10, and indirectly in IX, 4. The latter instance picks up on Leviticus 16, 1QS I, 22b–23 and to some degree on 1QS I, 24–25. In IX, 4–5: the community shall atone for the guilty rebellion and sacrilege of sin, becoming a ransom for the land by means of the flesh of burnt offerings and through the fat pieces of sacrifices. Lips offered for justice will be as a soothing odor of righteousness, and the perfect behavior will be as a freewill offering. In IX, 4 it is implied that the community, by being morally flawless, atone for the sins that have defiled the sanctuary and the land, just as the two goats in Leviticus. The identification with the scapegoat has the potential of communicating the mission of the community as atoning for the land. At the same time it communicates the experience of being innocently outcast of society into the (geographical or spiritual) wilderness.

In addition to this, the allusion to Leviticus 16 should also be understood within the Priestly theology (P) that has influenced 1QS to a high degree (mainly Genesis 1 and Leviticus 16 and 26). The Priestly theology revolves around categories of holy and profane, creation and chaos, order and disorder, and purity and impurity. According to P, creation is

245 This threefold confession (and in this very order) is in the Hebrew Bible only found in Lev 16:21; see Baumgarten 1953: 158f.
246 D. Peters (forthcoming) points out that this formula, which includes three verbs, is found in biblical prayer offered during exile: “We have committed iniquities, we have transgressed, we have sinned, we have done evil, we and our ancestors before us” (Ps 106:6; Dan 9:5; 2 Chr 6:37; 1 Kgs 8:47).
247 כִּפֵּר in piel infinitive.
about the ordered cosmos and world. Creation is accomplished through divisions. The rituals performed at the Day of Atonement serve to hold this (priestly) system together in cosmos, cult, and society. A change of status in one of these three dimensions would change the status in the other dimensions as well. According to Gorman, the ritual on the Day of Atonement according to Leviticus is a rite of passage for the community that must be understood broader than in terms of defilement and cleansing. It is a ritual of restoration and return to the founded order of creation. Cosmos, cult, and society are all constituted by divisions into categories that must be maintained if order is to be maintained. When the Yahad enters the covenant with God, by the serek, that is the internal division of the community, it restores order in society and put chaos back in its place in cosmos. The process of restoring the world and expiating for the sins of the Israelites begins within each participant in the ceremony. The self becomes as Newsom puts it “the symbolic space” (the title of her book is The Self as Symbolic Space). It is by the transformation of the individual that the atonement of the land begins. From this background the possible identification with the scapegoat is intelligible. Instead of projecting hopes of restoration and order on third party the community themselves take on the transgressions and the destiny of being driven out of society in order to amend the world.

The recounting of sins by the Levites shall be performed “during the dominion of Belial.” The time of Belial is the contemporary time in which they are living and performing the liturgy (I, 18; II, 19) but it also stretches backwards. This is evident since the transgressions of the forefathers are included in this period (I, 25). The reign of Belial is only referred to in the first two columns of 1QS. Judging from these instances it is a “real” time. It has days and years (II, 19). The hallmarks of this era are suffering and afflictions, which could be due to “real” outer threats (not just spiritual), such as a persecution, which makes the righteous turn from their path (I, 17–18, see also III, 21–22) and transgress (I, 24–25). Since it’s reign covers past times it is certainly also the case of structural injustice and violence that rule mankind through generations. Entering the covenant/serek and becoming a member of the Yahad is the same as departing from these structures. In II, 19 this connection is made explicit when it says that they shall maintain their hierarchal order (serek) “as long as Belial reigns.” The serek then prevents the community from being inflicted by injustice and falsehood, both in its way of differentiating members (the hierarchy) and by the elaborate rules that regulate crucial parts of their social interaction (see columns V–VII).

The “recounting of transgressions” that the Levites are to perform is not reproduced in 1QS (I, 22b–24a). If this was at all formalized, this part of the ceremony could refer to the recounting of the sins of Israel in Psalms 106. Psalms 106 retells the apostasy of the Israelites, as well as the mighty acts of God in the context of the Exodus. It deals with the history of transgression and salvation of Israel where the most severe transgression consisted in following their own cravings and becoming victims for envy and rivalry (Ps 106:14–16) instead of trusting in God’s plan (Ps 106:13, 43). Psalms 106 is echoed at several instances in I, 1–III, 12, which deal with the historical sinful past of Israel as a contrast to God’s righteous acts. It is however in the current passage under discussion (1QS I, 21–II, 49)

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250 Though it may have been the act and not a particular goat that was understood as atoning.
251 The categories Belial and his lot correspond to the messenger of darkness/the spirit of falsehood and the children of falsehood in the Treatise (III, 13–IV, 26). There it is however the “dominion of falsehood,” and not of Belial, which is the label of the present time, which in the future shall be conquered by truth (IV, 19–20).
252 Psalm 106 is not recorded among the Dead Sea Scrolls (perhaps in a disputed fragment 4Q86). The psalm is quoted in 4Q98 but the word התחמת is there replaced with ב. Still, the question of dependence is disputed. Cf. Brooke 1989 and Pajunen 2011, who argues that Psalm 106 depends on 4Q98.
253 Psalm 106 is echoed in the end of the first section of 1QS, where Phineas is alluded to as a role model for the initiate into the covenant (III, 11–12; see Ps 106:30–35). In the Psalm, God is called “God of Salvation” who saved them from their enemies and brought them through the Red Sea. God is given the same epithet in 1QS right after the people have “crossed over” into the covenant (I, 26). Although the people continue to violate God’s will, he hears their cry and remembers his covenant in his mercy (106:45); in 1QS II, 8 “he will not hear the cry of the cursed.” At the end of the Psalm God is called the “God of Israel” (Ps 106:48), which could argue for
that the influence of Psalms 106 is most apparent both in form and content. It may be heard in the expressions “mighty acts of God” (נְבֵי הָאֱלֹהִים) in I, 21 (Ps 106:2–3) and “his righteousness” and “mercy” in I, 22. The mighty acts are recounted in 106:8–12. In Psalms 106 this is followed by a lengthy section specifying the crimes of the people during their sojourn in the desert, which causes God to send a plague (13–43). This section could be implied in I, 22b–24a, where it only says that the Levites shall enumerate the iniquities of the children of Israel, without any further specification. Psalms 106 could thereby be providing a historical relief to the problems hinted at in 1QS. Alluding to this psalm could have evoked its historical exposé without spelling it out.

The cresendo of the first sub-paragraph (I, 21–II, 1a) comes with a confession of sins in I, 24b-25a: “We have committed iniquities, we have [tr]ansgressed, we have done evil, we [and] our [anc]estors before us, by our walking [      ] truth, (זעימין [מששין] (<בזעימה ברושמא)ה). The passage echoes of the Leviticus account of the scapegoat on the Day of Atonement (16:21): “Then Aaron shall lay both his hands on the head of the live goat, and confess over it all the iniquities of the people of Israel, and all their transgressions, all their sins (אא דכ מערת מצא Antworten לול סימא) putting them on the head of the goat, and sending it away into the wilderness.” The words “acted wickedly” (היחי) and the mentioning of the forefathers are not corresponded in the Leviticus passage. These may be drawing on Psalms 106:6 with whose words the confession then is concluded: “Both we and our ancestors have sinned; we have committed iniquity, have done wickedly” (האبناء של משה והמצוי בזעימה). The corresponding line in 1QS I, 24b–25 reads: we have [tr]ansgressed, we [have sin]ned, we have done evil, we [and] our [anc]estors (זעימין [מששין] (<בזעימה ברושמא)). The forefathers are totally absent in other parts of 1QS where the community rather appears without genealogical roots (with the possible exception of IV, 15). This is due to the focus on inner conversion and devotion of each individual in 1QS. The reason for including the forefathers here demonstrates that transferring sins unto a third party (scapegoating) does not cure society. It only provides a hiatus for society—before reappearing again (see discussion under II, 4b–10).

The two lots: God’s lot and Belial’s lot (II, 1b–10)

II, 1b–10 consists of a blessing and a curse addressed for two categories but spelled out in a second masculine singular “you.” The two categories are called God’s lot (כלם) and Belial’s lot. The first is further specified as the ones who walk perfectly in all his ways, which forms a sharp contrast to the sinful Israelites in the previous passage. Either the objects for the blessing are different from the ones in the previous section or else the initiates have by now changed status from sinfulness to perfection. Since those who enter the covenant and the council of the community do so in order to “walk perfectly” (I, 8) also new members would by now have changed status from sinful to perfect. Accordingly the latter explanation seems more plausible.

The subparagraphs of II, 1b–4a and II, 4b–10, where the priests “bless all the people of God’s lot” (those who walk perfectly) and the Levites curse “all the people of Belial lot” echo again of Leviticus 16: “Aaron shall cast lots on the two goats, one lot for the LORD and the other lot for Azazel. Aaron shall present the goat on which the lot fell for the LORD, and offer it as a sin offering; but the goat on which the lot fell for Azazel shall be presented alive

reconstructing I, 26 with the same words זעימין [מששין] (8). In Psalm 106:48 God is blessed from eternity to eternity, which compares in wording to II, 1: “he has requited us with his loving mercy from eternity and to eternity.” Further, in comparison with Psalm 106:45: “For their sake he remembered his covenant, and showed compassion according to the abundance of his steadfast love” the broken opening part of line 26 could have read: “by our walking [contrary to the covenant].” Finally, the subparagraph is concluded the way it began (I, 22–II, 1), recalling the loving mercy of God, which has a parallel in Ps 106:45 (זעימין [מששין]).

And just like the faithfulness to the covenant depends on every devoted member in 1QS (see III, 11–12), so is the pious individual (Phineas) the solution to the problem of evil in Psalm 106.

See the blessings and curses of God and Belial in 1QM XIII, 1–5.

See Deut 27–28, where the priests blessed and cursed before entering the land.
may have other Vorlagen than the MT, it is interesting to pay attention to the divergences from it. These display the special ideology of 1QS. In the following translation the italics illustrate the parallels between the blessings in 1QS and Numbers.

May he bless you with every good and keep you from every evil.
May he enlighten your heart with life-giving wisdom.
May he lift up the face of his mercy upon you for everlasting peace.

Already in the first line is the dualistic thinking enforced with the expansions “all good” and “all evil.” This recalls that which the initiate into the covenant must cling to, and keep away from (I, 4–5). In the second line, Numbers is expanded with the words “your heart with life-giving wisdom.” The second part of the third line has been expanded with eternal knowledge. Both phrases are thereby expanded by naming what the blessing consists of. The knowledge is about all historical times of the past and present. This is the blessing given to those who have been given insight into God’s secret plan.

257 In NRS it is rendered: “The Lord make his face shine on you.”

258 כ甜美 is usually rendered “eternal.” In the first paragraphs of 1QS it is frequent in the meaning “without end/unlimited.” E. Jenni (1953) argues that the term מְקוֹם in the Hebrew Bible is not primarily a temporal term. Only when it comes in the construction מָשָׁלֶה דָּרָיְקָל does it denote eternity.

259 The two clauses of Num 6:26: יִשְׂרָאֵל חַסְדוֹ לְכָּה לְשָׁלוֹם is not mentioned; instead there is an expansion with the preposition ל and שָׁלוֹם: שָׁלוֹם לְךָ שָׁלוֹם. Brooke (1985: 296) discerns here the influence of Psalms 105, 106, 118 and 136, texts that contain the phrase שָׁלוֹם שָׁלוֹם, which here has been put in the plural and split up.

260 The blessing in 1QS has been expanded: “with all good,” an infrequent expression in Scripture which occurs only once with the preposition ב in Deut 26:11, in which הבל comes with the preposition ב and something which could be due to a textual variant according to Brooke (1985: 296). The second phrase has been expanded in line with Ps 121:7: “The LORD will keep you from all evil and בָּרָיְקָל echoes he will keep your life.”

261 This passage may be inspired by Prov 16:22a, the only passage in the Hebrew Bible where חַסְדוֹ and שָׁלוֹם occur together (Brooke 1985: 297–298): וְחַסְדוֹ לְךָ בָּרָיְקָל. “Wisdom is a fountain of life to one who has it.”

262 According to Brooke (1985: 297–298) the expansion is due to a combination of a complementary correlative to the use of Prov 16:22 with words deriving from Jer 31:33–34 where the law shall be written on the heart and they shall all “know” the Lord. Both passages contain the word בָּרָיְקָל and the idea of eternal knowledge in Jeremiah is stressed with the word מְקוֹם. In 1QS, all three words of the expansion (לְכָּה בָּרָיְקָל מְקוֹם) have an equivalent in Prov 16:22.

263 Brooke (1985: 300–301) concludes that the five texts from Scripture that here expand Num 6:24–26 are not randomly chosen but rather associated with the feast in Qumran reflected in the liturgy of the opening columns of 1QS. In this way Deut 26:11 is from the creed associated with the Feast of Weeks (the feast most probably reflected in the ceremony according to Brooke). Psalm 121:7 is a quotation of one of the Songs of Ascent, songs to be sung on the way to Jerusalem on the major feast days. Prov 16:22 provides the antithesis between wisdom and folly and Jer 31:31–34 shares the wisdom traits in its use of “knowledge” and is primarily connected to the ceremony of covenant renewal through its idea of the “new covenant.” The last addition comes, according to

before the LORD to make atonement over it, that it may be sent away into the wilderness to Azazel” (Lev 16:8–10). Since Leviticus 16 already is at play in the paragraph and since the idea of two lots with different destinies and different belongings (God and Azazel) occur together with the term ( 모르ן) it is not farfetched to assume that the scapegoat story has influenced the imagery of this section. It is however puzzling, that the Yahad is identified with both the scapegoat (I, 22b–25, II, 4b–10) and the sin offering, II, 1b–4a. This conflation of motives could be a way to communicate that they identify with both “offerings.” They are the scapegoat, rejected and pushed out of the community during the destructive reign (Belial). They are also the perfect, flawless sin offering in which God finds pleasure (see III, 11–12). They are the offering that cleanses the defiled sanctuary (see IX, 3–5).

The blessing and curse over the respective lots of God and Belial are an expansion and a reversal of the Aaronitic blessing. The blessing of God’s lot is an extended version of Numeri 6:24–26, with some expected orthographic variations from MT, and without the Tetragrammaton as is common to leave out in 1QS. Although the blessing, and the curse that is constructed from it, may have other Vorlagen than the MT, it is interesting to pay attention to the divergences from it. These display the special ideology of 1QS. In the following translation the italics illustrate the parallels between the blessings in 1QS and Numbers.
line is expanded with the words “everlasting peace.” This is what the community receive by taking part of the life-giving wisdom and insights into God’s plan. This means that they, unlike previous generations, will be able to keep the covenant.

The negative counterpart of the people of God’s lot is the people of Belial’s lot. The curse over them is also constructed on the Aaronitic blessing. Werline argues that the language in the passage and the sequencing of events lie close to curses spelled out at judgment scenes in writings such as 1 Enoch 12–16; 62–63 and Jubilees 23. The sequencing of events in these scenes are the following: (1) A group has sinned; (2) God judges the wicked; (3) the condemned cry out for help and forgiveness; (4) God refuses to respond and continues to punish. The key to all these texts lies in the phrase, “May God have no mercy upon you when you cry out” (1QS II, 9). This phrase puts the texts in the context of prayer. The wicked in 1 Enoch and Jubilees pray in a moment of severe crisis when God's punishment has struck them, and they confess their sins in hope for forgiveness. While it does not explicitly say that the wicked confess their sins in 1QS, it is implied since God will not pardon them by atoning for their sins. In none of the texts do the condemned receive forgiveness.

The difficult passage in II, 9: May he lift up his furious countenance upon you for vengeance. May there never be peace for you according to all who hold fast to the fathers may be enlightened from Jubilees 23. In Jubilees “the fathers” are those who hold on to the false interpretations of the Torah, which results in breaking the commandments (23:16). The historical context of the Jubilees passage is the catastrophe that emanated from Antiochus IV’s decree. According to Jubilees, this situation was caused by the Israelites breaking the covenant by violating the commandments. A reform movement of younger people accuses the older generation of forsaking the Torah and its proper interpretation and thereby of committing injustices (vv. 16–17, 19). Unlike the identity of the wicked in 1 Enoch (“watchers” in 12–16, “kings and the mighty” in 62–63) it is the Israelites who are condemned for having neglected the Torah and its proper interpretations. God punishes these unfaithful Israelites by “the hands of the sinners of the nation” (v. 23). The unfaithful begin to “cry out” but their prayer is not heard or answered (v. 24, see 1QS II, 8). A righteous penitential group begin to study Torah and the commandments and for these God provide healing and peace (v. 30). When understood in light of Jubilees (and 1QS overall), the curse in 1QS states that God will not forgive anyone who confesses his sins, unless it is accompanied by a conversion of mind. In 1QS this conversion of mind means to submit to the discipline of the community. Just as in the confession of sins in I, 24b–25, so also here is the historical sinful past at stake. The only way to escape from the corrupt structures that rule mankind through history is to enter the serek of community and its true interpretations of the law. The identity of “those who recompense evil for evil” (II, 6b–7a) may also be enlightened from Jubilees where the “hands of the sinners of the nation” carry out the punishment. Instead of understanding the avengers as angels in 1QS, it is rather the case of human beings who take revenge and thereby continue the waves of violence that never end, a violence that in the end leads to exile.

The purpose of the curse is puzzling. One would assume that the recipients of it, namely those who follow falsehood, most likely did not take part in the ritual. One could argue that it serves as a warning example for the members of the community. The curse directed toward an insincere convert lies, however, closer at hand in that case (II, 11–18). The reason for including the curse in this form could be the wish to follow a traditional ritual,

Brooke, from Psalm 105 or 106. The case of Psalm 106 is according to him stronger since it is influences the preceding section (I, 22–II, 1).

264 For a lengthier analysis, see Nitzan 1994: 151–53.


266 The phrase “those who hold on to the fathers” can also be taken in the meaning “intercessors.”

267 Nitzan (1994: 152 n. 23) is one of many scholars who understand the avengers as angelic figures. She refers to IV, 12 “angels of perdition” while I argue that the threats of vengeance in 1QS are to be understood from a sociological and psychological point of view. Knowledge of these mechanisms is the “life-giving wisdom” and lies behind the strict prohibition to retaliate (V, V, 24b–VI, 1a).
such as in Deuteronomy. Instead of calculating with a violation of the covenant, since that opposes the very idea of being “perfect,” the curse was directed at another (nonpresent) group. Yet another suggestion is that both the blessing and the curse are meant for the same addresses. The Treatise on the Two Spirits teaches that each human being has a dual spiritual constitution and no one belongs entirely to truth or to falsehood (IV, 15–16). The blessing and curse could therefore be directed to each one of them in that they cursed their own evil inclination. What argues for this is that the curse, just like the blessing, is addressed to a “you” (2ms), which gives the impression that the recipient is present during the ceremony.\textsuperscript{269} The function of the blessing and curse would then lie closer to Deuteronomy (27:14–28) where the same group is a potential recipient for blessings and curses only that in 1QS it is the individual who is at stake. Unlike the conclusion of Werline, that the curse is set against nonmembers of the community, it is then argued here that the purpose of the curse is the inner transformation of the audience. By alluding to judgment scenes as in 1 Enoch and Jubilees where the wicked are eternally-condemned, it is even more unlikely that an initiate into the covenant would violate the boundaries of the community.

The imagery in the blessing and especially in the curse is apocalyptic. It draws on judgment scenes where the condemned ones are beyond salvation. Their prayers of petition cannot help them anymore. The phrase “may God not be compassionate unto you when you cry out” has counterparts in Jubilees 23:24, 1 Enoch 12–16 and 62–62. It may however also draw on Psalms 106:44 although not repeating the same vocabulary “Nevertheless He looked upon their distress, When He heard their cry” only that in 1QS, God will not hear their cry.\textsuperscript{270}

2.3 Warning Concerning False Conversion (II, 11–18)

2.3.1 Translation of Text

11And the priests and the Levites shall continue and say: “Cursed be anyone who crosses over and thereby enters this covenant with the idols/impurities intact in his heart. He puts a stumbling block of his iniquity before him so that he backslides over it. 12When he hears the words of this covenant he blesses himself (thinking) in his heart: Peace be with me even though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart.” May his spirit be swept away, thirst along with saturation, without forgiveness. 13May God’s wrath and zeal for his commandments flare up against him for eternal destruction. May all the curses of this covenant cling to him and may God separate him out for evil. He shall be cut off from all the children of light because of his backsliding from God, brought about by his idols/impurity and the stumbling block of his iniquity. May he put his lot amongst those who are eternally cursed.” 14All those who enter the covenant shall respond and say after them: “Amen, amen.”

2.3.2 Text Analysis

The subject of the third paragraph is the case of an insincere convert who enters the covenant without subscribing to its inner “contract.” This time two weqatals initiate “And the priests and the Levites shall continue and say.” The lack of modal verbs and the 3 masculine singular addressee of the section indicate that what we find in the third paragraph is not a typical curse. In addition to this, there is no standard formula that the curse follows such as is found in II, 4b–10. I understand this section as a warning to all members of entering the covenant without the right intention. Such a person will be cursed by the covenant. This goes in line with its function in Deuteronomy 29:18–21, a passage on which

\textsuperscript{269} Cf. the passage in II, 10–18, directed to an insincere convert and addressed to a "he."

\textsuperscript{270} For a comparison of 1QS II, 4–10 with these texts, see Werline 2000: 280–88.
this paragraph depends. Also in Deuteronomy the words serve as a warning and not as a curse.271

The paragraph opens with a joint urge for priests and Levites to warn an insincere convert namely someone who enters the covenant with the idols/impurity (intact in his heart. Such a person puts a stumbling block of his iniquity before him so that he backslides over it. This phrase cites Ezekiel 14:7: “For any of those of the house of Israel, or of the aliens who reside in Israel, who separate themselves from me, taking their idols into their hearts and placing their iniquity as a stumbling block before them, and yet come to a prophet to inquire of me by him, I the LORD will answer them myself.”272 In the Ezekiel account, some of the leaders of the community come to inquire (see I, 1b) the prophet while “taking their idols into their heart and placing their iniquity as a stumbling block before them.”273 Irrespective of the identity of their idols, often interpreted as a matter of syncretism, or as an unregenerate state of mind, they do not come with an open mind.274 They carry their own agenda within and therefore ridicule the prophet. The account in Ezekiel turns into a general warning from God concerning any Israelite who “sets up his idols in his heart, puts right before his face the stumbling block of his iniquity” (ירש נלולה אל ידו) (inf.). The corresponding phrase in 1QS (II, 11b–12) compares both in wording and meaning: Cursed be anyone who crosses over and thereby enters this covenant with the idols/impurity intact in his heart. He puts a stumbling block of his iniquity before him so that he backslides over it.275 The Ezekiel words ("cursed be") and ישלו על עונו ("and he sets up") are not reflected in 1QS. The phrase "to cross over and enter" (in front of/before his face) in Ezekiel is corresponded by an abbreviated form מ glVertex "before him" in 1QS. Perhaps the words “set up” and “in front of” in Ezekiel led the mind to idols in the form of syncretism. In 1QS it is rather one’s own irresistible mind that is at stake. A person who follows his own hard heart will be cursed (ראוד) with those targeted in the previous section (see II, 17). The two final words in the phrase, concluding that the apostate will stumble on his own iniquity (枲ה את) do not have a correspondence in the Ezekiel text. There is an interesting parallel to this term (או) in Deuteronomy 27:17, which contains a curse over those who move (וכם) their neighbor’s (physical) boundary markers. Deuteronomy 27 influences the paragraph overall (see below). If the particular passage of 27:17 plays any part here it has been taken in the meaning of social boundaries, namely as the hierarchal order of the community. It is pivotal that every initiate into the covenant understands the importance of not violating the social order of the community (see II, 19–23). This order is what render possible to do what is good and right before God.276 Anyone who will not submit himself to the ideology of the community will eventually backslide and violate the boundaries set for social interaction.277 When it

271 Only the words quoting Deuteronomy in II, 13 has a modal form (“may be with me”) while the negative effect of entering the covenant insincerely is put in wawqata+- and qalqot indicative. The outcome of such wrong behavior is not something they pray or wish for, it is presented as fact. In this way should also the wayqatol in I, 16 be understood, namely as a completed fact: “God has separated him,” this is not a future ‘wish.’

272 See 4Q430, where the allusion to Ezekiel is explicit.

273 This expression is peculiar to Ezekiel (7:19; 14:3, 4, 7, 18, 30) where it denotes transgressions that are not repented (Greenberg 1983: 152f.).

274 Greenberg (1983: 152f.) translates: “For any man of the house of Israel . . . who falls away from me and raises his idols in his thoughts and sets his stumbling block of iniquity before his face, and comes to a prophet to inquire of me by him, I YHWH will by myself oblige him with an answer.”

275 The construction in II, 12 of “to cross over and enter” is often abbreviated by translators as “who comes,” the use of these two verbs does however stress that two things are going on; one is the particular act of “crossing over” (inf.) while the other, “entering” (participle), concerns admission into the community, which is a larger process.

276 In 1QS X, 10–11 the hymnist states: “Where they [God’s statues] are, I will set my boundary without backsliding.” It is argued in this thesis that the concrete implication of God’s statutes relate to the interaction between members and toward outsiders.

277 In VIII, 12 the term appears in a passage that says that an initiated member who investigates the law must not withhold his findings from “these” out of fear of a רוח נסיך (“backsliding spirit”). Here we find the term again, in the context of betrayal, which compares well to the current passage; one will not want to share secrets with a double-minded member.
therefore says (II, 10) that anyone who crosses over and thereby enters this covenant it is the serek that is implied. When entering the covenant they cross over into the social boundaries of the community, which is the hierarchical organization. So instead of coming to the prophet (Ezekiel) the insincere convert comes to the “covenant” in 1QS. The covenant then represents the ideological foundation of the community, which is manifest in the hierarchy. This hierarchy aims to prevent rivalry and violence. Only through the covenant can the covenantal promises be kept. Because of this all members of the community must accept discipline (see VI, 14).

This is followed by a quote from the inner attitude of the insincere convert When he hears the words of this covenant he blesses himself thinking (in his heart): "Peace be with me even though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart" (Deut 29:18). The passage quotes Deuteronomy 29:18, a text that, apart from II, 16b, influences the rest of the paragraph. All who hear the words of this oath and bless themselves, thinking in their hearts, ‘We are safe even though we go our own stubborn ways’” (MT). This Deuteronomy passage belongs in the context of the covenant ceremony (27–30) and deals with the problem of anyone entering the covenant without inner conversion, just as is the case in 1QS. The passage in Deuteronomy is opened with the words: “It may be that there is among you a root sprouting poisonous and bitter growth” (Deut 29:18). Such a person, who destroys the life of a nation, is what is most feared in 1QS, for the same reasons as in Deuteronomy. A double-minded person will eventually poison the whole community. Apart from minor orthographic differences and verbal forms, the only difference between MT and 1QS is that Deuteronomy’s “words of this oath/curse (ברית)" is rendered with the “words of this covenant (ברית)" in 1QS (see Deut 29:8 and 28:69). It is the words of this covenant—namely, that which precedes in the one and half columns of aims, confession, blessing, and curse—which are aimed at, rather than a particular oath.

Who would want to enter the covenant without an inner conviction? In II, 25b a similar but reversed case is discussed, namely the one who despises to enter the covenant of God but still wants to be part of the community. But unlike the case in II, 25, which deals with a problem of authority and discipline, the case here is rather as Newsom puts it, someone who “recognizes but is at peace with his moral duplicity.” That such a person posed a threat to the community becomes obvious not the least in the massive use of allusions in the paragraph. The presence of Scripture underscores the authority of the text and undermines all such attitudes that may lure in the mind of an initiate.

Following, in II, 14b–15a, the destiny is set out for such a person: His spirit will be swept away, thirst along with saturation, without forgiveness. May God’s wrath and zeal for his commandments flare up against him for eternal destruction (Deut 29:18–20a). These words draw again on Deuteronomy 29:18b–20a: “in order to destroy the watered land with the dry. The LORD shall never be willing to forgive him for the LORD’S anger and passion will smoke against them” (MT). What is interesting here is the wordplay on Deuteronomy’s ידיה where 1QS has added ידיה (his soul) and reversed the order of Deuteronomy “and

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278 Although it does not contain an introduction formula, it has a change of voice and may therefore classify as a quote.

279 The account in Deuteronomy is part of an “ex eventu prophecy” where the apostasy of the people leads to exile. This prophecy is finally described in chap. 29 as a revealed secret from the Lord that aims to make them keep the law (v. 28). This message fitted the community in 1QS perfectly; with the negative experience of the sins of the fathers (I, 23–25) the members of the community must set their heart and soul (I, 1–2) to search the Lord in order to find out the hidden interpretations of the law that in turn render possible a flawless life. Unlike the community in Deuteronomy, the Yahad also had access to God’s secrets by being joined together with his heavenly counsel (see XI, 8).

280 If my conjecture is correct; see discussion under II, 25b.

281 Newsom 2004: 121.

282 Literally, 3ms: “such a man.”
thus destroy” where the human (sinner) is the subject, comes in the passive “be destroyed.” This stresses that he (the sinner) is not the one who destroys here but the one who will be destroyed because of his insincere conversion. The phrase ends with an abbreviation of Deuteronomy’s: “The Lord will be unwilling to pardon them” to “without forgiveness.” This abbreviation could be due to avoid using the name of God. Deuteronomy passage in LXX is understood as dealing with a double minded person “lest the sinner destroy the guiltless with him: God shall by no means be willing to pardon him” (Deut 29:19–20 LXE). This ought to be a fitting message for 1QS. The question is why the Deuteronomy text is slightly changed to mean that it is the insincere member’s soul that will be destroyed, when the problem is rather that he will poison the whole community. This may be a strategy to avoid appearing vulnerable but instead create the illusion of a strong defense. Between the lines one can discern that the threat most feared is to bring in a person with a double mind. Such a person would undermine the order that is created by the strict hierarchy, which in turn was built on loyalty and subordination. By not showing vulnerability, but rather directing a harsh sentence to such a person, a sense of strength and security is maintained. At the same time, the allusion also brings in the biblical context without spelling it out. The focus on the destruction of the soul of the individual, however, also makes sense in light of the general view of evil that is expressed in 1QS. The person depicted here is a victim of the evil structures that rule mankind. The only possible destiny for such a person is perdition. This is how one should understand the punishment that awaits him. The anger of God will not “smoke against him” as in Deuteronomy, instead it will flare up against him for everlasting destruction. This statement brings in a more apocalyptic tone by referring to the destiny of those targeted to the previous curse (II, 4b–10). This is followed by the outset of yet another horrible destiny: May all the curses of this covenant cling to him, God has separated him for evil (עָרְרֵי עָלָיו אֵין רְשָׁעִים יִשָּׂכְדוּ בָּיו, God has separated him for evil) words drawing on Deuteronomy 29:19–20: “All the curses written in this book will descend on them, and the LORD will blot out their names from under heaven. The LORD will single them out from all the tribes of Israel for calamity.” “The curses written in this book” is in 1QS resembled by the curses of this covenant. Deuteronomy’s threat, that all the words of this book shall lie upon him, is equated in 1QS by the stronger the curses of this covenant shall cling to him agreeing with LXX (διαθέσαι τὸν τρομότατον, διαθέτος τὸν τρομότατον). Finally, in II, 16 the Ezekiel passage 14:1–7 is picked up again as well as the following verse in Ezekiel 14:8 where the outcome of such sinful behavior is accounted for. The Ezekiel text: “I will cut them off from the midst of my people” then frames the paragraph. In 1QS this phrase has been slightly changed to fit the context of the community: ...cut off from all the children of light. In line with the ideology of the community the children of light must have been considered as equal to “my people.” After this, the words from Ezekiel 14:7 (“separating themselves from me taking their idols into their heart and placing their iniquity as a stumbling block before them”), occur again and reconnect with the beginning of the paragraph. Just as in the opening lines, the word for “separating” is altered with backsliding from God, brought about by his idols/impurity and the stumbling block of his iniquity. The statement that God will assign his lot with those who are cursed forever has no verbal equivalence in either Deuteronomy or Ezekiel but ought to refer to the ones being cursed in II, 4b–10. Finally it can be noted that the participants responding with a double amen, are now called “the ones entering the covenant” and not, as in the previous steps “the ones crossing over.” If this is more than a mere variation of terminology it could signify that the act of entering the covenant is now completed.

283 There are also minor verbal differences, such as the lack of לְשׁוֹן.
284 In Deuteronomy the connection between the covenant and the book occur in the preceding and following sentences: “the curses of the covenant written in this book of the law” (Deut 29:21).
285 The next sentence in Deuteronomy, saying “the Lord will blot out their names from under the heaven,” does not resemble the wording in 1QS. Apart from this, the phrases correspond except for the different verb forms: perfect–imperfect consecutive concerning the word to “divide/separate.”
2.4 Reflections on True Conversion (II, 19–III, 12)

2.4.1 Translation of Text

Thus they shall do year after year as long as Belial reigns. The priests shall cross over first into the serek, after their spiritual ranking, one after another. After them shall the Levites cross over and thirdly the whole people according to their ranking, one after another, by thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. In this way will every single Israelite know his standing place in the community of God, for an eternal council. No one shall fall from his standing place nor rise from the place of his lot. For they shall all be a community of truth, of virtuous humility, of affectionate love and of righteous intention toward one another in a holy council, companions of an eternal assembly.

But no one who rejects to enter [into the covenant of God] (and) walks in the stubbornness of his heart [shall] not [the community of his truth]. For his soul has abhorred the disciplines involved in the knowledge of the righteous precepts. He does not have the strength to convert his life. He shall not count himself amongst the upright ones. His knowledge, his strength, and his property shall not enter the community for his cogitation goes in impious sin, which is why his conversion is stained.

He is not righteous when he walks in the stubbornness of his heart and considers darkness as the ways of life. In the eye/fount of the perfect ones he shall not be reckoned. He cannot cleans himself through acts of atonement nor purify himself in cultic waters. He cannot sanctify himself in streams nor cleans himself in any waters of ablation. Unclean, unclean shall he be all the days that he rejects the precepts of God so that he cannot discipline himself within the community of his council.

For (only) by the spirit pervading God’s true council can the ways of the human, all his iniquities, be atoned, so that he can gaze upon the light of life. It is by the holy spirit of the community in his truth that he can be cleansed from all his iniquities. It is by an upright and humble spirit that his sin can be atoned. It is by humbling his soul to all God’s statues that his flesh can be cleansed when sprinkled with waters of purifications and sanctified with waters of purity. May he order his steps for walking in perfection in all God’s ways, as he has commanded as his testimonies for the appointed times. He must not turn aside to the right or to the left and never walk contrary to any single one of his words. Then his atoning sacrifice will please God and it will be for him a covenant of the everlasting community.

2.4.2 Text Analysis

(a) Hierarchy as necessary for discipline (II, 19–25a)

In this last part of the first section the perspective is lifted from the account of the ceremony to an overarching discourse of what it represents ideologically. The participles in the previous paragraphs are here altered with yiqtols as the mainline conjugation. The participles provided a contemporaneous perspective on the ceremony as taking place during the time of the “reading/hearing.” What begins in II, 19 is best understood as further

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286 “Yahad” in an undetermined form.
287 The meaning is not clear; see Vermes (2004): “for whoever ploughs the mud of wickedness returns defiled?”
288 Cf. Abegg 2006: “With such an eye he cannot be reckoned faultless.”
290 See 1QS IV, 3, where humbleness is one of the hallmarks for the spirit of truth.
291 Or “ordained festivals,” “for the times appointed to him.” The phrase can be rendered in several ways; cf. 1QS I, 9.
instructions for the ceremony just accounted for. The initial part of the text thus they shall do year after year refers back to 1QS I, 16 where it only informs that they enter the serek and cross over into the covenant. Now the hierarchal order in which they enter the covenant is outlined, as well as the relation between the serek and the mission of the community.

The paragraph is opened with the word “so/like this” (וככה). This may refer retrospectively to the liturgical procedures just accounted for. It may however also point forward to the following instructions of how they shall enter the serek and the covenant (not spelled out but implied) after their internal ranking. The function of the serek may be enlightened from two biblical texts. Wernberg-Moller suggested that the phraseology of the sentence: So they shall do year after year, as long as Belial reigns are made up by 1 Samuel 1:7 and Job 1, 5. Both Scriptural texts deal with ritual acts, namely the offering up of sacrifices.293 In 1 Samuel, Elkana is making a yearly journey to pray and make offerings to God in Shilo (my translation): “and so he did year after year” (וככה יעשה שנה בשנה). In Job, the passage sums up a section describing how Job sacrificed for his children after their reoccurring feast: “This is what Job always did” (וככה עשה איוד מלאים). He did this as a preventive act, in case they had committed any sins. The corresponding passage in 1QS is initiated in a way similar to 1 Samuel and exactly as the Job passage, apart from the different suffixes: ככה יעשה שנה בשנה וכל הימים של בליעל יומי ממשלת בלייל הוא ממשלת בליעל The initial words ככה andを使った are used retrospectively in both biblical texts. This could be argued for understanding also the initial word in 1QS as such.294 The two phrases referring to time in the biblical texts פמי ימים and всяו השנה are both corresponded in 1QS. The scribe may then have connected Elkana’s offerings in 1 Samuel’s (שנה בשנה) with the yearly celebration of the covenant, and Jobs sacrifice for the (possible) sins of his children (always, all days) with the time of Belial’s rule, which makes all human beings commit sins (see III, 21b–22). This would immediately place this passage within the context of sacrificial acts, something that compares well with what follows.295

The central term סרך appears in this instance with a preposition in/by (ב). It either points to the hierarchal liturgical order by which they enter into the covenant or it is used synonymously with the community/covenant. In the latter case it says that “they enter into the serek,” that is, into the ideology.296 In I, 16 there is a similar case where serek is mentioned in connection to the covenant Instead all those who cross over into the covenant before God, must enter by the serek of the community. The same ambivalence prevails in this instance. It is undoubtedly the case that the serek, the covenant, and the community are closely connected. This means that one can take “enter into/by the serek of the community” as synonymous with entering the community. But by explicitly mentioning the serek in this context a specific and crucial aspect of the community is stressed. That is the hierarchal order into which a new member is inscribed, which lies at the very basis of community life. This order is manifested in the ceremony in that each member enters according to his inscribed rank.297 Since the reason for the procedure of crossing over (סרך) is explained “so that every Israelite may know his standing place in the community of God,” the aim with the ceremony is to display the internal ranking system. It is also a demonstration of each

293 Ibid.
294 For the use of these terms retrospectively in the DSS see, e.g., 4Q225 f2i7; 11Q36: 13, 38:13, 41:8.
295 Belial (בלייל) has already been introduced (I, 18, 24 and II, 5). The biblical meaning of the term is “worthlessness” and “wickedness.” In the current instance, just as in I, 18 and 24, he is mentioned in relation to his reign/ruining (משמירה), which creates fear, terror, and persecution, which in turn causes even the “righteous” people to transgress and commit sins (I, 16–18). The image given in 1QS is that a wicked and dark power dominates the world (see III, 23). In order to combat this evil a special way of living is demanded, which in turn is manifested in the act of crossing over in the hierarchal order.
296 Taken the numbers of participants mentioned concretely (and not symbolic) one would have to imagine a group of at least the size of more than a thousand, see Exod 18:21, where the same size of groups are mentioned. The thought goes to army constellations, and it could that be this is the way it should be understood, as a battle against Belial, against who’s dominion they shall perform this ceremony. Consequently we find the terminology of children of light and darkness in the War Scroll.
297 In VI, 22 when someone becomes a full member in the community they inscribe him amongst his brothers in the “order of his rank” (סカラー), where serek signifies the hierarchy of the whole group.
individual’s loyalty to the hierarchal society of Yahad. This can be compared to VI, 13 where an initiate into the community first enters the covenant as a demonstration of his ability to discipline (VI, 14b–15a).

The hierarchal order that is displayed in the liturgy is both based on hereditary (priestly) and spiritual status. It is not clear whether the hereditary categories lie at the basis of the internal ranking. What is explicit in other parts of 1QS is that the ranking depends on each member’s understanding of good and evil and of how this knowledge is put into practice.

The position of each member is here labeledבית מעמדו(lit. house of his office/service) andגורלומקום(lit. the place of his lot). The former is in a majority of its scriptural cases a designation for a particular type of service in the temple (1 Chr 23:28; 2 Chr 3:15), or in the royal palace (1 Kgs 10:5 / 2 Chr 9:4). This underscores that the ranking not only decided a member’s position socially but also in duty and service (e.g., during the meetings; see VI, 8b–13a).

In II, 24–25a there are three central terms that in 1QS signify both the organizational body and an aspect of its activity. These areיחד (community and unity),עצת (council, counsel and plan), andסוד (assembly, secrete group or foundation). The social and religious community calledיחד is founded on a strictly regulated mutuality. The council (עצת) is the institution where the law is investigated and put into practice. Finally, the community is an esoteric assembly (סוד) where insights are shared but not revealed to outsiders. A comparison with the passage in XI, 8, which also contains all these three terms, shows the same complexity: He has joined their assembly with the sons of heaven, for a common council, and for a foundation of a holy building, for an eternal plantation during every age to come (ועם בני שמים חבר סודם לעצת יחד וסוד מבנית קודש למטעת עולם). Hereיחד takes on the adjectival meaning “a common council.” The termסוד can either mean secret counsel/assembly or foundation. In the following sentence (XI, 8b) the community is aסוד for a holy building. The “building” leads the mind to “foundation” but since the angelic and human assemblies are joined together, it can mean that theassembly is (like) a holy building. The ambivalence and double references that these important terms contain are most likely deliberately alluded to in 1QS. Although the stress in a single instance can be either on the institutionper seor on its function an initiated audience would have included them all.

The conjunctionכיא “for” (for they shall all be a community of truth...) connects, and enhances the relationship between entering the covenant in this special hierarchal order and the goals of the community. Each one must accept his ranking and not violate the social order either by rising above or by lowering oneself from the given rank. This is set out as the absolute prerequisite in order to achieve the ideal attitude between members such as harmony and respect. This in turn renders the vision of the community possible: they shall all be a community of truth, of virtuous humility, of affectionate love and of righteous intention toward one another in a holy council, companions of an eternal assembly. The vision is constructed on Micah 6:8 “He has told you, O mortal, what is good; and what does the LORD require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?” This Micah passage is the very leitmotif of the community in 1QS. It occurs every time that the identity and ethics of the community is expressed (I, 5b; IV, 4b–5a; V, 3b–4a;...
VIII, 2; X, 26). The relation between discipline and the special purpose and mission of the community is expounded upon in the rest of the paragraph.302

The semantic coherence of the paragraph can be discerned by the occurrence of four כָּבָּה (for). The first explains why the hierarchal structure is necessary in order to achieve the highest purpose of the community (II, 24): כָּבָּה (for) they shall all be in a community of truth... The second explains why a person who will not submit cannot be part of the covenant and the community (II, 26): כָּבָּה (for) his soul has abhorred the disciplines (involved in) the knowledge of the righteous precepts. The third introduces the biblical allusion, which explains why such a person and his assets will not be brought into the council of the community (III, 2): כָּבָּה (for) his cogitation goes in impious sin, which is why his conversion is stained. The reluctance to discipline leaves him in a constant state of defilement. He cannot be part of the community, which is likened to the temple and therefore demands the highest level of (moral) purity. The last occurrence initiates the climatic part of the paragraph in stating that it is only possible to be righteous, cleansed, and atoned within the community, which in turn begins with subordination (III, 6b): כָּבָּה (for) only by the spirit pervading God's true council can the ways of the human, all his iniquities, be atoned.

(b) Discipline as necessary for knowledge (II, 25b–III, 6a)

The second subparagraph deals with the case of someone who rejects to enter the covenant since he will not accept the conditions on which community life prevails. In what follows, the reasons for his refusal and the consequences it leads to are displayed. This in turn gives an image of what the covenant represented. The first and last lines (II, 25b–III, 1a and III, 5b–6a), frame the subparagraph with the repetition of the words כָּבָּה (reject), מַגְּסַה (precepts) כָּבָּה (community), and כָּבָּה (instruct/discipline). This “frame” summarizes the subject of the sub-paragraph in a nutshell. In II, 25b–III, 1a it says that no one who rejects to enter [into the covenant of God] (and) walks in the stubbornness of his heart [shall not] the community of his truth. For his soul has abhorred the disciplines involved in the knowledge of the righteous precepts.

In III, 5–6 it says (Unclean, unclean shall he be) all the days that he rejects the precepts of God so that he cannot discipline himself within the council of his community for only by the spirit of truth in IV, 5.

The values and mission of the community is expressed here, as well as in V, 4 and VIII, 2, with the words from Mic 6:8: כָּבָּה They are the precepts of God which implies that he cannot be instructed/disciplined in the council of his community. Also here is the sentence initiated with the preposition כָּבָּה followed by a plural noun כָּבָּה which corresponds to (the disciplines) in III, 1a. Things are thereby reversed in that in the first passage the reluctant convert abhors the disciplines that are necessary for achieving knowledge about the righteous precepts. In III, 5b–6a the same person abhors God's precepts/judgments. This in

302 The values and mission of the community is expressed here, as well as in V, 4 and VIII, 2, with the words from Mic 6:8: כָּבָּה The same Micah text is also heard in the description of the spirit of truth in IV, 5.

303 In III, 6 recalls Lev 13:45 where it deals with the leper who must live outside the camp since he is unclean. The words “unclean, unclean” is what the leper should cry out to protect the community from his disease.

304 The use of the preposition כָּבָּה in this instance can be due to the scribe following the pattern of Lev 26:43b, where the object of abhorring is כָּבָּה (which occurs identically in III, 5–6).

305 I have not translated the preposition כָּבָּה as prefixed to the “precepts.”
turn means that he cannot be disciplined/instructed in the council of his community. This is an example of the typical rhetoric in 1QS where the community is interchangeable with God’s will. Rejecting the ways of the community is the same as rejecting God’s commands since it is God’s will that is understood and practiced in the community. The difficulties in understanding the syntax in II, 25b–III, 1a is partly enlightened from an identification of the biblical source underlying the text. Leviticus 26 deals with the human failure to keep the covenant. In verses 43b–44 it says that “they rejected My ordinances and their soul abhored My statutes” (משנהしていない). The two corresponding sentences in 1QS use the same terminology of文化艺术פוג “rejecting” and文化艺术פוג “abhoring” in relation to文化艺术פוג “(God’s) ordinances” as in the Leviticus text. According to both Leviticus and 1QS, such behavior is contradictory to the covenant. The object of文化艺术פוג “(abhoring)” is in 1QS III, 5b–6a the same as in Leviticus, namely the ordinances (ראות) while in III, 1a the object of文化艺术פוג is specified as文化艺术פוג文化艺术פוג文化艺术פוג文化艺术פוג文化艺术פוג文化艺术פוג文化艺术פוג文化艺术פוג. In Leviticus 26, rejecting and abhoring God’s statutes and ordinances is the same as rejecting God. In 1QS this is taken even one step further in that only the community possesses the right interpretation of God’s will. In order to take part of these true interpretations the individual has to submit his life to the ideology of the community, which is manifested in the covenant. It therefore seems plausible to interpret the object of “abhoring” in III, 1a as “the disciplines necessary for knowledge of the righteous ordinances.” When the phrase is repeated in III, 5b–6a things are reversed so that the ordinances of God are mentioned as the object for abhoring. This rejection makes it impossible to be instructed/disciplined within the community. The ways of the Yahad and God’s ordinances are thereby put on equal footing in that the community has received divine instructions and therefore takes on the divine role of chastening.

Within this frame there is an inclusio of the phrases “not count himself.” In III, 1b it says He shall not count himself amongst the upright ones (ﬠון), and in III, 3b–4a In the eye/fount of the perfect ones he shall not be reckoned (or “count himself”) (ﬠון). The “upright” is here used as an antithesis to the one who does not have the strength to convert his life namely the crooked. Since the immediately following passage informs that such person will not bring his assets in to the common council, the “upright” ought to be understood as the community. The second category “the ﬀ ey/spring] of the perfect ones” shows the creativity of the scribe. This phrase is preceded by a passage describing the reluctant person as someone who sees (considers) darkness as the ways of light and followed by a passage stating his permanent defiled status where he cannot purify himself in cultic waters. The connection between “seeing darkness as ways of light” and the defiled state that cannot be cleansed in cultic waters are both picked up on by the double meaning of the word ﬀ eye/spring. The depicted person is then someone who does not view things in the same manner as the community and whose moral sin keeps him in a constant state of defilement. He has the wrong attitude, which hinders him from attaining the right knowledge. The core passage of the section sums up the “problem” of the fictive person: He
is not righteous when he walks in the stubbornness of his heart, and considers darkness as the ways of light. The somewhat strange sentence, which literally reads: For in a boot of wickedness (is) his ploughing and contamination in his repentance (כיא בסאון רשע מחרשו (here rendered: for his cogitation goes in impious sin, which is why his conversion is stained) constitutes one of the most difficult passages to understand in 1QS. There is no completely satisfying way of solving the problem. A clue to what is communicated here is provided by Hosea 10:13. This passage seems to underlie the sentence, “You have plowed wickedness, you have reaped injustice, you have eaten the fruit of lies. Because you have trusted in your power and in the multitude of your warriors” (늘 אתה רשע ואכלתם פרי כחש כי בטחת בדרכך ברב גבוריך). The text from Hosea, just like the passage in 1QS, describes a person who has relied on himself (trusted in his “warriors”) and not in God. Such a person belongs to falsehood and reproduces injustice, just as the antagonists in 1QS. The verbal link between the two passages is the word (משש חרשתם רשע for 1QS) and (משש חרשתם רשע for Hosea). Judging from the context in 1QS, however, the verb is not taken in the meaning “plough” in 1QS but in the meaning “to devise/think.” There is, as Wernberg-Møller noticed, a scriptural occurrence of the verb in this meaning in Proverbs 3:29: “Do not plan harm against your neighbor who lives trustingly beside you” (אל תחרשlek).[310] This could argue for understanding the sentence in 1QS as “his plans/thinking goes through wickedness.” This means that he keeps following the old tracks of thinking, such as is the case for those targeted in the curse (II, 4b–10 and II, 11–18).[311] The two allusions together would then bring forth the message that you should not rely on yourself (your “ways”) or think bad of your fellow community member. You should respect the standing place of your fellow members in the hierarchy and submit to him.

The subparagraph is dominated by negated verbs in niphal and hithpael, which deny that such a person as just described can be cleansed and atoned without the community (II, 25b–III, 6a): In the eye/fount of the perfect ones he shall not be reckoned. He cannot clean himself through acts of atonement, nor purify himself in cultic waters. He cannot sanctify himself in streams or rivers nor cleans himself in any waters of ablation.[312] These verbs function as a climactic staging to what is to follow in the next sub-section where the community is stressed as the only place where truth that leads to atonement and purity prevails. The section III, 4–9 is influenced by the terminology of Leviticus 16:4, 24 and 26. These passages from Leviticus inform that the high priest shall clean his body in water before putting on the holy garment and after letting go of the scapegoat. The Leviticus phrase (and bathe his body in water) (16:4) is echoed in 1QS III, 5 where the depicted person cannot cleans himself in waters (see III, 9 where the “body” is the object for cleansing). In Leviticus 16:19 the high priest shall take the blood of the sacrificials animals and sprinkle it on the altar to clean and sanctify it from the uncleanness of the people of Israel (ויתן ר يعرف באתMeg ירבד התהא מני רשא אל תחרש לע), while the obstinate person in 1QS III, 4b–5a cannot be cleansed or sanctified: ולא תחרש לע מני רשא אל תחרש לע. In Leviticus the high priest must do his cleansing after letting go of the scapegoat and before returning to camp. In 1QS the depicted person stays unclean as long as he rejects God’s ordinances (III, 5–6). Because of this rejection he must stay outside the “camp,” which is likened to the community. The message in 1QS is reinforced by an allusion to Leviticus 13:45 by the words (are unclean, unclean). In Leviticus these words are to be spelled out by the leper who must live outside the camp since he is unclean. In 1QS, an obstinate person constitutes a threat for the community. Such behavior may contaminate the community in the same manner as an epidemic. The sacrifice of the goat into the desert is thereby likened to the sacrifice of the self of the initiate into the covenant (I, 24–25). The cleansing of the high priestly garment is likened to life in the community—the only place where the human

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[311] So P. Sacchi (2006: 101): “perché il suo pensiero è nell’empietà malvagia e nella sua conversione ci sono macchie.” See Knibb (1987, 90): “For he ploughs with wicked steps and defilement accompanies his conversion.” In 1QS, there could also be a wordplay on Proverbs: המשכית which is here taken in the meaning “convert” משלכת.
[312] The hithpael form of (ר) is not attested for elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible or in the scrolls.
may be cleansed from sin (see IV, 19b–22). In both texts is the expected effect of the ritual/procedures atonement. To enter the hierarchy of the community is likened to a sacrifice that will purify, atone, and create order. This is why someone who will not make this personal sacrifice of subordination is in a constant state of defilement.\(^3\)

The influence of Leviticus 16 becomes more obvious in the last sub-paragraph where the fictive case is used as the negative background to bring forth a powerful message of the purpose and the mission of the Yahad.

(c) Knowledge as necessary for purification and atonement (III, 6b–III, 12)

The last subparagraph, which begins in III, 6b and opens with the word כֶּא (“for”), initiates the climactic part of the whole paragraph. This word opens one of four parallel sentences which states that it is only possible to be cleansed and atoned within the community (III, 6b–9).

For (only) by the spirit pervading God’s true council can the ways of the human, all his iniquities, be atoned, so that he can gaze upon the light of life.

כֶּא בְּרוּחַ עַצְּתָא אַל דָּרְשָׁא אֶשְׁכֻּפִּי מֵעַל עַיִן לְעַבְּרָא מַדָּר נְחָי

It is by the holy spirit of the community in his truth that he can be cleansed from all his iniquities.

וֹברָה קְדֻשָּׁה לְאַלְדָּר בֵּאמָר מקָל פָּנוּתָא

It is by an upright and humble spirit that his sin can be atoned.

וֹברָה יְשָׁנָא חֶסְדָּא הַסְּפֵר הַפָּתָא

It is by humbling his soul to all God’s statues that his flesh can be cleansed when sprinkled with waters of purifications and sanctified with waters of purity.\(^4\)

וֹכַנִּית נְפשָׁא לְabilidad חָקְקָא אַל יִנְצֶר בְּשָׂר לְעַבְּרָא מֵעַל נְחָי לְחַאֲטָהָדָא בַּמּי רְבִּי

The first two sentences focus on the atoning and purifying function of the community or council while the last two stress the attitude of the individual as a crucial factor in the process of atonement and cleansing.\(^5\) The terms “council” and “community” have an inherent ambivalence in that they also denote an aspect of the activity performed, or the nature of the council and community (counseling, unity). In line with this, it is not obvious how to render the term עַצְּתָא in the first of the four sentences. There are mainly two alternatives: The sentence can be taken either as “the spirit of God’s true counsel” or “by the spirit (pervading) God’s true council.”\(^6\) The same problem occurs in the second sentence.

\(^3\) The whole passage (III, 4–9; see also II, 25) draws on P’s language concerning ritual impurity/purity in a free and poetic fashion with the purpose to strongly condemn those who reject the covenant, it thereby transfers the language concerned with ritual impurity to deal with moral impurity, as Himmelfarb (2006: 129) puts it: “Terms that in P refer to specific physical states and ritual equipment are applied in the Rule of the Community to spiritual states and processes.”

\(^4\) Harrington (2008: 202) comments on this passage: “The symbolism is striking; the candidate to the sect is crossing from death/impurity to life/purity by joining the group.”

\(^5\) The first three sentences are initiated with the term ברוח (“by a spirit”), the fourth sentence alters with נפש (“soul”). Although the semantic fields of these two terms, which are usually translated as “spirit” and “soul,” overlap to some extent and it is surely difficult to reach an understanding of how the ancient understood the difference between the two, one can note that the term נפש in 1QS appears in a majority of its cases in the meaning of “self” or “one’s life” (see V, 8, 10; VII, 3, 9), sometimes just meaning “I” (X, 19). The way נפש is used, on the other hand, is often to express an attitude: “a spirit of.”

where either can be taken in the meaning “of” (his true) community or in the meaning “to be united in his truth” (liqtol) (for the latter, see Abegg 2006). The scribe surely made use of this double reference. The parallelism in the four sentences, and especially between the first two, indicates however that it primary is a reference to the organizational bodies (council, community). This is also in line with what has been communicated (above) namely that discipline is closely connected to the organization.

For (only) by the spirit pervading God’s true council can the ways of the human, all his iniquities, be atoned, so that he can gaze upon the light of life.

It is by the holy spirit of the community in his truth that he can be cleansed from all his iniquities.

The first clause in both sentences contains the words ברוח and אמת. In both cases do the finite verbs occur in the second clause, which then ought to be understood as the predicate to the subjects of the first clauses. The object for atonement and cleansing is in both sentences “all his sins.” The last two sentences follow the pattern of the first two, but with focus on the attitude of the individual. The first states that it is only by an upright and humble spirit that someone can be atoned. This corresponds to the atonement through the spirit of the council. The last sentence states that it is by humbling himself to God’s statutes that he can be cleansed with purifying waters. This corresponds to the cleansing in the community in sentence number two. The same verbs in the same conjugations are repeated in the first and third sentence (כפר in pual), and in the second and fourth (טהר in niphal). The council is thereby connected to the upright intent and humble attitude of the individual. This is necessary in order to take part in the interpretations of the law. The “humbling oneself to the statutes” on the other hand, is done in everyday life in the community. It involves the interpersonal rules of behavior, which are the practical implications of “truth.” The same terminology that occurs in II, 25b–III, 6a, is here repeated and reversed: The reason why someone who will not submit to the discipline of the community, a person who sees darkness as the ways of light, cannot be cleansed and atoned is because the community is chosen by God as a party of the covenant. Only by joining it fully can a person be accepted by God “so that he can see the light of life.” The “light of life” implies the revelation of how to behave in the time being, referred to as “truth.” The reflexive verbs dominating II, 25b–III, 6a, which stress the impossibility of an individual reaching atonement and purity on his own, are partly replaced by passive verb forms in III, 6b–7a: “For it is by the spirit pervading God’s true council that the ways of the human are atoned (pual);” and III, 8: “It is by an upright and humble spirit that his sin can be atoned (pual).” Atonement can only be realized within the community.

In the previous subparagraph the influence of Leviticus 16 was discussed. This influence becomes clearer in the current section under discussion. In Leviticus 16:30–31 it reads: “For on this day atonement shall be made for you, to cleanse you; from all your sins you shall be clean before the LORD. It is a Sabbath of complete rest to you, and you shall deny yourselves; it is a statute forever” (כי ביום הזה יכפר עליכם לטהר אתכם מכל חטאתיכם לפני יהוה, תטהרו שבת שבתון היא לכם ועניתם את נפשותיכם חקת עולם). The two key-terms כפר and טהר in Leviticus 16:30 are repeated throughout the section II, 25–III, 12. Leviticus 16:31 “you shall deny yourselves; it is a statute forever”317 (ועניתם את נפשותיכם חקת עלולה), is paralleled in 1QS III,
8b: It is by humbling his soul to all God’s statutes (במשהו נמשה לכול חוק אל).318 The eternal statute in Leviticus is the statutes of the Day of Atonement as a Sabbath. To this statute they must humble their souls (deny themselves), because on this day they are atoned and cleansed. In 1QS the soul must be humbled to the statutes of God in order for his flesh to be cleansed. The order of things is then reversed. The cleansing and atonement depends on an inner attitude of humbleness toward God’s statutes. This is the same as subordinating to the community.319

In the last lines of the subparagraph a reconnection is made with two passages in the first column of 1QS. In III, 9b–11a it says: May he order his steps for walking in perfection in all God’s ways, as he has commanded as his testimonies for the appointed times. He must not turn aside to the right or to the left and never walk contrary to any single one of his words. The long sentence in 9b–11a corresponds to two passages in the first column namely I, 8b–9a and I, 13b–15.320 These three passages have often been understood as referring to the times set by the (right) calendar, an area of conflict between the community and the religious authorities of their time. The “times” should however be understood in a broader sense where each time demands a certain behavior of the righteous. It is as Wernberg-Møller puts it, “An action in order to be morally perfect should not only formally comply with a commandment but should also place at the right time.”321 Considering the importance of Leviticus 26 in the paragraph, where the failure to observe the holy times is understood in terms of violation the covenant, which results in exile, one may well argue that the importance of keeping the right calendar is also stressed here. The reluctant person is told “to order his steps for walking perfectly.” The idiom “to walk perfectly” implies to keep all aspects of the law. It is therefore reasonable to include more aspects in the “attested/confirmed” times than just those pertaining to the calendar.322 This is also the case in the calendrical part of the hymn (IX, 26–X, 8a), as shall be discussed below.

An overview of the figurative use of the metaphor “way” demonstrates the rhetorical purpose of the first section (I, 1–III, 12). This is to underline which kinds of behaviors that belong (walking) “inside” or “outside” the boundaries of the community: They join the council of God in order not to walk in the stubbornness of a guilty heart but rather to walk perfectly before God (see I, 6 and 8). They must never deviate from God’s words by departing, stepping aside, or walking either to the left or the right (I, 15). They enter the serek, they cross over into the covenant (I, 16) and must not turn back from following God (I, 17). The transgressions of the Israelites consist in walking [contrary to...] (I, 25b–26). The insincere convert (in II, 11–18) is depicted as someone who puts a stumbling block in his way and thereby stumbles. Instead, in II, 19 the whole community shall cross over. And finally, in II, 26, the discourse of the one who is reluctant to enter the covenant begins. This is someone who walks in the stubbornness of his heart and considers darkness as the ways of life. God

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318 There is a parallel to this passage in IV, 22 where God will rip out the spirit of falsehood from the body of the human: The spirit of truth will be sprinkled upon him like waters of purification. In this context, the purifying opens up for divine knowledge. It cleanses the heart from all that hinders it from receiving true knowledge. Now we can understand the sentence in III, 6–7 when his ways are atoned, he can see the light of life, i.e., be open for instruction, which is what is lacking in the attitude of the reluctant person in the previous section.

319 On basis of the allusions to texts dealing with the Day of Atonement, Wernberg-Møller (1957: 60 n. 12) argued for a “Day of Atonement setting” for the whole liturgical section in 1QS. It is however clear from many instances that the scribe makes spiritual interpretations of biblical texts. He must have been familiar with the traditions around the Day of Atonement and so transferred it to the context of the Yahad, where atonement and cleansing is closely related to the attitudes and acts of each individual and not necessarily to the ritual per se.

320 For a lengthier treatment of the relation between these three passages, see the discussion under I, 13–15.

321 Wernberg-Møller 1957: 49 n. 31. The passages would then be understood in line with VIII, 4, 15; IX, 14 and 23, instances that do not deal with times but for feasts but with times of revelations of the Torah and thereby God’s will. In these passages is however הרפא used to represent “time” and not מזמר as in the current passages under discussion.

322 In I, 9 and III, 10 it comes in a construct form with תועודה a term that in the Hebrew Bible means attestation, confirmation, and testimony, i.e., confirmed, attested times with the only difference that in I, 9 it comes with a 3mp suffix, either referring to the revelations or to the community, while in III, 10 the suffix is a 3ms either referring to the fictive person under discussion or to God. The term תועודה is feminine while the suffix עליה is masculine.

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will only accept someone who establishes his steps and walks perfectly before Him. The metaphor “way” stresses the need to choose the right path in life. It stresses the required self-examination of each convert who wishes to enter the holy site of the Yahad whose deepest identity is that of the temple. The metaphor “temple” becomes evident in the final lines of the paragraph.

This last sentence in the paragraph presents the outcome of the scenario depicted in the paragraph overall. It reads: Then his atoning sacrifice will please God and it will be for him a covenant of the everlasting community. If the depicted person disciplines himself to conform to the beliefs and practices of the Yahad, as symbolized in the covenant, then this behavior will lead to atonement. The meaning of this sentence is somewhat dubious, displaying yet another example of complicated syntax, which has resulted in many creative translations. The main difficulty concerns to whom the pronouns refers. In the first clause the term לירצה can be understood as referring either to God who shall accept or to the person who will “be accepted” or “pay off/be paid off” with concern to his sin (see Lev 26: 41–43 for the verb in this meaning). In the second clause the verb “to be” comes in a feminine form and ought therefore to refer to the covenant. The covenant shall “be to him.” “Him” can either refer to God or to the fictive person who has “ordered his steps.” The unsmooth language in this phrase is partly due to two, or three, scriptural texts underlying the sentence. The second clause may depend on Numbers 25:12–13 (see below) while the closest parallel in the phraseology of the first clause is found in Ezekiel 20:41. There God promises to accept his people in the same way as he accepts a sweet savor (בריח ניחוח ארצה עתכם (“As a pleasing odor I will accept you”). They will be accepted when they have turned their devotion to God who then will bring them back from the exile. The problem is that it seems unnatural to posit God as the subject to who will “be pleased” (ירצה) in 1QS. The verb should rather be taken in the meaning “be accepted” or “pay off” and related to the person under discussion. If this biblical text has influenced the scribe, then he may have changed the sentence into a passive for fear of anthropomorphism. Further ריח has been replaced by כפר, which suits the larger context of the paragraph better, in which Leviticus 16 is heard several times. Here the atoning acts consist of each member’s personal sacrifice in order to conduct a flawless life. The same idea underlies both texts, namely that God will receive a person who has repented and turned his heart to him, as an offer.

In the last clause of the last sentence of the paragraph (and it will be for him a covenant of the everlasting community) Numbers 25:12–13 is alluded to: “It shall be for him and for his descendants after him a covenant of perpetual priesthood, because he was zealous for his God, and made atonement for the Israelites.” The promise of the high priesthood is part of the covenant. This office is granted on basis of personal devotion, not on genealogy (even though Phinehas was a descendant of Aaron). The fact that a person makes atonement, not by sacrifices but by a right intention suited the ideology of 1QS (see, e.g., VIII; 1–10). This idea lies at the very basis of the covenant with God.

1QS III, 11–12
לך ... והיתה לו ברית עולם Num 25:12–13

א just like לירצה is to be understood in retrospective of the descriptions of the actions of Phinehas in 25:11, and of the becoming member of Yahad in 1QS. Both texts then

323 Talmon (1994): “Then he will be accepted by an agreeable atonement before God, and it shall be unto him a covenant of the everlasting Community.” (Abegg 2006): “Then indeed will he be accepted by God, offering the sweet savor of atoning sacrifice, and then only shall he be a party to the Covenant of the eternal Yahad.”
325 The influence of Lev 26:43b–44 was discussed under II, 25b–III, 6a. The link here lies in the use of לירצה which in the Leviticus text means “pay” (make amends) in the meaning that the people shall pay for their sin in the exile see also VIII, 3 where this idea is expressed, they pay off by doing right. See also discussion under I, 1: “lay down his life as a pledge.”
326 See Wernberg-Møller 1957: 65 n. 38.
communicate the idea that acts of atonement and the creating of a covenant result from individuals acting with the right intentions. The phrase "his descendants" in Numbers has been left out in 1QS since it does not suit the individualistic attitude of the author. A more interesting difference is to be found in the two expressions לברית יחד עולמים of 1QS and ברית כהנת עולם in Numbers. The scribe in 1QS alters priesthood כהנת with communityיחד, perhaps stressing the priestly status of the community. In Numbers, the covenant is an individual covenant that will run in the family and that promises an eternal priestly status (it shall be for Phinehas and for his descendants “a covenant of eternal priesthood”). If לו “to him” is taken in the same manner in 1QS, it is for the fictive member who has ordered his steps in line with the community that it shall be (and not to God) a covenant of the eternal community. Understanding the passage this way recalls Talmon’s interpretation ofיחד in 1 Chronicles 12:17 (above).

2.5 Discourse Analysis (I, 1–III, 12)

The implied scene in the first section of 1QS is a crisis of society where the covenant has been violated and where the credibility of the institutions has collapsed, without the hierarchal and functional differences. It is a society ruled by immorality without ethical constrains where violence and oppression threaten each individual but where no one recognizes his or her own guilt in the evil structures that have dominated society for generations. The sins that the people commit during this evil reign result from moral slackness by which they violate the commandments. The problems in the past have led to rebellion and chaos, and to each person following his own heart and mind without loyalty to others, and the addressees are now urged to change path. This urge is communicated with the language of conversion scenes in Chronicles, Deuteronomy, and Ezra (I, 1b–3a). The conversion implies a return to the true interpretations of the law. It means separation from every person, and everything that stems from such person who still follows the “old way” in order not to be contaminated by evil again. It also means to cling to all the good works, namely to the ways of the Yahad, which in turn is a question of loyalty and ability to submit to the ranking system. It is a question of entering the serek, the yoke that holds the community together in a differentiating system of hierarchal ranking. This yoke is what prevents rivalry and conflict. The upheaving of order and differences that has dissolved society is thereby restored by the hierarchal organization of the community. The Yahad becomes the ideal society that is suitable as a covenantal partner with God, a society that realizes the vision of Micah 6:8 in its everyday life.

The primary intertext in the first section of 1QS is Deuteronomy 27–30 whose account of the Mosaic covenant governs the whole section of subject matter. Deuteronomy 27–29 provides the structure of the ceremony, with proclamations of the law, blessings and curses, the act of entering the covenant, and a warning to enter the covenant without the inner conversion. Several other texts give thematic links to what the covenant and a true conversion implies. Psalms 106 and Jubilees 23 provide two perspectives of why the covenant has been violated. Psalms 106 explains it on an individual level, as due to each person following his own cravings and desires and ending up in rivalry. Jubilees 23, on the other hand, communicates the corruption of the law that is caused on a structural level by false leadership. It brings in a political perspective of the crisis. These two ways of explaining the reasons for the violation of the covenant and the exile go hand in hand in 1QS. It is therefore proclaimed that each person must convert in heart and soul as well as separate from larger society in order to restore the covenant. The special mission of the community is communicated by allusions to Daniel 11:35. In Daniel, the purging and suffering that the pious experience is what restore the covenant and atone for the land. It is what leads up to the time of judgment and the coming era of peace. The purging implies repentance. In 1QS

327 See the discussion of Psalm 106 in I, 21–II, 10.
328 See 1QSh III, 26, where the same phrase occurs with כהנת.
the community confesses the sins of the Israelites that have caused the exile. The words echo of Leviticus 16 where the scapegoat is driven out into the wilderness in order to atone for the Israelites. In the same manner is the community driven out in the (geographical or symbolic) wilderness to become purged and so atone for the land. The means by which atonement takes place is by each person making him- or herself into a freewill sacrifice for God.

The act of entering the covenant displays the loyalty of each member. It is forbidden to even intend to manipulate one’s status by moving up or down. The built in differences— and the loyalty to the differences, must be maintained. Those who accept the discipline and convert to the ways of the community are called “those who freely offer themselves.” These confess their part in a history of rebellion. They offer themselves to the truth of God, which is revealed to the council of the community. The term “truth” implies knowledge and understanding of the evil structures that rule society and the necessary response to this, which is manifest in interpersonal relations. Toward insiders one must show respect in accordance with each members rank (see Mic 6:8). Toward outsiders one must keep distant, even from the very offspring of their activities. Since there is a skeptic view on the possibilities for the human being to choose what is good, the only way to salvation is by entering the serek of the community. The built in differences in the social hierarchy and the rules of behavior that control all interaction render salvation possible. The meaning of the serek thereby lies close to the (later) antithesis of the talmudic definition of the term Belial: people without a moral yoke.

A person who cannot submit within the hierarchy, and accept the discipline can never be a party in the covenant with God. Such a person is depicted with words from Deuteronomy 29:28–21, Ezekiel 14:7, Leviticus 13, Hosea 10:13 and Proverbs 16:22. Taken together these texts communicate a person who will not submit to any higher authority than the self. This is someone who puts his iniquity as a “stumbling block” before himself and so falls over it. The literal meaning of the term מִכְשֹׁל is “stumbling block,” which in its verbal form is used in a figurative sense as “causes one to fall into sin” (see, e.g., Mal 2:8). In 1QS the מִכְשֹׁל symbolizes an unruly mind, guided by desires and an unwillingness to submit to a higher discipline. Such a person cannot see the way of life, but keeps following his old tracks of thinking. He is someone who does not submit himself to God’s given order, he is a victim of his own desires. Such a person, tainted by his own desire, can any minute arouse conflict and violence, which is why he is always regarded as ritually impure in the community. Not only he himself but also everything pertaining to him, such as his assets, his knowledge, and his skills must be avoided in the same manner as a leper (III, 2). The analogy with a leper underlines how the Yahad understood the risk of having unconverted members in their midst. It was conceived in the same manner as an epidemic that spreads rapidly and risks contaminating many. On the contrary, a person who makes the personal sacrifice and so steers his feet on steady ground, restores by his personal devotion the covenant with God, just like Phinehas.

From the analysis of the second paragraph the message heard is that the transgressions of Israel has deep roots and have caused much suffering. The way the conflicts and violence have been dealt with in the past has not cured the nation. What is now demanded is that each individual Israelite makes a moral stance in order not to transmit evil anymore. Instead of transferring the guilt of a sinful nation on a third party, each individual must now confess their part in the evil history of society and convert in heart and soul. The transgressions are expressed in a language echoing of the confession of sins over the scapegoat in Leviticus 16. What is being confessed is a rebellion, which is nothing less than a destruction of the order. This conversion is to be done on a yearly basis in order to remind them of the initial crisis and not to repeat its logic. When they “enter” and “cross over” into the Yahad and the covenant they move from an old status to a new. Those who repent and confess atone for the moral sins of the land and thereby restore the covenant with God and open the way of return from the exile. The ritual that displays the hierarchy of the Yahad must be performed as long as culture is corrupted by evil structures (Belial).
Chapter 3

The Two Ways of Truth and Falsehood (III, 13–IV, 26)

Following the ritual of the renewal of the covenant is a section that is often labeled the Treatise on the Two Spirits (henceforth referred to as the Treatise). It is a discourse on the origin, effects, and resolution of the problem of evil in the world. In this drama the community plays a prominent role. In addition to being a theological exposé, it functions as a myth in that it recounts the origin, history, and mission of the community. It reinforces its members to endure suffering and persecution in the time being since they await the time when God will put an end to evil. That will be the time when the community will be in power again. Although the Treatise in its extant form may be a compilation of once separate sources, it forms a semantic and rhetorical unit in its current form. It has a crucial function within 1QS as it gives the ideological justification to its fierce rules and strict organization.

The Treatise is internally divided by scribal markings (a hook and a blank space) into four paragraphs: III, 13–IV, 1; IV, 2–8; IV, 9–14; and IV, 15–26. There is hook under III, 18 that functions to highlight the importance of this passage. The first paragraph (III, 13–IV, 1) provides an exposé of the origin of truth and falsehood in the world. It presents it as a conflict that goes as deep as to the human spirit and even causes the righteous to err. The subject of the second and third paragraphs (IV, 2–14) is the manifestations (“ways”) of these two opposed forces. This comes to fore in the behavior and destiny of the human beings. The last part of the discourse (IV, 15–26) deals with the eschatological resolution of the struggle between the two forces of light and darkness, truth and falsehood. It places the community at the very center of this struggle. The discourse overall is framed by the creation story in Genesis 1–3. It provides the underlying idea that God created good and evil in order for the human beings to achieve knowledge. True knowledge of good and evil makes it possible to choose the right (moral) path in life. According to the Treatise, this is also why God allows the existence of evil in the world (IV, 25–26).

The Treatise has been the object of much scholarly attention. Hempel sums up the present situation: “The existence side by side of both distinctiveness and continuity complicates our understanding of both the provenance and compositional history of the Treatise and its place in the growth of S.” Hempel quotes Frey who argues that the compiler of the Treatise made use of a number of strands to spin his or her web. Hempel adds that some of the strands in the web were created when linking the Treatise to S. Something that according to her happened at a late stage in the growth of the textual tradition. From a redaction historical point of view the question is whether to regard the Treatise as a composition preexistent to S that was incorporated into 1QS (and some 4QS manuscripts), or whether it in its present form sprung from the compiler of 1QS (4QS). This compiler could then have made use of earlier sources and traditions. A core aspect of this problem has to do with whether the ideas of the Treatise can be regarded as typical for the S tradition and the Qumran community or if they are to be considered as “foreign.” I only mention the

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329 Cf. Stegemann (1988) who argues that the discourse is not the product of the Yahad.

330 The Treatise is only completely preserved in 1QS. Two of the 4QS manuscripts have corresponding material (4QS^a and 4QS^b) but the differences they display from the 1QS material argue that this section underwent redaction (Metso 2007: 9).

331 See Metso 1997: 15.

332 The content within each following paragraph correspond to the opening introduction of the Treatise in III, 13–15a where the teaching is set out as to concern the spiritual belonging of each human, which is mainly treated in III, 15b–IV, 1, the “signs” of each human’s spiritual belonging when it comes to their attitudes and actions, which corresponds to the outline of the spirits of truth and falsehood in IV, 2–14, and the eschatological outcome of the struggle between the two powers and the destiny for the humans belonging to each respective group, which is dealt with in both IV, 2–14 and IV, 15–26.


334 Although the Treatise, in its current form in 1QS, is not corresponded in any other Qumran writing there are thematic and verbal parallels in other texts such as CD II, 2–13, 4Q525 11–12, 1–4, Hodayot and Instruction. For
discussion briefly here, since this thesis is concerned with the text of 1QS in its final form. Since my point of departure is however that the world of ideas in the Treatise does not stand in contrast to the worlds of ideas in other parts of 1QS. Instead it provides the ideological outlook of the Yahad in 1QS that permeates community life on all levels.

3.1.1 The Background: Origin of Truth and Falsehood (III, 13–IV, 1)

3.1.1 Translation of Text

13 (It is) for the Maskil to teach and make all the children of light understand the character and fate of all mankind, 14 by all their kinds of spirits (visible) through their signs (which show) in their deeds during their generations. And the visitation of their afflictions as well as their times of peace. From the God of knowledge comes all that exists and ever shall be. Before they come to exist, he has established their entire plan. 16 And when they then exist they fulfill their task as a confirmation of his glorious plan and nothing can change. In his hand are the laws that govern everything as well as the fulfillment of all their desires. He created the human being to rule the world and assigned for him two spirits in which to walk until the time for his visitation. These are the spirits of truth and falsehood. In a dwelling of light originates truth and in a well of darkness originates falsehood. In the hand of the ruler of lights is the dominion over all children of righteousness, they walk in ways of light. And in the hands of the messenger of darkness is the complete dominion over the children of falsehood, they walk in ways of darkness. But through the messenger of darkness comes the corruption of all the children of righteousness. All their sin, their iniquities, their guilty and rebellious deeds are (caused) by his rule in accordance with God’s mysteries during his assigned period. All their afflictions and their times of distress are due to his rule of hatred. All the spirits of his lot (strive to) cause the children of light to fall, but the God of Israel and his true messenger has helped all the children of light. He created the spirits of light and darkness, and upon them founded every deed. One God has loved for all eternal times, and in its entire doings he takes pleasure forever. The other he has abhorred. Its foundation and all its ways he has eternally hated.

3.1.2 Text Analysis

The first paragraph gives a background to the present situation of the community. It is both the ontology and the epistemology of good and evil. It draws on Genesis 1–2 but also reflects nonbiblical ideas that display common features with Zoroastrian mythology. To the latter belongs the idea of two domains of truth and falsehood, which divide the world and the human beings. These mythological features are in which case transformed into a new context in 1QS. Following Genesis, God is the creator of “all” but in 1QS he is also the master mind behind the whole creation. Everything that exists is planned in advance by Him. Even

parallels between the Treatise, 5Q525, and CD, see Puech (DJD 25:141–42) and Alexander and Vermes (DJD 26:3). For parallels between the Treatise, 1QH 5, and the Instruction text, see Tigchelaar 2001.

335 The literary growth of the Treatise is however related to its function; if it was added at a later stage in the literary growth of S, the reason could have been to encourage the community in a time of crisis, as was early suggested by Murphy O’Connor (1969: 528–549).

336 This difficult passage has been interpreted in a variety of ways. It is often taken in the meaning of God fulfilling or sustaining the destiny of each human being. It is here taken in the meaning “fulfillment of their desires,” i.e., the human being either desire God or idols (i.e., the world) a desire that already has decided (“fulfilled”) their destiny.

337 Or “until his end.” I read here with Wernberg-Møller (1957: 25 n. 68). The meaning of the phrase is that he is allowed to act during a set time, which will end when God decides.

338 Yasna 30.3: “Die beiden Ur-Mainyu, die Zwillinge Schlaf [und sein Bruder], waren, wie überliefert worden ist, das Bessere und das Schlechte in Sinn, Wort und Handeln” (“The two primordial Spirits, the twin Sleep [and his brother], were, as it has been transmitted, the Better and the Evil in mind, word and action”; Nyberg 1966).
the existence of darkness is part of this plan. God is called the “God of knowledge,” an epithet for the God who has planned every aspect of creation (ההנה). He knows the course of events beforehand, as well as brings everything into its consummation.339

The onstage verbal form in the first paragraph is the qatal where God is the subject. God created the human beings, he assigned for them two spirits. He has helped the children of light. He created the spirits of light and darkness and upon them founded every deed. One he loved, one he abhorred and hated.340 The qatals present the background to the present situation, which is dominated by a conflict between two opposed forces as part of God’s plan.341

The two opening lines of the Treatise (III, 13–15a) serve as an introduction to the entire discourse. Firstly, the spiritual belonging of each human is dealt with (III, 15b–IV, 1). After this the “signs” of each human’s spiritual belonging in form of attitudes and behaviors are in focus (in IV, 2–14). Finally, the eschatological outcome of the struggle between the two powers and the destiny for the human beings are dealt with (IV, 15–26). The teaching is dedicated to “the Maskil” who shall teach and make them understand (הלאומ תבל).342 The recipients of the teaching are the “children of light.” They are already known from previous sections as the human counterpart of the covenant.343 Judging from this, its context may be within the previous covenant renewal service (I, 1–II, 18) perhaps as a sermon expounding on Deuteronomy 30:15 “See, I have set before you today life and prosperity, death and adversity.” The opening part of the teaching echoes Genesis 1:1–2:4, which influences the discourse overall and in particular the first paragraph dealing with the background. The key term here מבנים הוא derives from the term גלאד. In Scripture the term is usually rendered “generations” but the Hebrew exceeds the meaning of “generations” in modern language. It has to do with what is produced and brought into being by someone, or that which follows

339 See the Gospel of John, which also drawing on Genesis 1 reads: “In the beginning was the logos.” See also John 1:3 and 1QS III, 15: “All things came into being through him, and without him not one thing came into being” (John 1:3 NRS). From the God of Knowledge comes all that exists and ever shall be. Before they existed he established their entire plan, and when they then come to exist as a testimony to his glorious plan, they fulfill their task, and nothing can be changed.

340 The qitqals describe the consequences of the qatals, e.g., in III, 15–16, where it says that God, before creation, has established (qatal) the plan of all things to be created, which they (the created) then fulfill (qitqal) when they come to exist. The passage where the ontological forces of light and darkness, and their outcome as truth and falsehood are accounted for, come in nominal clauses as an imbedded expository text, while the effect on humans are described with qitqals “in ways of light/darkness they walk” giving the present situation.

341 The infinitives in l. 22 reconnect to the beginning where the Maskil shall “teach and make understand” by stating that those that he has chosen for a covenant shall be instructed and enlightened in the heavenly wisdom.344 Otzen (1975: 146–57) argues that the idea of wisdom, namely to understand the underlying laws of existence, permeates the Treatise: There is a cosmic character of the teaching, it is about the whole order of world and man and there is a cosmic-ethical dualism that underlies the teaching. There are however two kinds of dualisms in the Treatise that according to Otzen cannot be found in Wisdom teaching: The eschatological dualism (the present world under the rule of Belial or the messenger of darkness will be succeeded by a new world under the dominion of God) and a psychological-ethical dualism (the nature of man is constituted of two opposing powers or “spirits”). The latter is common in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. This mean that we ought to define the Treatise as a combination of genres or as a development of the Wisdom tradition. Allison (1980: 257–68) regards III, 13–IV, 14 as the original Treatise and IV, 15–26 as a later addition. This division is also suggested by Tigchelaar (2001), to which he adds III, 13–18. It is in these two sections that the feud of the spirits is placed within the heart of man and where the final solution is being stated. This last part, or addition, is where both the eschatological and the psychological dualisms, mentioned only briefly before, are to be fully developed. This could mean that one (older?) layer of the Treatise resembles the Wisdom traditions cosmic-ethical dualism. See also Tanzer (1987: 12–14) who, following the line of thought from Von Rad, argues that the apocalyptic conceptions of time and history had their origin in wisdom circles. Cl. Lange (1995) who contrary to Von Rad argues that the wisdom notion of a pre-existent order of being and history, which was to be realized in the eschaton, was taken up in non-wisdom texts in Qumran. This notion was elaborated into a dualistic ordering of the world and of history, structured in epochs as a means for the Essene community to deal theologically with their negative experience of reality.

342 See Suggs (1972: 68) who, when discussing the function of the Treatise, suggests that it was part of the teaching that the initiates into the covenant received.

343 The Deutero-Testaments text belongs in the context of a covenant renewal scene that has influenced preceding parts of 1QS. The embryo of a later dualistic worldview has been traced to Deut 30:15–20, Jer 21:8, Ps 1, Prov 2:13, 7–8.
therefrom in each epoch. The semantic field of the term is thereby vast. It touches on meanings such as narrative, history, genealogy, and origin. It may well be that the term conveys all these aspects in the Treatise. But it is also derived to signify the offspring of each person’s spiritual belonging, namely “character” and “fate.” It is all that which stems from the spiritual (moral) foundation of each human being. The treatment involves all their “kinds of spirits” (ל kişi רוחות), words recalling again the P-source account of creation. The extensive use of terms such as המין (kinds) and ברי (divide) in the Genesis creation story argues that the author had the rules of clean and unclean in Leviticus 11 in mind. J. Blenkinsopp argues that the priestly author in Genesis 1 is more interested in “exhibiting order emerging out of chaos than in providing information about absolute beginnings.” The Levitical rules about clean and unclean, and separation, in turn, served to preserve the perfect order that was displayed in the first week of creation. The interrelation of creation, purity, and separation gives a clue to understand the use of Genesis in the Treatise. The “kinds” (مين) denote the inner nature of the human beings. The idea that the מין (kinds) of spirits become visible through their actions compares to Genesis. There the מין of the plants and trees becomes visible in what they yield, namely seeds and fruits. Since the spirits reveal themselves, it is possible for righteous people to separate from those spirits (humans) belonging to darkness and thereby to keep pure. This is the kind of knowledge that the Maskil shall teach. This pneumatology lies at the basis of the yearly examination of spirits (הפקדה) within the community (V, 20b–22). During this examination, the members may fall or rise in the hierarchy depending on the outcome of the investigation.

The Hebrew term for “spirit” (רוח) is a key concept in the Treatise, and in 1QS. In its biblical, theological meaning חי is a spirit or power belonging to God. When it is possessed by humans, it is gained from God. The fact that the essence of חי is invisible and only known by its effect on the visible world makes the concept useful in 1QS. In Genesis 1:2 the חי Elohim is the invisible underlying force of creation. In the same way are the two spirits of light and darkness invisible but underlie existence and become visible only through human beings. All human actions and attitudes are visible signs of the spiritual origin in these two spirits. These signs are outlined in the following two paragraphs (IV, 2–14).

This visible belonging of the spirits is called “signs” (рес). In Genesis this term refers to the heavenly bodies (1:14). The creation of light in Genesis is not related to the creation of the sun. The sun and the heavenly bodies are created on the fourth day as “signs” through which human beings can calculate the religious calendar (Blenkinsopp 2011: 21). In the same manner as a heavenly body, is a human being a sign of the fundamental forces of light or darkness in his or her moral actions, according to the Treatise.

The last part of the introduction, dealing with the fate that follows from belonging to each respective spirit, alludes to Hosea 9:7. In Hosea, the coming punishment is forecast with the words “The days of visitation have come, the days of recompense have come” (הפקדה, באו ימי פקדה, באו ימי חטא). In 1QS (14b–15a) the two synonyms, “visitation” and “recompense,” have been adjusted to fit the dualistic setting of 1QS, and the visitation of their afflictions as

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345 The formula “these are the generations” (ל kişi חללה) structure the first part of Genesis (1:11), where it introduces new sections. Blenkinsopp (2011: 4) argues that the five sections in Genesis 1:11 that are all introduced by this formula should be taken in the meaning “These are the generations” with the exception of Genesis 2:1: “In this one instance the formula was probably displaced to make room for the solemn prelude to the creation account in Genesis 1:1.” Perhaps more relevant here is its first occurrence in Genesis 2:4: “These are the generations of the heavens and the earth when they were created. In the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens.” If Blenkinsopp is right to refer the formula to what has preceded (Gen 1:1–2:3), rather than as an introduction to what follows, the term ought to be taken in the meaning of “narrative,” referring back to the story just told. But, as Blenkinsopp also points out, to render the term with “generation” is not out of line since genealogies often imply narratives: “That which came to pass during these generations.”

346 The phrase “all their kinds of spirits” indicates that there is a diversity of spirits. In other parts of 1QS (e.g., V, 20b–22) this is what the members mutually examine on a yearly basis.


348 Shaked (1972: 433–46) argues for understanding the use of ruah in the Treatise in light of the Iranian term mēnōg, which conveys the triple meaning of psychological disposition of the human being as well as the two poles of ethical dualism that manifest themselves both in a cosmic manner as well as in the human being.
well as their times of peace (הלפיטה מנשייה על צפי שלום). The scribe has read shalom (peace) instead of shilum (recompense) and has so defined the dual destiny of the divided mankind where the opponents are in a defiled state and will be punished.449 In the Hosea text, the “day of YHWH” has turned into mourning. The people of Israel are as defiled as someone eating a mourner’s bread (Hos 9:4), which gives the most intense source of impurity.350 That which is true and just—the prophetic voice—has been corrupted and found mad in the eyes of the sinful and hostile people. The idea that the voice of truth has been oppressed and silenced in a wicked era permeates the Treatise (see IV, 19–20 below). The immoral acts resulting from this oppression of truth leave Israel in a profound state of defilement.

After the general heading (III, 13–15a), the discourse of the first paragraph begins.351 The passage in III, 15–17a sets a deterministic tone in the initial statement “from the God of knowledge comes all that exists and ever shall be.” The two participles (יהוה ונהיה) demonstrate the all-encompassing and deterministic quality of God’s creation and plan in that all that exists—past, present, and future—stem from God.352 And then, when they (the human beings) come to be, they fulfill (נシャה) their predestined way and there can be no change (לא ישתנה).353 It is often taken as a hard-core deterministic view on mankind where the fate of belonging to light or darkness is assigned to a person before birth. When isolating the passage from the larger discourse it can certainly be understood in this way. When taking the larger discourse into consideration, this interpretation runs counter with the general idea that every person has a spiritual “mix.” It is therefore that they must enter the community so that their evil inclination may be kept in check in its disciplinary system. As long as evil is in dominion of mankind and corrupt society with lies, existence will be dual. The term צל(ל) (fulfill) reminds one again of Genesis (1:22) where the animals and plants are urged to “fill” the world. Here it is taken in the meaning fulfill their task meaning that they create their own destiny by the way they act in the world. Neither this passage should be taken in a deterministic way, but rather in light of what follows (III, 19). That which originates in darkness will result in injustice and lead to perdition and vice versa. The same thing goes with the statement: In his hand are the laws that govern everything, as well as the fulfillment of all their desires (16b–17a). The “laws” indicate the inevitable result of a person’s inclination. Unrestrained desires and rivalry will guide a human being on dark ways of falsehood. That God makes them fulfill (נשאה) is to say that their desires already fulfill their destinies. What stems from darkness will result in suffering while that which stems from light will result in healing.354 They thereby fulfill their own destinies by the way they act (see IV, 24b–25a).

The following phrase, “In his hands are the laws/judgments governing everything” (III, 16b–17a), is taken by Wernberg-Moller in the meaning that “all beings act, and all things happen, according to qualities which have been instilled in them beforehand by

349 The hostile atmosphere that has silenced the prophetic voice in Hosea is called משמחתו that has the same term that in IQS defines the Spirit of Darkness: it is his “hostile domination” that corrupts the people.
350 Landy 2011: 130.
351 Dimant (1979) argues that the introduction of the Treatise implies a reference to other texts that deal with spiritual genealogy and evaluation of past generations, in particular to 4Q180–81. According to her, each mentioning of periods can be taken as reference to a body of precise and detailed teaching: “So periods of affliction and peace can be better explained as referring to the specific lot of the righteous and the wicked throughout the ages.”
352 See 4Q180–81: “Pesher concerning the Periods made by God, (each) period in order to terminate [all that is] 2 and all that will be, before he created them he set their activities according to the exact meaning of the Periods 3 one Period after another.” According to Dimant (1979) are the periods in 4Q180–81 created for the purpose of bringing every being into its consummation: Time itself; governing the order of the period, is the law of all existence namely to come into being and to perish. Time expresses God’s will and proceeds according to a divine plan. The concept of the Periods is introduced to explain how divine foreknowledge and planning are put into action in human affairs.
353 I take the term צל(ל) in the meaning recompense, i.e., destiny. For this interpretation, see Isa 40:10, Lev 19:13.
354 The השלמה appears in Gen 2:1 where God rests after having completed his creation. In IQS the human beings create the world by their actions, and so fulfill their destiny.
God.”355 I would rather understand it in light of what I just discussed. The laws of God imply that a “good” action comes from a good intent and from an overarching understanding of the mechanisms of evil. An evil act, on the other hand, stems from ignorance and an unwillingness to sacrifice oneself for the better of society. These are the laws and judgments that govern everything.

Finally, the epithet “God of Knowledge” recalls 1 Samuel 2:3 “for the Lord is a God of knowledge, and by him actions are weighed” (וַיהוָה יְהָיוּת נָבְא, ונָפְלָתוֹ). The combination of knowledge and judgment in 2 Samuel is resembled in the Treatise in that the actions of a human being either evoke pleasure or disgust in God, and that they are judged accordingly (see III, 26b–IV, 1).356 The knowledge of God is thereby a knowledge of truth and falsehood, a moral knowledge.

In III, 18 comes the climax of the paragraph: He created the human being to rule the world and assigned for him two spirits in which to walk until the time for his visitation: These are the spirits of truth and falsehood. This passage is marked by a marginal hook to stress its importance. The passage recalls the sixth day of creation when God creates man and woman to rule over creation (Gen 1:26).357 But according to 1QS, when God created the human being he at the same time assigned two spirits of truth and falsehood to guide the human being. In the early days of research on the Treatise a dividing line was between scholars who argued for Zoroastrian influence on these ideas, and others who argued for understanding it within a Jewish context.358 At the foundation of the debate was the question of the degree of dualism and of determinism contra man’s free choice in the text. Are the spirits external (metaphysical) agents or just a symbolic (psychological) way of picturing the double inclination within mankind? Those who argued for the former claimed a Zoroastrian influence and understood the conflict as taking place on a metaphysical level between two cosmic rulers of darkness and light.359 This interpretation supposed a high degree of predestination. On the other side were those who argued that the conflict reflects early psychological insights into the divided psyche of every human being.360 The latter position allows for more freedom of choice. Following my line of analysis, it is not the dispositions of human nature that is at stake here but rather the idea that every human being has access to good and evil and therefore can make a choice. Knowledge of good and evil is crucial for didactic reasons in 1QS. Evil exists so that the human being can choose what is good (1QS, IV, 26). What also argues for this is the sequencing of information in the Treatise where the lying and truthful spirits firstly are placed within mankind (IV, 2–14) after which mankind is positioned within the domains of truth and falsehood (IV, 15–26). Human beings reproduce truth and falsehood in the world and consequently find themselves captive to the structures that they create.

This pivotal section is followed by an account of the origin of the two spirits of truth and falsehood. Truth comes from a dwelling of light while falsehood comes from a source of darkness. There has been scholarly attempt to emend the text in order to achieve a parallelism between מַעֲשֶׂה (dwelling and source) by changing מַעֲשֶׂה to “spring,” but this blurs the image.361 Truth comes from a dwelling of light. Light, in wisdom literature, is

355 Wernberg-Møller 1957: 69 n. 52. He builds his argument on comparison with the Ethiopic text of Enoch XXII, 8 and understands מַעֲשֶׂה here as in 2 Kgs 1:7 and Judg 13:12.
356 See III, 26b–IV, 1, where 2 Sam 2:3 is echoed again.
357 In Genesis they מַעֲשֶׂה, while in 1QS they מַעֲשֶׂה.
359 Today these insights can be taken a step forward when some scholars argue that the very idea of creation and a creating God has its roots in Iranian mythology. See Bremmer (2005: 90–96) and Smith (1963: 415–21), who argues that Second Isaiah is a pro-Persian propaganda and that the creation theology in Isa 40–48 was inspired by Zoroastrian ideas; see also Levinson 2006.
360 In searching for biblical a background for the ideas we can trace embryos to a (moral) dualism in Deut 30:15–20, Jer 21:8, Ps 1, Prov 2:13, 7–8. They all point out that there are two ways, one leading to life and the other to death.
361 Wernberg-Møller 1957: 25, 70 n. 58.
connected to the law, so here the dwelling is a place where the law is kept. In 1QS, this dwelling is the community, which is joined to the holy dwelling of God (see VIII, 8; X, 3; 12). Darkness, and its outcome falsehood, is on the other hand symbolized by an abode down under. To this belong all those who do not recognize the truth as manifested in the ways of the Yahad. The description of darkness as a source of falsehood and deception reminds one of 1QS III, 3 where it says “he sees darkness as the ways of light.” This instance tells of a person who will not accept the discipline of the Yahad as a way to achieve knowledge. He therefore suffers from a permanent defiled status “he cannot be cleansed by any purifying waters.” The connection between “seeing darkness as ways of light” and the defiled state that cannot be purified are both picked up on by the double meaning of the word יעד (eye/spring).

This reference sheds light on III, 19 where those who have their source in darkness suffer from ignorance and are therefore deceived by falsehood. Such people will not view things (“truth”) in the same manner as the community and can therefore never be atoned or cleansed. They are in a constant state of impurity and walk in darkness.

In III, 20–24a are the two rulers of light and darkness depicted. These exercise power over their two domains respectively.362 The “good” ruler is called the ruler/prince of lights (מלאך אמתו). His adversary, is called the messenger of darkness (מלאך חטמה). He is the most powerful of the two in that he not only completely dominates the children of falsehood, but also exercises power over the children of righteousness. He causes them to fall and to sin. Rather than imagining metaphorical rulers here, the messenger of darkness may denote any religious and political leader. It could be a high priest who directly and indirectly exercises power over all Jews through law, cult, and calendar.363 If his decisions err it causes corruption of all Jews in the country. The identification of the messenger as a “real” person is supported by the directly following passage. This passage echoes the confession of sins that is spelled out in the covenant renewal ceremony in I, 22–25.364 What is confessed are the wrongdoings that they and their forefathers before them have committed under unrighteous leadership (וכו במשמלתו אשמתם וחטאתם ועונתם ופשעי מעשיו). This leadership originates in ignorance (darkness) and results in injustice, which in turn leads all Israelites into sin and corruption.365 His adversary, the ruler of Lights ought then to be understood as the opposite. This is someone who reproduces true interpretations of the law. If Hempel is right in that the compiler linked the Treatise to S by creating strands, this could be such a strand where Israel’s yearly confession of sins is put into a theological and political framework. By doing so it becomes clear that there is no escape from sin as long as darkness is in domination of the world. This is why the only way to salvation is by entering the serek of the community (I, 16–20) and separating from society.

The first paragraph in the Treatise then gives the background to the stressful situation of the community. The messenger of darkness has caused a general corruption in the land, which generates suffering and afflictions (III, 23). His rule guides all Israelites on a slippery road and his army of “spirits” (coworkers and ignorant people) have caused even righteous people to stumble. But there is also another figure in action namely the “messenger of God’s truth” (מלאך אמתו). In what follows in III, 24b–25a we learn that he “has helped” all the children of light.” One would have expected an ongoing activity here, namely “is helping.” The only reason to understand this statement in a past tense is that the help has already come. This identifies him as a human messenger rather than a metaphysical being. It could be someone like the historical Teacher of Righteousness who already “saved” the people of

362 The term (משמלת) may allude to Gen 1:18, where God made two lights to rule over night and day and to separate light from darkness.

363 The term (משמלות) is found in CD VI, 5 where the angel of destruction exercises dominion over those who do not follow the Law of Moses. When a man takes on the oath of the Covenant to follow the Law of Moses, the angel of destruction leaves him.

364 Where the Levites report of the sins of the Israelites under the dominion of Belial: ‘אש עשו בני ישראל לפני משה עונתיהם ופשעי מעשיו. And the public confession of sins that follows in I, 24–25 when they enter/renew the covenant: ‘וכו במשמלתו אשמתם וחטאתם ועונתם ופשעי מעשיו.

365 The phrases recall each other in the recounting of transgressions with similar terms and the final common statement “under his dominion” compares to “the dominion of Belial” in I, 22.
the community by teaching the secret interpretations of the law (God’s “truth”).\textsuperscript{366} The switch from “children of righteousness” in III, 22 to “children of light” in III, 24 tells the audience that those who are given this help are the members of the \textit{Yahad} who have been instructed by the “messenger of God’s truth.” It is thereby the origin and history of the community that is retold here with a mythological language.

The paragraph is summed up with verbs mainly in the \textit{qatal} form. He (God) “created” the spirits and on them he “founded” every action. Genesis 1 is again recalled, this time in the vocabulary such as “create,” “spirits,” “light,” and “darkness.” The foundations of the world are defined as spiritual. The meaning of the last part of the section is not totally comprehensible, partly due to its broken state. It informs that God has created the spirits of light and darkness and that upon these two all activities (תָּבֹא) belong. Finally, in III, 26–IV, 1 it says that one he “loved” and he “takes pleasure” in it with all its actions ( nâlîm), a term that recalls 1 Samuel 2:3 “by him actions are weighed” (see III, 15). The other spirit he “abhors” (תעב) a term that occurs again in IV, 17 where it denotes the wrong interpretations of the law. God hates “its council (interpretations) and its ways” (conduct) eternally.\textsuperscript{367} With other words, God loves the ideological foundation on which the community rests, as well as the offspring of it—good deeds. But he hates the evil foundations that rule mankind outside the community, as well as the wicked deeds that stem from it.

The switch in the text between the spirits of truth and falsehood, light and darkness, has to be understood on different hierarchal levels. From the abode of light comes truth and from the source of darkness comes falsehood. These are thereby the moral results of being spiritually enlightened in the community, or stuck in ignorance. Light and darkness are in the context of wisdom connected to the law. This argues that what is found here is a rhetoric statement about following the right and the wrong interpretation of the law respectively. This in turn is related to interpersonal relations, namely how to behave toward insiders and outsiders. The community alone has been enlightened with the right interpretation of the right conduct in the time being. Their “true” way leads to salvation while all other “false” interpretations lead to corruption.\textsuperscript{368}

\subsection*{3.2 Manifestations of Truth and Falsehood (IV, 2–8a, IV, 8b–14)}

\subsubsection*{3.2.1 Translation of Text}

\textit{And these are their ways in the world: To enlighten man’s heart, and to straighten out all righteous, true ways before him and to make his heart fear the laws of God.}

It is a spirit of humility and patience, of great compassion and constant goodness, of understanding, insight, and powerful wisdom. It is firmly established in all God’s secrets and leaning on his great mercy. It is a spirit of knowledge of the intention behind every deed, zealously for righteous laws.\textsuperscript{370} (It is a spirit of) holy intention with a steadfast

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{366} See CD I, 11–12: \textit{So He raised up for them a teacher of righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. vacat He taught to later generations what God did to the generation deserving wrath, a company of traitors} (Abegg 2006).

\bibitem{367} It is strange to find the verbs “love” and “hate” in \textit{qatal} forms but perhaps this passage should be understood in light of the former, God has helped them since he has loved the spirit of Light. It can also be that an eternal aspect is expressed with the \textit{qatal} forms here (emphatic).

\bibitem{368} There is also a difference in the description of God’s actions with the spirits; the spirits of truth and falsehood he “designated/put and allotted” (III, 18 and 26) for each human, while the spirits of light and darkness are \textit{created}, they are thereby ontological forces and the very foundations of the world: God’s laws are laid down in the foundations of the world.

\bibitem{369} The intellectual foundation of each member is \textit{מעשי אל} “God’s works.” Wernberg-Møller (1957) argues, on basis of CD XIII, 7f. and the Syriac version of Ecol 11:4 where \textit{מעשי} is better understood as “secrets” that the word should be taken in the same meaning here, i.e., as a reference to the (hidden) law. Judging from the context it is not farfetched, and from \textit{iQS} at large the law is the basis in which all activity shall be grounded.

\bibitem{370} The term \textit{יצר} (purpose/inclination) further strengthens the interpretation that it is the human’s intent behind each action that is at stake and not “upon all work in which he is intent” (Qimron and Charlesworth 1994).

\bibitem{371} When \textit{משפט} appears with \textit{צדק} it usually imply “laws.”
\end{thebibliography}
inclination and abundant mercy toward all the children of truth. (It is a spirit of) pure worship\(^{372}\) that abhors impurity in every guise.\(^{373}\) It is walking humbly \(^6\)in discernment about everything and hiding the truth of the mysteries of knowledge.

These are the spiritual foundations of the children of truth in the world. And the reward for all who walk in it\(^{374}\) shall be healing, \(^7\)an abundance of peace in a long life, multiple progeny and eternal blessings, everlasting joy in an eternal life, complete glory \(^8\)and (perfect) measure of splendor in everlasting light.

\(^9\)But to the spirit of falsehood belong greed and slackness in the service of righteousness,\(^{375}\) wickedness and falsehood, pride and haughtiness, falsehood and cruel negligence, \(^10\)and great hypocrisy, impatience and abundant folly, shameless zeal for abominable deeds (done) in a spirit of fornication. Impure ways in the service for impurity, \(^11\)a slandering tongue, blind eyes and deaf ears, stiff neck and hard heart walking on all the ways of darkness, and evil cunning.

\(^{12}\)The visitation of all those who walk in it (will be) many afflictions at the hand of all the angels/workers of destruction, eternal perdition in the wrath of God's furious vengeance, everlasting terror\(^{376}\) and eternal shame\(^{13}\)together with the disgrace of annihilation in the fire of the dark places. In all their eras, generation after generation (they will know) doleful sorrow, bitter evil, in the abode of darkness until \(14\)their utter destruction without remnant or survivor from them.

### 3.2.2 Text Analysis

(a) Manifestation of light as truth (IV, 2–8a)

The second and third paragraphs situate the manifestations of the two spirits of light and darkness as truth and falsehood in human character and behavior. The attitudes most valued and feared in 1QS are here outlined. These are attitudes with a potential to construct or deconstruct the community, such as humility and patience on the one hand and haughtiness and pride on the other. The lists of the signs that belong to the two ways remind one of virtue and vice lists in didactic (sapiential) literature in both form and to some degree in content.\(^{377}\)

At the same time they also display typical features of the ideology of the community.\(^{378}\)

Paragraph II (IV, 2–8a) and III (IV, 8b–14) differ grammatically from the discourse overall in that they are constructed on nominal clauses with infinitives and participles in nonverbal functions. These two paragraphs constitute of expository text types.\(^{379}\) They present facts as timeless and forever valid.

The opening words, "And these are their ways in the world" (אלאו דרכי התבל) refers back to the two spirits of light and darkness in III, 25. These manifest themselves as truth and falsehood in human character.\(^{380}\) The three infinitives on which the phrase is

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\(^{372}\) נשרתה כבוד (literally, "a glorious purity"). Wernberg-Møller (1957: 77 n. 17) argues that the word intended was בורא just as in IV, 10, the interchange of kaph and ayin occurs also in VIII, 9.

\(^{373}\) Or "all unclean idols"; see II, 11.

\(^{374}\) That is, all who adhere to this spirit, i.e., live this way.

\(^{375}\) See Isa 32:17.

\(^{376}\) See the curse over the lot of Belial, 1QS II, 6: "May God give you up to terror."

\(^{377}\) Audet (1996: 129–47) compared the Latin Duae Viae with the Treatise and found a correspondence in form, and to some degree in vocabulary and internal structure. According to Audet, the Treatise is older than the Qumran movement and had a singular and therefore a more general spread than the 1QS. He speculates as to whether the author of the Latin Duae Viae once was a member of the community of the covenant and then wrote a more universalistic variant of the Treatise, perhaps for proselytes.

\(^{378}\) See Osten-Saken 1969: 137.

\(^{379}\) Expository discourse is static with verb-less nominal clauses and periphrastic clauses with the verb haya (be) as its mainline conjugation. Dynamic verbs occur only in the function of anecdotes or illustrative material. Finite verbs rank lowest and function as reason, result, comment, and amplification, rather than thesis. It is the opposite of narrative discourse. It is non-agent-oriented and has no temporal succession.

\(^{380}\) The metaphors "way" and "walking" permeate 1QS where the aim for the community is to be “those perfect of the way” and for the individual to “walk perfectly.” It seems they even labeled themselves “the Way.” The
constructed (“to enlighten,” “to straighten out,” and “to make fear”) are often understood as belonging only to the spirit of truth.\textsuperscript{381} Here it is argued that the infinitives function as a heading for both spirits, since the two following sections, which outline each spirit, then follow the same pattern. They first recount the distinctive features for each spirit followed by the reward that awaits their followers, all made in nominal clauses.\textsuperscript{382} When assigning the first line to a general introduction of both paragraphs, the two sections become equally long each comprising six lines (IV, 3–8 and IV, 9–14). Since God has created both spirits (III, 25) with the purpose to teach the human beings about good and evil (see IV, 26), it makes more sense to understand these infinitives as being their ways in the world, and then as an introduction to both spirits. In this passage Isaiah 40:3 is heard, "In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God." This Isaiah text is of crucial importance in 1QS and further underlines the connection to the law and its interpretation (see VIII, 13–14; IX, 19b–20a).\textsuperscript{383}

There lacks an initial reference to “the spirit of truth” corresponding to “the spirit of falsehood” (l. 9) but it is beyond doubt that the spirit of truth is in focus in the following lines. Its characteristics repeat the two pillars on which the community stands. The first is the mutual humble relation between members, a spirit of humility and patience, of great compassion and constant goodness. A holy intention (grounded) with a steadfast inclination and abundant mercy toward the children of truth. The second pillar is knowledge, (a spirit of) understanding, insight, and powerful wisdom, firmly established in all God’s secrets and leaning on his great mercy, It is a spirit of knowledge of the intention behind every deed.\textsuperscript{384} The way the spirit of truth manifest itself in every human being is equivalent to the way an ideal member of the Yahad should behave. He must be patient and humble, loyal and loving toward his fellow members, and accept discipline (see II, 23–24; V, 24b–26a; VIII, 2).\textsuperscript{385} He must be guided by the right intention in everything he does. He must understand the intention behind other people’s actions in order not to be involved in anything false or impure. He should be wise and have a good judgment (see VI, 18). He shall keep the secrets of the community safe from the antagonists (VIII, 11–12; IX, 17). Purity is related to the proper interpretations of the law. The true interpretations lead to a righteous moral conduct and a mutual humble attitude between fellow members. This in turn is the prerequisite for worship pleasing to God (see III, 11–12). The phrase walking humbly in discernment about everything (הPager לוח להמשל במל) alludes to Micah 6:8, which is the leitmotif in 1QS: “to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God” (see II, 24 and VIII, 2). The semantic field of the root כנע in the Hebrew Bible and in later Hebrew and Syriac literature include meanings such as humility, secrecy, and skillfulness.\textsuperscript{386} All these nuances of the term fits well with the way a perfect member of the Yahad should behave. Although I render the term here with “humbly” it could be that “secrecy” is also implied in the term. The following sentence may argue for the latter interpretation. They shall hide the truth of the mysteries of knowledge, a circumstantial clause that further develops what “walking carefully in discernment about everything” means.\textsuperscript{387} In addition to acting in a humble way, a carefully measured behavior is desired here.\textsuperscript{388}

\textsuperscript{381} In the first paragraph the spirit of truth (or light) is not mentioned, only “spirit,” we thereby miss an introduction equivalent to the one of the spirit of falsehood in IV, 9.

\textsuperscript{382} See Stuckenbruck (2011: 438), who also assumes that these lines refer to both paths/spirits.

\textsuperscript{383} Isa 40:3 is quoted in 1QS VIII, 14–15 where it is taken in the meaning “study the Law.”

\textsuperscript{384} The knowledge is specified as: יתב הלות בדרות יתב (l. 4) “a spirit of knowledge of the intention behind each action.” An action is only “good” if the intent behind it is just.

\textsuperscript{385} Osten-Saken (1969: 137) showed that these virtues correspond to those that the members received from the spirit of holiness when entering the community, according to the Hodayot.

\textsuperscript{386} Hyatt (1952: 235) renders the term “walking wisely.”

\textsuperscript{387} In the second phrase, Wernberg-Møller (1957: 79 n. 20) detects an allusion to Isa 42:3: “a bruised reed he will not break, and a dimly burning wick he will not quench (יתבש;) he will faithfully (יתבש) bring forth justice.” In 1QS this has been interpreted in a quite opposite way; where the servant is to make known, the children of truth will conceal the word of God from outsiders. “Our author has applied the passage to the pious . . . and has
The foundation of the community is each member’s ability to discipline. Discipline is the condition for sharing the common knowledge. In this way are humbleness and knowledge interdependent and consequently they appear in that very order. The listed virtues are what is being examined in the community on a yearly basis (see, e.g., V, 23b–24). Newsom argues—and I concur—that these qualities are not abstractions but “dispositions that are part of the daily praxis of the sect.” 389 In this manner should “humility” be understood in relation to acceptance of discipline (II, 24–III, 1) and in the daily interchange with fellow members (V, 24b–25). The knowledge, she argues, is not related to an individual activity (if such existed at all) but is rather a knowledge that is prescribed by God and waiting to be discovered by the community in their common research. 390 The virtues that are recounted in the paragraph occur also in other parts of 1QS, in particular in passages where the aims of the community are set out (II, 24–25 and VIII, 2–4). 391 The Treatise communicates that there are two ways in life. In order to choose truth you must join the community.

After having outlined the hallmarks of the spirit of truth there is a blank space in the text before the rewards/punishments are presented. The words “These are the spiritual principles/foundations of the children of truth in the world” (אלה סוד י רוח לבני אמת תבל) refer retrospectively to what has been recounted. The meaning of סוד in this context is dubious. It is usually rendered with “principles,” “counsel,” (secret) “council,” “elements,” or “foundations.” As is the case with many key terms in 1QS it conveys more than one meaning. Since the perspective is retrospective, it ought to refer to what has just been stated. I therefore understand it in the meaning “spiritual foundation for all their actions.” This means that the virtues that have been recounted constitute what in the Treatise is labeled “truth.” This way of behaving is the very foundation of the Yahad (see IX, 3).

(b) Reward for following truth (IV, 6b-8a)

The rewards of following the way of truth are eschatologically colored. It leads to healing, great peace in a length of days, and a fruitful offspring. The latter is probably a spiritual interpretation of Genesis 1. It leads to eternal blessings in an eternal life. The meaning of מגדת in the last sentence can be enlightened from the Testament of Benjamin 4:1 where מגדת means “crown” and where the “crown of glory” is the reward that a good man eventually receives. 392 In line with this, the phrase with a robe/measure (מדת) of honor ought to be taken in the meaning “robe” in order to correlate to the image of vestment (crown). 393 It is a complete restoration of the conditions of the human being that is forecast here. Adams fallen glory is rewarded to the community (see IV, 23) and all the blessings of the Garden such as an eternal life and knowledge are restored. A new creation is inaugurated by their perfect conduct toward each other.

(c) Manifestations of darkness as falsehood (IV, 8b–11)

The characteristics of the spirit of the falsehood compare to a larger extent to lists of vices in contemporary wisdom teachings. 394 Body parts such as eyes, ears, neck, and heart connected ykbnh with what follows. By pronouncing the Kaph fricative he has derived the verb from hb’ and has seen in the passage an allusion to the mission of the pious in the world. . . . (this) also clarifies the problem of the syntactical position of l’mt.”

388 Newsom 2004: 130.
389 Ibid.: 129.
390 See Newsom (2004: 130) who by this trait differs 1QS from the general view on wisdom and knowledge in Second Temple Judaism.
391 See also 4Q502 16 which, according to Baillet (DJD 7:86) quotes 1QS IV, 4–6. Falk (1998: 25) concludes: “It is therefore possible that the blessings of 4Q502 are patterned on the ideal reward for the members of the Yahad.”
392 In the Hebrew Bible the term always means “complete/perfect.”
393 At the same time could “measure” indicate the amount of glory given to each person, which then would correspond to the ability to realize the ideals just recounted in their lives.
characterize the vices. These parts of the human body all represent receptivity or lack of it (ibid.: 132). The characteristics of the spirit of falsehood are the opposite of the spirit of truth. Consequently are such virtues as “insight,” “understanding,” and “powerful wisdom” not juxtaposed to “ignorance” and “folly” but to “pride and haughtiness,” which indicate an unwillingness to be submissive. In the same manner is also the phrase “unclean worship/service for impurity” (בעבודת טמאה) in IV, 10 the antithesis of IV, 5 “pure worship” (חרדת ב Expedition תמרוד). When considering the cultic terminology here—such as però “impurity,” “purity maintenance,” and טמאה “purity”—Klawans notes that “the language of ritual impurity is not being used to describe specific violations of ritual taboos, but grave sins in general.” Just as the virtues of the spirit of truth have a common denominator in being anti-rivalistic and anti-violent so are the vices the opposite. The persons characterized by this behavior will sooner than later evoke rivalry, conflict, and violence. Their hot temper, arrogance, and negligence to do what is right, can never lead to harmony and peace but only to a never-ending spiral of violence. The spirit of falsehood thereby manifests the opposite attitude of what is expressed in Micah 6:8.

(d) Punishment for following falsehood (IV, 11b-14)

The result of following the spirit of falsehood is pictured in apocalyptic images of fire and total extermination, until their utter destruction, without remnant or survivor from them (בר הצלחה לפני רוח טמאה פל). These words allude to Ezra 9:14 “until you destroy us without remnant or survivor” (בר הצלחה לפני הושע טמאה פל). The background to the Ezra passage is the breaking of the covenant, which will provoke God’s wrath and consume the Israelites until no remnant or escape is possible. The allusion to Ezra also may argue for understanding the Treatise as a teaching as closely related to the covenant renewal ceremony.

3.3 The Present: The Mission of those Adhering to Truth (IV, 15–26)

3.3.1 Translation of Text

The character and fate of all humankind reside with these spirits. All the hosts of humanity, generation by generation, are heirs to these spiritual divisions (in that they) follow their ways. The recompense of every deed inheres in these divisions according to each person’s spiritual heritage, whether great or small, until the last age. God has established them side by side until the last time and he has set an everlasting enmity between their divisions. Unjust deeds are an abomination to truth and all the ways of truth are an abomination to falsehood. (There is) a fierce dispute over all their judgments since they do not walk together. But God, in his mysterious insight and glorious wisdom, has decided an end for the existence of falsehood, at the time decided for his visitation he shall destroy it forever. Then truth shall come forth in splendor in the world because it has debased itself in evil ways under the rule of falsehood until the time appointed for

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395 See the previous section in II, 25–III, 1, where arrogance and stubbornness are what hinders a person from achieving knowledge since discipline and humility are the prerequisites for sharing the (secret) knowledge. Some of the phrases in the section describing the spirit of truth are repeated in other sections of 1QS, which state the aims and goals of the community. This shows that these qualities were desired for each member. Likewise are the hallmarks for the spirit of falsehood heard in the descriptions of the opponents and the punishment that awaits them in other parts of the composition (see V, 13 and IV, 14).

396 See Wernberg-Møller 1957: 81 n. 37. The omission of the feminine ending (ה) he refers to CD, where that is one of the characteristic orthographic features (77 n. 17).

397 Klawans (1997: 77) argues that unlike the Pentateuch’s referring to the specific moral sins (sexual, idolatrous, or murderous sin), the Qumran corpus refers to sin generally.

398 There is a strong overlap between the recounted characteristics here and the cases in the penal code (VI, 24–VII, 25).

399 The translation here depends on Abegg 2006.

400 The word only occurs once in the Hebrew Bible, 2 Chr 35:12 where it is taken in the meaning “family groupings” (or ancestral houses, so NRSV), in the context of doing service in the temple.
judgment. Then shall God purge all human deeds through his truth and refine a part of mankind by ripping out every unjust spirit from within his flesh and purify him by a holy spirit from all false doings. He shall sprinkle each with the spirit of truth like purifying waters against all the abomination of falsehood and from being polluted by an unclean spirit. So shall he give the upright insight into the knowledge of the Most High and the perfect of the way instruction in the wisdom of the sons of heaven. God has indeed chosen them for an eternal covenant and to them belong all the glory of Adam. Falsehood shall not exist and every neglectful deed will be put to shame.

Until now the spirits of truth and falsehood strive in the human heart. They walk in wisdom and folly. According to a person’s allotment in truth he will be righteous and consequently hate falsehood, and according to his possession in the lot of evil he will be wicked through it and consequently abhor truth. Because side by side has God put them/God has separated them until the appointed end and the making of the new. And he knows what their deeds will result in when their [times] come to an end. He has given the human inheritance in them, in order to know good [and evil] and to [de]cide the lots for all living in accordance with his spirit in the visitation.

3.3.2 Text Analysis

The fourth and last paragraph of the Treatise opens by positioning mankind within the domains of the two spirits. Everyone is guided by truth or falsehood, depending on his respective share in light and darkness. This part of the discourse presents the final solution to the stressful situation depicted in the first paragraph. It consists in God choosing some human beings (the community) for a re-creation. He will cleans and purify them from the evil structures of society by the means of knowledge and so give them the fallen glory of Adam. This paves the way for “truth” to regain power; the truth being the ideology of the community. Still the human heart is torn by the internal power struggle of good and evil. This is why the community of those who choose truth and depart from evil still is necessary.

This last paragraph of the Treatise is constructed on yiqtols as the “on-stage” verbal form that draws the audience into present and near-future scenarios, that is the time of the community. Now is the time of the realized eschatology. It is now that truth shall conquer falsehood and a new creation will come into being.

The opening words of the last paragraph, The character and fate of all humankind reside with these spirits reconnect with the beginning of the Treatise where the Maskil shall teach the children of light about the character and fate of mankind. So after that the background of the current stressful situation is presented, and the characteristics that follow with each division (spirit) have been outlined, the discourse moves into the present time of the audience. All that that was hidden to mankind, the evil structures that have ruled mankind through history are now being revealed to community. They take part in the divine plan and its secrets, that from now on is called “truth.” The first thing that is stated is that all human beings, through the generations, are affected by the two opposed forces (“spirits”). It is thereby a historical problem. The generations “inherit” in the two domains of the spirits, which could imply that each historical era has been dominated by one of the two spirits. The word that is here rendered “division” may give a clue to what this discourse is really about. It occurs once in the Hebrew Bible in 2 Chronicles 35:12 where it is taken in the meaning “family groupings” (or ancestral houses NRSV) in the context of doing service in the temple. Since the Treatise may deal with the discourse of power of the religious institutions such as the temple and the law, it may be

401 “These” refers to the two spirits of light and darkness, meaning that all humans have their spiritual belonging in these two Spirits.

402 The term host: recalls Gen 2:1 again, and should probably be taken in the same meaning here, as “multitudes” with the delimitation to human beings of which all, since the very first day, inherit in the two spirits. So, all human beings throughout history belong to one of the two domains.
that unrighteous and righteous leadership over the temple is dealt with here, in light of history.\(^{403}\)

From the interpretation of III, 25 (above) the spirits of light (knowledge) and darkness (ignorance) are the spiritual foundations upon which all actions rest. In this last paragraph of the Treatise this idea is picked up on again. In IV, 15b–16 it says that the outcome (result) of a person’s actions and attitude will subsequently serve one of the two divisions. Which division that is enforced depends on the person’s spiritual set up (nature) of light and darkness.\(^{404}\) All actions fall into one of the two domains of light and darkness.\(^{405}\) The idea of a spiritual foundation of creation is enlightened by the allusion to Numbers 26:56. In this passage Moses is commanded to divide the land between the tribes (ancestral houses) by use of the lot. The inheritance is appropriated to the size of the tribes (בין רב למעט). In the same manner is the spiritual foundation inherited by the human beings in 1QS IV, 16 whether great or small (ביןרובלמוגע). The difference is that the phrase in 1QS does not refer to the size of groups but to the size of the shares that the human beings have in each spirit, and that decides which spiritual domain one inherits. The at least seemingly confused line of thought is that the two domains are constituted by human beings with access to one of the two inclinations of truth and falsehood. Their actions will consequently serve one of the dominions and so they become inheritors of darkness or of light. The meaning of the expression בדבבד in IV, 16, is a matter of interpretation. It is usually rendered with either “separated” or “equals” but the term also conveys the meaning “besides” and this is how I understand it here “side by side.”\(^{406}\) If they also are of equal strength is not obvious from the context. It seems rather from III, 21b–22a that the dark forces dominate the current times. Perhaps more importantly than defining the exact meaning of the idiom is the information that God allows this to happen. He is the one who established them in equal parts/separated them, until “the last time.” The phrase קצ אהרון (“the last time”) is rare in the Qumran scrolls. Apart from this instance it occurs in the Habakkuk Pesher saying “the last time will be long” (VII, 7) but that “those obedient to the Law must not cease from loyal service although it may seem delayed” (VII, 11–12.; see Abegg 2006). The mood in the Pesher is reflected also here.\(^{407}\) A stressful situation is discerned, where those who belong to “truth” are oppressed and suffer, and wait for the Lord to intervene. This waiting has become long. The 1QS passage under discussion then communicates forcefully that there is only one way to choose if you wish to belong to light and truth. You must enter the community where “loyal service” takes place.

This is followed by an explanation of the impossibility for the two spirits to coexist. Abomination (תועב) in the Hebrew Bible denotes anything that can spoil the purity of God’s people by transgressing what is ritually, morally, or sexually acceptable. Here it says that what one group thinks and does is an abomination to the other. The object of conflict seems to be disputes over the law since the term ריב usually denotes “legal” strife.\(^{408}\) The strife is said to concern all their lawsuits/decisions (כול משפטיה), which in turn makes their deeds and their “walking” an abomination to the other party.\(^{409}\) False interpretations of the law lead to falsehood.

\(^{403}\) The term for “domains” (מפלגיהן) of the spirits occurs only in 2 Chr 35:12 in the meaning “family divisions” of laity, in the context of doing service in the temple. It occurs only a few times in the scrolls in the meaning “division” in 1Q33 X, 9; 1QH-a XX, 23; 4Q405 23i:7. Kuhn (1952: 296–316) here finds Zoroastrian influence in the image of the two divisions (Yasna 31:2, 3, 43:12, 44:15).

\(^{404}\) The first word in this compound expression can mean “reward/outworking” and this is how I understand it in this context; as the result of an action. Every action will either benefit Light or Darkness (see IV, 25).

\(^{405}\) The biblical idiom (see Exod 30:34) means “in equal parts.”

\(^{406}\) The physical evidence of Pesher Habakkuk in Qumran postdates 1QS. Internal evidence may argue for dating the composition prior to Pompey’s conquest of Jerusalem; see, e.g., Flusser 2007: 5.

\(^{407}\) See 1QSa I, 13, where the term denotes “discussions” of law.

\(^{408}\) In neither of its occurrences in column IV (I. 18 and 23) is this connotation explicit. The two occurrences of the term in the IX, 16 and X, 19 belong however in the context of “quarrel/discussion.”
The reason that evil can exist under a sovereign God is that he allows it for a limited time. He has however already planned the day and moment when evil will be destroyed forever. The Treatise communicates the idea that the existence of evil is part of God’s plan for didactic reasons, so that the humans may choose the way to life (see IV, 26). In IV, 19b–20a truth is personified as someone who has been corrupted by evil. When the evil time is put to end, time has come for truth to shine forth in her “splendor.” The expression “come forth in splendor (רוח הלם) echo of Habakkuk 1:4 where it says the “Law cannot come forth in splendor since wicked people surround the righteous and corrupt the justice.” The context of this Habakkuk text lies close to the Treatise (and 1QS) where it is implied that the community does not take part in, or at least do not control, the discourse of power relating to cult and law. This is why truth (the right interpretation of the law) cannot come forth but rather has been defiled. What is communicated is that the community has been shut out from the center of power. Under the current unrighteous and defiled leadership each and every Jew inevitably becomes defiled and corrupt (III, 21b–23a), which is why separation is crucial (see 1QS V, 1).

In IV, 20b–22 language pertaining to ritual purity describes the eschatological moral purification. Here one finds תָּאַצָּא לַנֶּצַּח “to purify,” הָמַּר יְאֵרַ עֵי “to cleanse,” וְיָרָא הָאִיר “like the water of impurity,” and יָרָא הָאִיר “impurity.” This passage is partly constructed on an allusion to Malachi 3:3 “and he will purify the descendants of Levi and refine them like gold and silver, until they present offerings to the LORD in righteousness” (תָּאַצָּא לַנֶּצַּח בְּנֵי לֶוִי וּטָהֲר אֶת בְּנֵי לֶוִי וּזֶקַק אֲנָשָׁאָת וּכְסַף וּיוּוֹסֵכָה לַיהוָה). In both the Malachi and 1QS passages God will refine (טָהֲר) and purify (טָהֲר) the chosen ones. In Malachi the objects for this are the Levites (בֶּן לֶוִי) while in 1QS it is “a part of mankind” (כֹּהֵן אֲרֵי) that is, the Yahad. The underlying problem in Malachi is the same as in 1QS. The people have turned away from the law of God (Mal 3:7) and thereby defiled themselves and ended up in falsehood and evil. This has led to the profanation of the temple and the covenant, and to them breaking the relationship with fellow Jews (Mal 2:10b–15a). The problem is Israel’s purity and the solution in Malachi is to refine and purify the Levites like silver and gold. After such refining can righteous offerings be conducted to the Lord. A. Hill’s comment on this compares well to the Yahad: “The desired outcome of genuine worship offered to God by his people is accomplished through the difficult and painful process of purification. God’s “spirit of judgment” and “spirit of burning, washing and cleansing” transform the people of God into a holy community.” In this refining process the two (opposed) groups of people will be displayed “so you will again distinguish between the righteous and the wicked, between one who serves God and one who does not serve Him” (Mal 3:18 NASB). The bad situation in Malachi is resolved by God’s purifying act of the Levites. This compares to 1QS where the evil lawless situation is dealt with by purging a chosen part of mankind, namely the Yahad. From the outlook of 1QS, this purging takes place in present time. It also implies God’s judgment, since the cleansing of some human beings clearly displays the corruptness of the other. If it is possible to draw contextual parallels to this extent, then the current section in 1QS does not deal with the end but rather the beginning. When God chooses them for a community he begins his work to exterminate evil and create anew. This is the origin and mission of the community.

In IV, 22–23 it becomes clear that re-creation begins with a re-created humanity. Some chosen from humanity shall be restored to the state humanity had before the fall. These chosen ones access the symbolic Garden of Eden where (divine) knowledge and

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410 Wernberg-Møller (1957: 85 n. 70) argues that there is general tendency to avoid mentioning the priesthood, which can be seen in this instance as well as in III, 11 where Num 25:13 is alluded to. He claims that there is a remnant of the original object (כֹּהֵן אֲרֵי) in the "dativus ethicus huic."


413 The context in Malachi is the Day of the Lord (chap. 3): “Then I will draw near to you for judgment; I will be swift to bear witness against the sorcerers, against the adulterers, against those who swear falsely, against those who oppress” (Mal 3:5 NRS).

414 With this in mind, we better understand the passage in I, 11–13, where the strengths, the intellect, and the possessions of an initiate must be purified.
eternal life are granted, as well as the same glory that Adam had in Paradise before the fall.\textsuperscript{415} An eternal covenant is now erected between God and the human being. This covenant is based on the personal sacrifice of the human party where they, within themselves put an end to violence (יָרֵא אֱלֹהִים).\textsuperscript{416}

The last lines of the paragraph sum up the present situation by stating that the strife between truth and falsehood is still going on in the heart of the human beings. Each person’s inclination is due to the inheritance in each of the two spirits, Until now the spirits of truth and falsehood strive in the human heart, they walk in wisdom and folly. According to a person’s allotment in truth he will be righteous and consequently hate falsehood, and according to his possession in the lot of evil he will be wicked through it and consequently abhor truth. Because God has separated them until the appointed end and the making of the new.\textsuperscript{417} The two spirits cannot coexist. Wherever they are found together they are in strife and they even “hate” each other. This painful situation shall go on until the time decided by God (אני עולה) when he will “make new,” that is, renew creation (עָשֶׂה נָשִׂיא). This is yet another instance that could be taken as a token for a predestined view of mankind. In line with what has been discussed in similar instances, it is argued here that the “allotment” and its outcome—deeds, are interrelated. All that which is born in ignorance will result in wicked deeds. That which is born from true knowledge on the other hand, will result in good deeds and thereby make the inheritance in light larger (see the discussion above; 15b–16). The last phrase recalls the creation story in Genesis, which underlies the whole discourse. It also alludes to Isaiah 43:19, “I am about to do a new thing (עָשֶׂה נָשִׂיא); now it springs forth, do you not perceive it? I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert.” To make a way in the wilderness is the same as adhering to the right interpretations of the law in 1QS (cf. VIII, 13–15).

The last line of the paragraph is broken. It is possible to reconstruct “good and [evil]” (טוב ורע) with help of Genesis 2:9, which most likely underlies the passage.\textsuperscript{418} The tree in Genesis 2:9 is thereby replaced by the spirits in 1QS. They give knowledge of good and evil. The passage can also be understood in a dualistic sense, namely that some learn good and other evil. However, in comparison with the discourse in general and III, 18 in particular, it is more likely that both spirits are active in guiding each human being. The last part of the passage lacks some words but ought to mean that God will cast lots. In the terminology of 1QS this means to decide the fate of all living beings. The passage and thereby the Treatise end with the word “visitation.”\textsuperscript{419} This may indicate that God will judge each person on basis of how that person have used the knowledge of good and evil in order to direct their path in life (III, 9b–10). It may also indicate that the inclination of each human being will become apparent in her actions by which he/she will be judged.

3.4 Discourse Analysis (III, 13–IV, 26)

The verbal forms in the Treatise underscores this structure of past–present / forever–future scenario just argued for. What is “heard” in this discourse is an extremely stressful situation where the society is dominated by a hostile and corrupt rule from which no one can stay clean. The righteous ones slip and fall. They commit sins and are led astray. This hostility and falsehood originates from a “source of darkness.” This source of darkness is the place where truth is corrupted, namely the contemporary society. The sobriquet of the dark power is the “messenger of darkness.” He is in his power of crucial legal and cultic matters and

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{415}] Wernberg-Møller 1957: 87 n. 80.
\item[\textsuperscript{416}] See 1QS VIII, 10, where this clearly is the “effect” of the mission of the community.
\item[\textsuperscript{417}] The phrase “until now” (כִּי תִקְנָה רֶוֶס) should be understood in the meaning “still” but with the nuance “not much longer,” see CD II, 17, “still.” Wernberg-Møller (1957) argues on basis of Matt 11:12 that the idiom marks the transition to the messianic era.
\item[\textsuperscript{418}] A conclusion drawn on both the theme of the new creation in this section of the text, as well as the overall dependence on Genesis 1–3 in the Treatise on the Two Spirits.
\item[\textsuperscript{419}] In front of הפkos about nine letters are lost.
\end{itemize}
thereby inevitably corrupts all human beings. By bringing in a reference to Habakkuk 1:4, the message that an evil rule suffocates the voice of truth is communicated. In the Treatise this means that the community is excluded from the discourse of power. This message is strengthened by an allusion to Malachi 3:3 where God refines some human beings in order to restore cult. It is toward this background that the allusion to Hosea 9:7 in 1QS III, 14b–15a also makes sense. According to Hosea, falsehood has permeated society to such extent that the prophetic voice (the truth) is considered as madness and the relation between fellow Jews and between God and human beings is broken. Everything is contaminated by evil. In the last paragraph of the Treatise, these violent structures are being washed away from the chosen ones who are purified and cleansed. The community separates itself in order to construct a society with strong ideological and sociological boundaries toward the outside. The starting point of this separation was when God sent them a “messenger of his truth.” He taught them the true interpretations of the law and led them on the ways of truth.

The genre of the Treatise is not “myth,” but it has a mythical imagery and it functions as a myth by retelling the origin and history of the community with a mythological language. According to the Treatise, God created by dividing and ordering. He divided the world, and the human beings into two major domains of light and darkness. Over these domains does the God of “knowledge” rule. In the current time, darkness is in dominion and entices people with falsehood. The true discourse has been shut out of power and the righteous ones have been caused to sin. Since no one can escape the evil structures of society, they defile everyone and everything. A chosen group has been guided by a messenger who communicates God’s truth. Through him have they been given insight into God’s primordial secret plans and the right interpretations of the law. They have revealed the falsehood that rules society and chosen for themselves a leitmotif that is expressed by Micah 6:8. By their righteous actions they re-establish the created ordered and inaugurate the last era when God will judge and re-create the world, and they will return from exile. The reason that the community separates itself from society at large, something that is the topic of the next section (V, 1–VII, 25), is since truth and falsehood cannot exist together in the same place. The interpretations of the law according to the community, is an abomination for its adversaries and vice versa. These words may then reveal a conflict of power over the religious discourse where the community does not have the upper hand at the time being.

Newsom argues that there is no volitional dimension in the discourse. The sectarian is not exhorted to overcome his false inclination. Rather shall he wait and endure the sufferings until the day when he shall be rewarded (IV, 6b–8). He will have to live in the distress of not being able to “escape the seductions of perversity.” I agree with Newsom that no one is totally pure until the forecast day when God will “rip out” the false spirit from some of humanity (the community), but I understand the Treatise rather as a teaching of origin and result. From ignorance comes all that which leads to violence. By organizing the community as serek, and regulate all interaction between members, they can already now “walk perfectly” and God is already now ripping out falsehood from their inner parts. What is rejected therefore, are behaviors associated with rivalry and conflict. Arrogance, short temper, negligence, impatience, uncontrolled speech, haughtiness, and pride must be avoided. And to the contrary must the recounted virtues such as humbleness and patience guide them in all social interaction. The Qumran society represses conflicts by already repressing certain attitudes and actions. In light of this, the impure worship of the antagonists and the pure worship of the community is a question of moral behavior. That which is born in violence belongs to violence and will only repeat its vicious logic (“inherit in its domains”). A person guided by falsehood belongs to darkness and all his actions will benefit darkness and further reinforce its dominion. This person is someone who will not submit to other authorities than himself. He or she suffices unto his or her own crooked self. This is why he or she may not take part in the righteous interpretations of the law. Consequently, such a person breaks the covenant and defiles the purity in his or her worship.

Newsom 2004: 130.

The urge to “establish his steps for walking perfectly” (III, 9) indicates that a just conduct is possible already now.
Contrary to this is a person who is guided by truth and who belongs to light. He has access to true knowledge of good and evil in the community. He knows to restrain his or her desires for the benefit of a larger good. He is someone who intends to realize the vision of Micah “to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God.” By living this way, such a person creates the world anew and thereby achieves the fallen glory of Adam.

The Treatise is a political text that undermines the authority of the corrupt leadership. It reinforces the motivation of the community in their long wait until taking part in the discourse of power again, a discourse from which they have been exiled. The rhetorical force in the last paragraph of the Treatise is strong. Under the surface of a mythological language the image of a power struggle is evoked by allusions to Scripture and by its coded language. The background provided in the first paragraph gives the frames for understanding the discourse. The community (possessing the truth) has been shut out from the discourse of power. The strife over the right interpretations of the law is here put into an eschatological framework where being exiled from power is in accordance to God’s plan. This exile will end at the time when the wicked are judged. It is in this state of exile that God purges them and so opens their heart for righteous interpretations of the law in means of right behavior and intent. When they are refined, like silver and gold (Mal 3:3) they will be the ones who bring forth righteous offerings to the Lord. This could mean that they envision themselves to be in power of temple service. But not only so, the purging of mind also implies return from exile. This vision is set out by the language of Isaiah 43:19 as a way in the wilderness, and the inauguration of a new creation in which the community will receive the fallen glory of Adam.
Chapter 4

The Yearly Reunion of the People of the Community (V, 1–VII, 25)

Following the Treatise on the Two Spirits, once the two irreconcilable powers of truth and falsehood have been outlined, focus is now put on those who have chosen truth and separated from falsehood. The section overall is framed by two large marginal signs: in V, 1 and under line VII, 25.422 Judging from the scribal markings the section consists of three paragraphs. The first paragraph (V, 1–VI, 8a) deals with the procedures at the (yearly) reunion of the אנשי היחד (“the people of the community”). During this reunion they all enter the covenant in sight of all other members. The paragraph then expounds on the two vows of the covenant, namely to return to the Law of Moses and to separate from the people of falsehood (V, 8–11). The second paragraph (VI, 8b–23) regulates the session of the Many. It deals with the order of the meetings and rules of admission into the council of the community. The last paragraph is a penal code (VI, 24–VII, 25); within this paragraph there are blank spaces that separate the cases. Lines V, 13 and V, 25, are marked with hooks and blank spaces. The hook and blank space in V, 13, was regarded by Guilbert as “mal placé” since the same theme is dealt with before and after the scribal markings.423 But rather than regarding it as a mistake it will be argued that these scribal markings have the function of highlighting two prohibitions of greatest importance to the community.424 The text will be analyzed in accordance with the scribal paragraphs. A subdivision of the paragraphs will be made from scribal markings, or when no such markings exist, from an appreciation of the topics dealt with.

§1. Manifestation of Loyalty (V, 1–VI, 8a)
   Preamble: To depart from falsehood (V, 1–7a)
   The significance of the covenant (V, 7b–20a)
   The significance of the ranking (V, 20b–VI, 1a)
   A word of sending (VI, 1b–8a)

§2. Rules of Speech, Rules of Admission (V, 8b–VI, 23)
   Rules to safeguard a true discourse (VI, 8b–12)
   The way to membership (VI, 13–23)

§3. The Penal Code: Forbidden Behaviors (VI, 24–VII, 25)

The section overall (V, 1–VII, 25) is a procedural discourse, giving instructions about procedures that have to be carried out.425 The main line verbal form is the yiqtol with the typical temporal markers for the text type such as, e.g., “year after year” and the instructions “wherever there are . . . they shall always/there shall never lack,” “later when he comes to stand,” “when he has completed one full year,” and “when he has completed a second year.”426 The procedures are to be carried out by anyone qualified in the office to do so (the

422 The two signs are different: The one in V, 1 is a paleo-Hebrew waw, probably used as a paragraph sign. The second (under VII, 25) is, according to Tov, a paleo-Hebrew zayin with an ornamental top (see 1QIsa4, col. 10), and a triangular form below. Tov 1996: 62–64.

423 Guilbert (1959: 340–41) structured the section as follows: (1) V, 1–VI, 8a: general and personal rules (V, 1–2a, V, 2b–7a, V, 7b–10a, V, 20b–25a; V, 25b–VI, 1; VI, 1–6; VI, 6–8); (2) VI, 8b–23: general rules of the session of the Many (VI, 8b–13a: order at community sessions; VI, 13b–23: the way from pledge to full membership); (3) VI, 24–VII, 25: penal code.

424 They both follow the same pattern, where a blank space in the text is followed by a prohibition. Further, the address changes in both instances from a masculine plural (before the division) to a masculine sing (after the division).


426 Ibid.: 183–86.
Many, the multitude, the priests, the elders, the Paqqid, the Mebaqqer, and the council of the community. The partakers of the initiation are referred to in general terms (each one/they/each man/anyone/no one/the person/he). In a literary perspective the penal code is a separate unit in 1QS. It is a judicial discourse set within the framework of procedure “This is how they shall judge.”

The section V, 1–VII, 25 (even until IX, 11) is by some scholars considered to be a collection of rules (serek) from different periods in the history of the community. Different implied settings (see VI, 1–8), repetitions (see V, 20 and VI, 13–23), and various ways to label the community in its different functions (“the Many,” “the Multitude”) may argue for this. Newsom defines the section (V, 1–IX, 12) as “textual samples of the community’s life, values, and ethos.” Despite the diversity in their origin she takes these samples as “rhetorical expressions of important aspects of the community’s ethos.”

4.1 A Manifestation of Loyalty (V, 1–VI, 8a)

4.1.1 Translation of Text

5 And this is the rule for the people of the community. (For) those who freely offer themselves together to turn away from all evil and hold fast to all that which he has commanded as his will. They shall separate from the congregation of the people of falsehood. They shall become a community in Torah and property. They shall answer to the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant and to the multitude of the people of the community; those who hold fast to the covenant. By their authority shall the determination of the lot decide all matters of law, property, and judgment in order to practice truth together, as well as humility, righteousness, justice, and merciful love and to walk humbly in all their ways. In this way, no one walks in the stubbornness of his heart and thus err by following his heart and his eyes and the impulses of his inclination. Instead they shall circumcise their inclination and stiff neck in the community. They shall lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the community of an eternal covenant. They shall atone for all who freely offer themselves for a sanctuary in Aaron and for a house of truth in Israel, and for those who join them for (to become) a community. By trial and by verdict they shall condemn those who transgress a statute.

And these norms shall govern their behavior—according to all these statutes—when they are gathered to the community. Everyone who joins the council of the community shall enter into the covenant of God in the sight of all those who freely offer themselves. He shall undertake by the covenant, through a binding oath, to return to the Torah of Moses, according to all that he has commanded, with all heart and all his soul/mind, to all that has been revealed from it to the sons of Zadok—the priests who keep the covenant and seek his will—and to the multitude of the people of the their covenant who freely offer themselves together for his truth and to live in a way that pleases him. He shall therefore undertake by the covenant to separate from all the people of falsehood who walk in wicked ways. Because they are not counted in his covenant since they did not seek nor inquire after him through his statutes to know the hidden in which they err to their shame. And the revealed laws

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429 The phrase תכון הגורל is sometimes taken in the meaning “casting of lots.” I understand it here as the implications of the internal ranking, which in turn is decisive when it comes to matters of the law, property, and decision making.

430 Literally: “The design/thoughts of his inclination.”

431 I read קאי instead of קאי with 1QSb and d.

432 I.e., for the Yahad.

433 (Those who join them) is sometimes understood as “proselytes.” The phrase could depend on Isa 56:6: “and the foreigners who join themselves to the Lord.” I take it in a wider meaning as those who perpetually join them, i.e., also the ones who will be part of the community in the future.
they knowingly transgressed thus arousing God’s judgmental wrath and full vengeance by the curses of the covenant. He will through them perform a mighty justice (leading to) an eternal destruction, with no one spared.

He must not enter the waters to touch the purity of the holy men for they cannot be cleansed unless they turn away from their wickedness, for he remains impure among all those who transgress his word. No one must be united with him in his work or property lest he cause him to bear guilt. But he shall keep far away from him in everything, because it is written: Keep far away from every false thing. No one of the people of the Yahad must obey any of their utterances concerning law or judgment. They must not eat anything that is their property, nor drink or accept anything from their hand without payment, as it is written: Turn away from mortals, who only have breath in their nostrils, for what is he counted? For all who are not counted within his covenant must be excluded, they and everything they have. And no holy person should rely upon any worthless deeds, since worthless are all who do not know his covenant and he will exterminate all who spurn his word from the world. Their every deed is impure before him and all their property is contaminated. It is therefore that he shall enter the covenant—in order to act according to all these statutes so that he can be joined to the holy congregation.

And they shall examine their spirits together, mutually, in order to make discriminations concerning (his) insight and (his) works vis-à-vis the Torah (guided by) the authority of the Sons of Aaron, those who freely offer themselves in the community to uphold his covenant and to observe all the statutes that he commanded them to do. And on the authority of the multitude of Israel, those who offer themselves to return to his covenant through the community. And they shall inscribe them in the rule after one another, according to his insight and his deeds. Thus each will obey his fellow, the inferior the superior. They shall examine their spirits and their deeds annually, so that a man can be elevated in accordance with his insight and perfect conduct, or set back in accordance with his perversion. They shall admonish one another in [ru]th, humility and loving kindness.

No one must speak to another with anger, with grumbling or with a stiff [neck or in a jealous] spirit of wickedness. And no one should hate another because of his own[uncircum]c[ised] heart but must on the same day reprove his fellow to not bear guilt because of him. Also, no one is to bring a case before the Many against his fellow before he is first reproved before witnesses.

According to this they shall behave wherever they dwell (in accordance with) everything that is found concerning their mutual relationship. The inferior shall obey the superior in regards to works and wealth. Together they shall eat, together they shall bless, and together they shall give counsel. And in every place where there are ten persons from the council of the community there must not lack among them someone (who is) a priest. And each member shall sit before him by rank, and in that manner their counsel will be sought on every matter. When the table has been set for eating or the new wine readied for drinking, it is the priest who shall stretch out his hand first, blessing the first portion of the bread or the new wine. And, in any place where ten (persons are to together) there must not lack a man who studies the law, daily and nightly, continually, each one taking his turn. And the Many shall watch together (in the community) a third part of every night of the year, reciting the book, and studying the precepts and bless together.

4.1.2 Text Analysis

(a) Preamble: To depart from falsehood (V, 1–7a)

The initial waw (“and”) can both be taken as a reference to the first rule that opens columns I, 1, and to the preceding Treatise (III, 13–IV, 26). In case of the later, it is a response to the current irreconcilable conflict between truth and falsehood. In case of the former, this rule

434 The passage in 4b–6a suffers from a scribal error. The phrase: המדרשׁוּ וְשֵׁלָח יִישָׁלֵל לְוִין לְשׁוֹנֶת לְכָּל הַפַּרְשָׁיִים דְּבָרִים הַקְּדוֹשִׁים is repeated twice, which, according to Qimron and Charlesworth (1994: 27 n. 144) is due to “parablepsis facilitated by homoioarchon.” My translation omits the repetition.
(הבדל) ought to be addressed to another group (or subgroup) of the community, or imply a different setting. A clue may be given from the term ‘separate’ (hithpael). It occurs also in column I but in the niphal stem. If this is more than a mere linguistic variation of labeling the members, it may say something of the status of the members in each respective section. The hithpael stem stresses repetition and reciprocity, “those who together devote themselves.” It can then be taken to denote those already initiated, who then keep on offering themselves. Following this interpretation, the rule(s) that begin in column V is for already initiated members of the community who reunite and renew their vows once a year.

In V, 1b the term ‘בדל’ (“to separate”) occurs for the first time in the paragraph. It is a key word in the section and a response to the way the current situation of evil dominion is presented in the Treatise (III, 13–IV, 26). The only way not to be contaminated by evil is to separate oneself from those who transmit it, namely the people of falsehood. This is the first of three occurrences of the term ‘בדל’ in the column (V, 1, 10, and 20). Newsom argues that the term echo of several biblical texts dealing with the separation of two groups of people. It recalls the reformation of the Second temple as accounted for in the Ezra-Nehemiah cycle: “Then those of Israelite descent separated themselves from all foreigners” (see also 10:29). It also recalls the separation of innocent people from those corrupted in Numbers 16:21: “Separate yourselves from this congregation, so that I may consume them in a moment.” More interestingly, she mentions the separation of clean and unclean in Leviticus 11 as a sounding board for the term: “This overtone may influence the end of the passage, where the terms ‘separate,’ ‘people of holiness,’ ‘impure,’ and ‘unclean’ cluster together.” The influence of the Priestly account of creation (Gen 1:1–2:4) on the Treatise on the Two Spirits was discussed in the previous section. It was argued that a priestly author’s concern for the original created “order,” rather than providing information about absolute beginnings, also permeates the Treatise. The Levitical rules deal with issues of clean and unclean and separation, with the purpose to preserve the perfect order that was displayed in the first week of creation. The Treatise envisions a new creation that is inaugurated by separation of righteous people from the corrupt, a separation that is realized in the current sections (V–VII).

The object of separation is “the people of falsehood” () and their congregation (). The inference is that mankind is corrupted by falsehood (III, 21b–23a, see XI, 9). The only way to recuperate from this state of moral defilement is by entering the covenant in the regimen of the community (V, 10). Judging from this, “the people of falsehood” are those who are not part of the covenant, namely all other people. At the same time, this category is to be discussed in a manner that makes them appear as a group akin to the community. With them they must not discuss the law, share property, or meals (V, 15–16), the three pillars on which the community life rests. The people of falsehood are

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435 The niphal stem, on the other hand, implies reflexivity and a degree of passivity, it is someone who is about to devote himself (if they allow him).

436 The category “the people of the community” occurs several times in col. V–IX. In all these instances it is a general designation for the members of the group; as a way of saying; “each and every one” or “no one” of the community, e.g., in V, 15 where it says; “no one of the people of the community” shall respond to any utterance of the people of falsehood (see also VII, 24; VIII, 16). In several instances the people of the community are mentioned as the body into which people/groups are being initiated (VI, 21; VII, 20; VIII, 11; IX, 18–19). They are never mentioned in the role of exercising authority. In V, 1, 1 it is therefore a general way of designating all members of the community; the rule, which begins in V, 1, is intended for them in all their different roles and functions.

437 Newson (2004: 137) also argues: “All are available to the reader. Indeed, by employing a style that is rich with evocations of scriptural language, the Qumran texts teach their readers an active skill of perceiving intertextual connections.”

438 I.e., the end of column V (Newson 2004: 137).

439 For a discussion of the P-source in Genesis, see Blenkinsopp 2011: 21.

440 “Inference” has to do with the interpretative process of a discourse, namely the conclusions that the hearer/reader draws from previous, or following sections of a discourse in understanding the current. In this case the hearer could have understood the demand to separate from evil as a result of the teaching in the Treatise (III, 13–IV, 26).
mentioned four times in 1QS. In three of these instances separation from them is advocated (V, 1, 10 and VIII, 13). In one instance it says that the interpretations of the law shall be hidden from them (IX, 17). This argues for understanding this antagonist group(s) as both physically and ideologically close to the community or else they would not have to “hide” anything from them. The people of falsehood are here specified as an הרבים. The semantic field of this term in the Hebrew Bible covers both “gang” as well as “legal and cultic societies.” Here it ought to designate an association of Jews built on law and property, since those two lie at the core of the conflict as depicted in 1QS.441

The passage in 1QS I, 11–12 informs each member that he shall bring his “knowledge,” “property,” and his “strength” into the community. These “assets” are here gathered under the two terms ‘Torah’ and “property.” The mutual sharing of knowledge and property is however a potential threat to the harmony of the community, and therefore a question of discipline. Two new categories are in this context introduced into the composition namely “the priests/the sons of Zadok” and “the multitude of the people of the community.” These exercise authority over both Torah and property. The category “the multitude of the people of the community” occurs only here in 1QS. There are however three occurrences of similar categories in 1QS, namely the “multitude of the people of their covenant” (V, 9 and VI, 19) and the “multitude of Israel” (V, 22). Unlike the category “the Many” (הרבים), all instances of “the multitude of x” appear together with the priests and in the context of keeping the covenant. Together with the priests, they are responsible for the revelations of the law (VI, 19), which in turn implies keeping and watching the statutes of the covenant (V, 2–3).442 The yearly examination of all members shall be done under the supervision of them and the priests (V, 20–22).443 In V, 3 it says: “According to their order shall the decision of the lot go out” in questions concerning law, property, and judgment.444 The positioning of “according to their order” (לפיין רבים לפני verb (“go out”) informs that it is the authority of the priests and the multitude that is being stressed here, rather than a description of the practice of making decisions.445 The phrase: לכון הגורל is sometimes understood as the practice of casting lots but it is not the oracle by lot that is the case here, but rather decision made from discussions.446 In 1QS, the term לכון means norm, foundation, and principle while ורהו意味着 lot/ranking in relation to light and darkness in a human being. Taken together it would indicate something like “foundation of the ranking.” This means that decisions that involve the ranking of every member are at stake here. What argues for such interpretation is that the same categories (multitude of x and priests) reoccur in the context of ranking in V, 3–22.447 The question of internal ranking is closely related to the interaction of members of the community. The verb accompanying the “lot” namely “go out” (לخروج) is here followed by several consecutive ligtols that explain the purpose, consequences, and results of this decision making, expressed with

441 Brownlee (1951: 19) here discerns what he considers to be the “sect’s opposition to the Pharisees.”
442 In light of this passage, I render לעה in VI, 19 with “the secret teaching” (rather than in the meaning “assembly”). For this interpretation, see Abegg 2006.
443 See also VI, 18 where the Many has this role concerning new members.
444 In V, 2–3 4Q596 it is the rabbim (“the Many”) who are in power of the decisions. Metso (1997: 78) argues that the mentioning of the Zadokite priests in 1QS was theologically motivated, as the redactor wished to stress the Zadokite link of the priestly leaders of the community. The current passage has been the center of much scholarly debate concerning the development of the formal structure of the community; for a resume, see Hultgren 2007: 50ff.
445 See Holst 2008: 94.
447 A perhaps far-fetched association is that the “multitude” רבים has to do with the excess of light, as it is described in 1QS IV, 16 where it says that each human being inherit in the two domains of light and darkness according to their spiritual share as “much or little.” It was argued when discussing that passage (above) that it alludes to Numbers 26:56 where the division of the land between the larger רב and the smaller “is at stake, a decision that shall be made from the lot: In 1QS, this is given a spiritual interpretation and has to do with the spiritual excess of light or darkness. If these two texts are heard in the current passage; the scribe took “the multitude” as a reference to the community: those with an excess ofבְּרוּם of light take decisions concerning the covenant of which in turn, the examinations of spirit lie at the core.
the words from Micah 6:8. The vision of Micah stresses that reciprocal behavior is at stake here (see V, 25). Here, just as in II, 24–25, it is placed within the context of obedience. The strict hierarchal discipline render possible to fulfill this vision. The individual ranking is the bond (serek) that prevents the members from their evil inclination “so that no one walks in the stubbornness of his heart.”

The idiom “to walk in the stubbornness of heart” (V, 4) occurs frequently in 1QS (see II, 13b–14). It expresses one of the greatest threats to the community namely a person who will not submit to any authority but rather follows his or her own mind. The idiom is here further specified: “and thus err by following his heart and his eyes and the impulses of his inclination” (V, 4b–5a). The expression מאמין can be understood either as the “thoughts/impulses of his inclination” as well as “the structures of his inclination.” The latter would indicate inner mental structures that have to be reprogrammed in the Yahad while the former points to the manifestations of one’s inclination. Anyone who is guided by his or her desires and by the double inclination is unstable. Such a person is an easy prey to rivalry and eventually to violence. It is the opposite of an ideal member of the community who exercise self-control in order to not be led astray and cause conflict in the community. The community exists as prevention for the intrinsic dangers of human nature and offers an alternative. This alternative is to circumcise their inclination and their “stiff neck,” that is their pride, in the community. Therefore, by entering the community the individual makes an offer of his own self by subordinating to a higher authority. This “circumcision” renders possible the Micah vision of a righteous and just society guided by love and humility. The circumcision has become a spiritual matter. Instead of being what physically separates an Israelite from the gentiles it is now a spiritual sign that separates those belonging to truth from those belonging to falsehood.

The mission of the community is expressed in V, 5b–7a: They shall lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the community of an eternal covenant. The phrase is constructed on an allusion to Isaiah 28:16 “I am laying in Zion a foundation stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation: One who trusts will not panic” (see VIII, 7ff.). Wernberg-Møller argues that the scribe in 1QS took the words “one who trusts” (דומא as a reference to “truth” (אמת and (who does not) “panic” (חרוש) as a suggestive of Israel and Yahad. If so, the imbedded message is that the community knows the truth and therefore do not have to panic during these evil times. The result of not being led by one’s own desires but subordinating to the authority of the community is spelled out: They shall atone for all who freely offer themselves for a sanctuary in Aaron and for a house of truth in Israel, and for those who join them for (to become) a community. By being pure and perfect they exercise the atoning function of the temple. This passage is a parallel to II, 25–III, 12 and VIII, 1–10. In all these instances the inner moral control of each member is the cornerstone as the community take on the atoning function of the temple.

448 It is the leitmotif in 1QS, occurring in three sections stating the aims and mission of the community (II, 24, VIII, 2, see also X, 26), it is to be the guiding principle in all interaction between members of the community (V, 24b–25a) and it is what connotes the spirit of truth in IV, 4–5.

449 The biblical metaphor “heart” has a variety of meanings, which can be summarized as the totality of the human’s immaterial nature and character, both the hidden and visible aspects of it. The metaphor “eyes” is a mirror of man’s inner being as well as spiritual faculties; they are opened by the Law of God, and can be blinded by God. See, e.g., Ps. 19:8 and Jer 5:21.

450 For the latter, see Qimron and Charlesworth 1994: 21.

451 Judging from this passage, the initiates into the covenant suffered from at least one of the same vices that characterize the spirit of falsehood in IV, 10, namely “a stiff neck,” i.e., pride.

452 The connection between the preceding passages claiming the authority of the priests and the multitude and the vision of Micah is made by the word אשר, which is followed by an explanation אשר. The word אשר is here taken in the meaning “so that,” i.e., as a consecutive to אשר meaning that the hierarchal system prevents the single member from following his own inclination, he is now subordinated to a higher power.

453 This is not to say that they did not also practice physical circumcision.

454 Wernberg-Møller (1957: 93 n. 24): “The application of the biblical phrase in our line is an interesting example of our author’s disregard of natural stop in the ground text.”

455 Aaron and Israel are here paralleled as a way to display the two constituent lines of the community: Priests and Laity; represented in col. V by the priests and the multitude of the people of the community. These two lines
(b) The significance of the covenant (V, 7b–20a)

The following subsection is an account of the procedures and motivations for the (yearly) reunion when they enter the covenant and examine their spirits. When entering the covenant they swear an oath to return to the Torah of Moses and to separate from the people of falsehood (V, 8b–11a). This is followed by a lengthier section that stresses the impossibility of entering the council of the community without enter the covenant. The theme has already been dealt with in II, 11–18 and above all in II, 25b–III, 12. In all these instances, entering the covenant is an act of loyalty where subordination to community discipline as manifested in the hierarchy is displayed.

The section opens with the words “these norms shall govern their behavior (חקון דרכיהם) according to all these statutes (חקון(statute)).” There are some terms which more than others convey the ideology of the community. Such is the case for מפרשים, a term the basic (biblical) meaning of which is to measure, estimate, and examine. In 1QS its meaning is expanded to rank, plan, assigned place, position, time, and doctrine. The occurrences of the term (root כון) in its nominal and verbal forms in 1QS presuppose an underlying structure to which each member must adjust his life (see III, 9). This underlying structure predates the physical creation (1QS III, 15) and is closely bound to time (see VIII, 4; IX, 12). In the current time, the demand is to make discriminations both in relation to co-members (rank) but also toward outsiders, and consequently to separate from people of falsehood and cling to a perfect conduct. This perfect conduct is only possible by subordinating oneself to the discipline of the community, which in turn is based on a hierarchal system ruling all interaction. They shall act according to their internal order (חקון, see VI, 8b, see VI, 22).

The term חקון (“statute”) is in 1QS closely associated with the covenant. In the covenant they do the statutes מפרשים of God (I, 8; V, 20, 22, indirectly V, 11), from these one must not deviate (I, 15; III, 9–11). In this context מפרשים signifies the decrees in the contract between God and Yahad. In col IX–X the term denotes the underlying principles that determine the ways of nature and history. Each time has an underlying statute. To understand this statute belongs to the special knowledge of the Maskil (IX, 14; X, 26). In light of this, the guiding principles for all social interaction are in focus here and at least until VI, 8a (perhaps all the way until VII, 25) namely separation and law abidance. These are the two commands of the covenant in the time being. The current subsection closes by stating, “It is therefore that he shall enter the covenant, in order to act according to all these statutes (חקון) so that he can be joined to the holy congregation” (V, 20).

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457 See I, 12 where a new member shall order/conform his strength to his, God’s, perfect ways. In III, 9 the new member shall “order-establish” (던ד) his steps for walking perfectly.”

458 In its nominal form the term designates the norms that underlie their decisions; this is the case in VIII, 13, where the term should be taken in the meaning “doctrines”: “when these become a community in Israel, according to these principles/doctrines.” The rank of each member is decided from these underlying norms (VI, 4, 8, 10, VII, 21). The occurrences of the term in V, 7 and in columns VIII–X points to an underlying plan that shall be fulfilled (V, 7; VIII, 13; IX, 3, see X, 5, 7, 9) and which relate to time (VIII, 4, IX, 12, 18, 21). “The norm of the time” is peculiar to columns VIII–IX and has to do with the idea that history is divided into periods where each period demands something special of the “chosen” ones.

459 One can note that the term מפרשים to a large degree occurs in sections dedicated to the Maskil with one exception in col. V, 7–22 dealing with the corresponding passages in 4QSbd. The Maskil has “statutes” that shall guide his behavior according to the norm of the time and weight of every man. The time has a statute (IX, 14) and it is part of the task of the Maskil to understand the implications of this and to enlighten fellow members in these matters. The Maskil shall be “zealous for the command and its time.” In the final hymn (1QS X–XI מפרשים refer to the underlying order of things, the laws that guide the universe. These statutes are “engraved” on the tongue of the hymnist and the hymnist shall “mete out the statute by the measure proper to each time.”
The abundant occurrences of phrases constructed on the words: כיא, ב, and כיא לוא. A prohibition כיא לוא is followed by a motivation כיא and a relative case כיא לוא “no one” (see V, 4–5). The purpose is to explain why the people of the community cannot interact with the people of falsehood.460 What puzzles most in this section (V, 10b–20a) is the strange switch between 3mpl and 3ms forms of the verb. The one who is addressed (3ms) in the section as a whole (V, 7b–VI, 1) is every member of the community. He comes to the reunion and shall be convinced of the importance of the covenant. He shall undertake an oath to convert to the Law of Moses in accordance with its right interpretations, which implies separation from the people of falsehood. This latter group is designated by a 3mpl “they.” In line 13 the switch between the “he” and “they” becomes confusing but there can be a rhetoric reason for the switch: The one who is addressed (3ms) is the one (each member) who is to be convinced of the importance of entering the covenant. This is done with help of the category “the people of falsehood.” They serve as a collective who do not submit to the right interpretations of the law. “They” are used as a negative case, and in the discussion of “them” the hypothetical case of what happens to “the one” who comes to the reunion but will not enter the covenant is enfolded. He will not be part of the community but of the people of falsehood and “he” can therefore not enter the waters and become cleansed. In V, 13 there is a switch to a third plural form in order to explain the reason for this “they cannot be cleansed unless they turn away from their wickedness” and “he” remains impure among them who transgress God’s words (as long as he is not clean he is part of “them”). Because of this, “he” will be excluded from the community life since the pure people must not interfere with him in either way, be it in duty or property. After this, a 3mp form reoccurs and repeats that the people of the community must not interfere with “him” and “they” who do not share their interpretations, namely those who are not part of the covenant. “They and everything they have must be excluded” (V, 18) since they and their property are unclean. Finally, the singular form returns and concludes by saying “it is therefore כיא that he shall enter the covenant—in order to act according to all these statutes so that he can be joined to the holy congregation.” What is communicated here is then the reason why separation from “the other” is necessary in order to keep the covenant: They follow a different interpretation of the law and this makes them err in the eyes of God.

V, 10b–20a is dominated by the relationship between the two rival groups depicted in the section. Hempel concludes about the identity of these “rivals” of the community that “the relationship of this group either to the community as a whole, or to individual members at the very least, must have been extremely close.” She builds her argument on the list of special restrictions of interaction with the people of falsehood in V, 10–18. These are purity/table fellowship, involvement in matters of work and property, and authority.461 The restrictions of table fellowship (“touch the purity”) show that the “unjust people” where accounted within his covenant must be excluded: they and everything כיא has not been paid for, as כיא it is written: Turn away from mortals, who כיא only have breath in their nostrils, for כיא what is his value? For כיא all who כיא are not כיא accounted within his covenant must be excluded: they and everything כיא they have. And no כיא holy person should rely . . . since כיא worthless are all who כיא do not כיא know his covenant. . . . It is therefore כיא that he shall enter the covenant…”

460 V, 11b–25a: “Because כיא they are not counted . . . since כיא they did not כיא seek nor כיא inquire . . . to know the hidden in which כיא they err. . . . He must not enter the waters . . . for כיא they cannot כיא be cleansed . . . for כיא he remains impure. . . . No one כיא must כיא be united with him. . . . But כיא he shall keep far away . . . because כיא it is written. . . . No one כיא of the people of the Yahad must obey . . . no one כיא is allowed כיא to eat . . . nor כיא drink, or כיא accept anything from their hand that כיא has not כיא been paid for, as כיא it is written: Turn away from mortals, who כיא only have breath in their nostrils, for כיא what is his value? For כיא all who כיא are not כיא accounted within his covenant must be excluded: they and everything כיא they have. And no כיא holy person should rely . . . since כיא worthless are all who כיא do not כיא know his covenant. . . . It is therefore כיא that he shall enter the covenant…”
462 The “entering of water” does not cleanse those who have not repented, which means that it is not ritual impurity that is at stake here but rather separation from moral sin; they cannot enter the water since they cannot be part of the community; see Himmelfarb 2006: 133. For different scholarly perspectives on the term כיא in the scrolls, see Forkman 1972: 55–56; Schiffman 1983: 162–63.
position of authority with regard to law and judgment vis-à-vis community members.”

This may be correct since it says that no one of the community must respond/obey to any of their utterances concerning law and judgment. A statement that indicates that their utterances were “heard,” and that they had authority. The relationship with the “people of falsehood” touches on the identity of the community. As Hempel puts it, “The Issue of separation from this rival group appears to define—and probably also threaten—the identity and boundaries of the communities behind 1QS and 4QS.”

What could have been the main dividing line between the two groups? One key to understanding the conflict is the identification of the “hidden.” The term is paralleled with “the revealed.” The latter refers to the scriptural laws that are revealed to all Israel. The “hidden laws” on the other hand, refers to the revelation of Torah through the exegesis of the community. These guided the community in their special way of life so that they could please God and keep the covenant. The hidden was the revelation of God’s truth. From this one may deduce that the hidden laws were closely related to moral and ethical conduct. They contained a deeper vision of the founding principles of the world, such as they are presented in the Treatise. The antagonists are depicted as those who neglect the Mosaic laws and who do not show interest in investigating the hidden aspects of it. Because of this, they are in a constant state of impurity. Their way of life is therefore that of the conduct of the antagonists is contrary to the vision in Micah. Their ways lead to conflict and violence (see IV, 9–14). The last sentence “It is therefore that he shall enter the covenant—in order to act according to all these statutes so that he can be joined to the holy congregation” points out with clarity that the covenant implied separation and a stricter way of life. Such life enabled the community to keep a holy status that measured up to the demands in Leviticus 11. The holiness of the community depended on the mutual behavior of its members.

The subsection (V, 10b–VI, 1a) is constructed as a web of allusions from Scripture. In V, 11–12a it says that they did not seek or inquire after him through his statutes to know the hidden in which they err to their shame. And the revealed laws they knowingly transgressed. Several scriptural passages are here. It may allude to Zephaniah 1:6b “[those] who have not sought (לא בקשו) the LORD or inquired (לֹא דרָשָׁה) of him.” It may also allude to Deuteronomy 29:28 “The secret things (הנגלות) belong to the LORD our God, but the revealed things (הנגלות אשו ביד רמה) belong to us and to our children forever.” And to Numbers 15:30: “But whoever acts high-handedly (כיא לוא בקשו ולוא דרשו בחוקוהי לדעת הנסתרות אשר תעו בם לאששמה והנגלות אשו ביד רמה).” The passage from Zephaniah belongs in a judgment scene. On the day of the Lord, those who did not seek or inquire of the Lord shall be judged. The Deuteronomy text speaks of the hidden (law) as something that is only known by God. In 1QS, unlike Deuteronomy, these secrets are being revealed to the community. The passage from Numbers speaks of intentional sin as a reason for being cut off from God’s people. Taken together the people of falsehood are those who did not seek to find out about the hidden aspects of the law and therefore break the revealed law intentionally and as a result, are cut off from the people of God.

The reason for prohibiting all interacting with the people of falsehood takes up the rest of the current section under discussion (V, 13–20a). This section is constructed on two quotations and several allusions. The first quote appears in V, 15: “Because it is written:

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463 Hempel 2003: 55.
464 Ibid.: 52.
466 This is the only occurrence of the expression in the Hebrew Bible.
467 V, 13 could echo of Lev 11:32: The Leviticus text speaks of the procedures of purifying things that have come into contact with a dead animal. “And anything upon which any of them falls when they are dead shall be unclean, whether an article of wood or cloth or skin or sacking, any article that is used for any purpose; it shall be dipped into water, and it shall be unclean until the evening, and then it shall be clean.” The similarities in the two sections are between the vocabulary “Unclean, water, clean, go into water” and the overarching idea in Lev 11 and 1QS V of a holy people that must separate from unjust people and therefore act accordingly (see Lev 11:44 “for you are holy” and 11:47 “to make a difference between the clean and unclean”). Leviticus 11, although not reproduced literally in the section, provides the underlying idea of separation between holy and profane (unjust) that runs through the paragraph, as well as its implications of not mixing clean and unclean.
Keep far away from every false thing.” (כָּשֵׁם יִהְיוּ בְּכָלָם דִּבְרֵיהֶם שִׁקְרָם הָדוֹרִים). The quoted text is from Exodus 23:7 “Keep far from every false thing.” The context in Exodus deals with legal issues and the need to keep the holy and the profane about not spreading false rumors or pronouncing false accusations. From the “prelude” (V, 15) to the quote in 1QS the phrase “דִּבְרֵיהֶם שִׁקְרָם” is taken in the meaning “everything” false. But he shall keep far away from him in everything. Judging from the discussion in the subsection overall, the meaning of דִּבְרֵיהֶם is every “thing” that could cause conflict and impurity such as work, property, discussions of the law and shared meals. The objects for separation are the people of falsehood who are unclean due to their failure to fulfill the commands of the law. The latter is seen in V, 14 where the word דִּבְרֵיהֶם is repeated again: ... for he remains impure among all those who transgress his word. Here the uncleanness is connected to transgressing God’s word. The prelude leads directly to the quotation where it seems that the word דִּבְרֵיהֶם is taken in the meaning of transmitting the wrong message that is, doing false interpretation. The second quotation, from Isaiah 2:22, occurs in close connection to the first one. In V, 17 it says “as it is written: Turn away from mortals, who only have breath in their nostrils, for what is he counted?” כֹּל מָנָצֵי דִּבְרֵיהֶם יִכָּבֵד כֹּל מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם. Clement assigns the words in the prophecies (Isa 2:6–4:1) to the political leaders of Jerusalem. This compares to Hempel’s understanding of the people of falsehood as a group in power to which the community was subordinated; this is why they are warned against engaging in any discussion concerning law or justice with them. The ones depicted here may then denote a power in the society just as the ones targeted for Isaiah’s prophecy. In V, 19, the term דִּבְרֵיהֶם (word, thing) is picked up on again and he will exterminate all who spurn (despise) his word from the world. Their every deed is impure before him and all their property is contaminated. The connection between transgressions and impurity is expressed with words from Jeremiah 23:17: “They keep saying to those who despise the word of the LORD (מְנָצֵי דִּבְרֵיהֶם), It shall be well with you”; and to all who stubbornly follow their own stubborn hearts, they say, “No calamity shall come upon you.” This is the final explanation to why one should not mix work and property with the people of falsehood.

In V, 14b–15a it says “No one must be united with him in his work or property lest he causes him to bear guilt” (וְאָם אֵלֶּה לֹא יִנָּתֵם בְּרֵעֵיהֶם). According to Wernberg-Møller this passage refers to Genesis 49:6, where Jacob gives his last words to Simon and Levi: “May I never come into their council; may my glory not be joined to their company—for in their anger they killed men, and at their whim they hamstrung oxen)” (םָנָצֵי דִּבְרֵיהֶם). In the Genesis text the subject is about not letting (my) glory be united to the company of aggressive people. In 1QS it is about not being united with people of falsehood in work or property. The last two words “lest he causes him to bear guilt” echo Leviticus 22.16, “causing them to bear guilt” (מְנָצֵי דִּבְרֵיהֶם). In Leviticus the concern is about not profaning the holy things namely the offerings. The priests are responsible for separating the offerings from ordinary food. If this is not done correctly, iniquity and guilt will come over the people. It is about keeping the holy and the profane separate. Translated to 1QS it is a question of not mixing holy people with un-holy people in...
work or property (or purity). The Yahad understood their identity in terms of the temple. Just as in the temple, a separation between clean and defiled, holy and profane is pivotal to the Yahad. Accordingly, in 20b, the one entering the covenant shall be joined to the “holy congregation” (הַקְהָלָה תַּלְפִּית קְדוֹשָׁה).\footnote{A designation for the group only occurring once in 1QS but which is found in an exact equivalent in 1QSa, where it also is a case of entering into the “Holy Congregation.” In 4Q181 (f1 4) God has chosen some of the “sons of the world” to be joined with the gods and become a “holy congregation”; see 1QSa 1.9.} Taken together, the allusions and quotes communicate that the community must stay far away from those who do not agree on their hidden interpretations of the law. This, since they are contaminated and burdened with guilt. They are aggressive and false and the outcome of their activity belongs to the domain of darkness, which is why all interaction with them is prohibited.\footnote{This analysis compares well with the basic meaning of the term פָּאַר, here rendered “understanding,” occurs also in VI, 14–23 and IX, 15 in the context of mustering a member. In his analysis of the suffering servant text in Isaiah (52:13–53:12) Nyberg discusses this word and argues that it connotes three related meanings: (a) to act wisely, with good judgment and loving kindness, and to be capable, to have a good hand with things; (b) to be fostered to these abilities by chastening; (c) to become successful by these abilities.\footnote{Nyberg thereby narrows down the meaning of the term in a manner to similar to how I understand it in 1QS. It has to do with knowledge that is closely related to conduct and attitude, which in turn have the potential of realizing the vision of Micah 6:8 (see V, 24b–25). This knowledge is in turn what makes a member rise in the internal hierarchy. It is what gives success (V, 24). This term occurs ten times in 1QS. In six of these instances the term פָּאַר of a member/becoming member is what shall be mustered.\footnote{In II, 3 the congregation is blessed with “life-giving wisdom” that is, knowledge of what actually leads to life (and death). The term occurs twice in the Treatise. In IV, 3 it is a distinctive feature for the spirit of truth while in IV, 18 it is God’s פָּאַר that is at stake. In his mysterious insight (פָּאַר) God has put an end to the lying spirit. The meaning of the term פָּאַר in 1QS thereby adds one more aspect to Nyberg’s list, namely insight into what leads to life. This is the same as “truth.” It is an eschatological awareness. This becomes even clearer in imperfection.} The decisive factors in the examination of spirits are “understanding/insight” and “works” in the law.\footnote{See X, 11 and XI, 9 where it becomes clear the perfect of the way thereby struggled with their own imperfection.} The term פָּאַר, here rendered “understanding,” occurs also in VI, 14–23 and IX, 15 in the context of mustering a member. In his analysis of the suffering servant text in Isaiah (52:13–53:12) Nyberg discusses this word and argues that it connotes three related meanings: (a) to act wisely, with good judgment and loving kindness, and to be capable, to have a good hand with things; (b) to be fostered to these abilities by chastening; (c) to become successful by these abilities. Nyberg thereby narrows down the meaning of the term in a manner to similar to how I understand it in 1QS. It has to do with knowledge that is closely related to conduct and attitude, which in turn have the potential of realizing the vision of Micah 6:8 (see V, 24b–25). This knowledge is in turn what makes a member rise in the internal hierarchy. It is what gives success (V, 24). This term occurs ten times in 1QS. In six of these instances the term פָּאַר of a member/becoming member is what shall be mustered. In II, 3 the congregation is blessed with “life-giving wisdom” that is, knowledge of what actually leads to life (and death). The term occurs twice in the Treatise. In IV, 3 it is a distinctive feature for the spirit of truth while in IV, 18 it is God’s פָּאַר that is at stake. In his mysterious insight (פָּאַר) God has put an end to the lying spirit. The meaning of the term פָּאַר in 1QS thereby adds one more aspect to Nyberg’s list, namely insight into what leads to life. This is the same as “truth.” It is an eschatological awareness. This becomes even clearer in

\footnote{See 1QS VI, 14, 18; IX, 15; CD III, 11; and 1QSa I, 8.} See 1QS VI, 14, 18; IX, 15; and 1QSa I, 8.\footnote{Nyberg 1942: 41–42.}}
the final occurrence of the term in IX, 13. In that instance the Maskil must teach the congregation of the assembly in accordance with the times. This involves the conduct that has to be performed in the relation to the times with focus on the current time.

Under line 25 there is a marginal hook and a blank space in the text after which it say that No one must speak to another with anger, with grumbling or with a stiff neck or in a jealous spirit of wickedness. And no one should hate another because of his own uncircumcised heart but must on the same day reprove his fellow to not bear guilt because of him. This first part of the passage recalls the hallmarks of the spirit of falsehood (IV, 10ff). This means that the spirit of falsehood also corrupted the members of the community. The second part of the passage “And no one should hate another because of his own uncircumcised heart but must on the same day reprove his fellow to not bear guilt because of him” draws on Leviticus 19:17–18a “You shall not hate in your heart anyone of your kin; you shall reprove your neighbor, or you will incur guilt yourself” (לא ת_semaphore ואל תҧקיו את עמיתך ואל תשא עליו עוון Lev). In his analysis of Leviticus 19, Milgrom argues that 1QS takes this Leviticus passage in the meaning of incorrect thought with the underlying problem of hypocrisy. This is when hatred is covered under a veil of hypocrisy. He refers to Proverbs 10:18, saying that “Lying lips conceal hatred, and whoever utters slander is a fool.” The Proverbs passage in turn elaborates on Leviticus 19:17. Milgrom concludes that wisdom tradition thereby interpreted the Leviticus passage in the context of hypocrisy. As he points out, hate is an emotion that urges toward action, namely toward “plotter countermeasures.” This is why “in your heart” was added to emphasize the cerebral component. It is thereby the threat that hatred poses for society that lies at the basis of this command in 1QS, and the answer to the problem is to “reprove your fellow openly.” If this is not done “you will incur guilt yourself,” which could imply one of two things: Either that you are likely to take revenge on this person yourself, or that the failure to reprove is a sin that will be punished (as in Ezek 3:18). The message in the Leviticus passage goes well with 1QS. Feelings that are a potential threat to the unity of the Yahad must be dealt with immediately. Hatred is a feeling that will spread and contaminate more than the mind of its possessor. It could spread like a decrease in a society and destabilize the whole community.

The passage in 1QS differs from the Leviticus text in two cases:

לא תSemaphore ואל ת��ポイ את עמיתך ואל תשא עליו עוון (1QS)
לא תSemaphore ואל תתקポイ את עמיתך ואל תשא עליו עוון (Lev)

The first is the definition of the heart as “uncircumcised” in 1QS (see Ezek 44:7, 9, and Jer 9:25). In Judaism, circumcision is a sign of the relationship with God. In 1QS the right attitude is a sign of the relationship with God. A circumcised heart is therefore a humble heart belonging to someone who acts according to the vision of Micah 6:8. This Micah passage has influenced the phrase leading up to the quote under discussion: “They shall admonish one another in truth, humility and loving kindness.” An uncircumcised heart

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481 Neither of these two instances initiates anything thematically new, the function of the textual marker, just as the one in l. 13, rather seems to be to highlight the importance of the prohibition.
483 The preceding verse in Prov 10:17 presents the contrary way of behaving: “Whoever heeds instruction is on the path to life, but one who rejects a rebuke goes astray.”
485 Milgrom’s translation (ibid.). He adds “openly,” since he understands הביך דבורה as the antithesis of “hating in the heart” namely as “reproving in the open.”
486 Although not verbally influencing the passage in 1QS, it is interesting to note the contrasting of hypocrisy and discipline in Prov 10:17: “Whoever heeds instruction is on the path to life, but one who rejects a rebuke goes astray.”
487 Minor differences consist of not repeating: יִּשָּׁמֵעַ אֲלֵי תִּשְׁמַע אוֹלֶיהָ אֲלֵיהָ תִּשְׁמַע since it is implied from the previous sentence. The absolute infinitive preceding the yiqtol in Leviticus is absent.
makes itself known from the behaviors that initiated the passage under discussion (25b–26). These include acting with anger, with grumbling or with a stiff neck, or in a jealous spirit of wickedness. The second addition in 1QS is “on the same day” (ビュー). This addition stresses the importance of settling a conflict quickly in the community. From this passage one can conclude that the members of the community, just like the outsiders, suffered from their evil inclination. If it is conscious (and not due to different text traditions) the altering of חטא for עוון reconnects to V, 14b–15a, which in turn echoes of Leviticus 22:16 and the prohibition to profane what is holy. The message is then that the holy people of the community risk of profaning and defiling themselves if they let the evil inclination rule them. If it is conscious (and not due to different text traditions) the altering of חטא for עוון reconnects to V, 14b–15a, which in turn echoes of Leviticus 22:16 and the prohibition to profane what is holy. The message is then that the holy people of the community risk of profaning and defiling themselves if they let the evil inclination rule them.

From this Newsom concludes that “the practice of reproof was an important mechanism for the achievement of the community’s purposes.” The function of this practice had more to do with shaping the mind of a sectarian rather than being a way of solving conflicts. I agree that the practice shows more concern for the offended, but it also shows a consciousness of one of the main factors that destabilizes a society, namely an individual’s need for revenge. This always carries a risk of escalation. Since no one will ever admit to have started a conflict, a society that intends to live in harmony must have practices to nip the conflict in its bud. The demand to solve a conflict on the same day answers to this threat. In order not to create a situation where the practice of reproof was used as a way to elevate one’s status in the community, it had to be acted out directly. Otherwise it could have been, as Newsom puts it, “co-opted by envy, resentment, and desire for advancement.”

Finally, VI, 1a informs of a judicial procedure where no one was allowed to bring charges against a fellow member to the court (the Many) without first having reproved this person before witnesses: Also, no one is to bring a case against his fellow before the Many who is not first reproved before witnesses. The implications of this may be that no one should be convicted for an offense without first having been warned. What is more important, this procedure safeguarded against false charges and escalating conflicts. This since the offense had to be spelled out against the adversary in the presence of witnesses before bringing the case further. All conflicts between members have to be settled directly before witnesses. If the conflicts are to be settled by the involved parties only, there is a risk of escalating the conflict, which may lead to the scenario that the serek intends to prevent, a crisis that undermines the community.

(d) A word of sending (VI, 1b–8a)

In VI, 1b, a new setting may be introduced. No textual markers divide this section from the preceding. The opening words According to this they shall behave (walk) wherever they dwell is a x-yiqtol construction and ought to refer back to the principles just recounted in V, 25–VI, 1a, or even to V, 1–VI, 1a. The phrase can either be taken in the meaning: “wherever they are found, a man and his fellow,” or as it is rendered here (according to) everything that is found concerning their mutual relationship. The latter alternative takes the phrase as a reference to the legal knowledge that is available to the community. It refers to that which guides their mutual conduct, which has just been referred to (“according to this”). It thereby communicates that what follows (VI, 1–8a) rests on the previous principles of mutual ranking and rules of behavior between fellow members. “They” who are urged to walk this way are not the Many just mentioned in VI, 1 but the people of the

489 Newsom 2004: 142.
490 Ibid.
491 Milgrom (2000: 1650) in this instance compares with rabbinic “warning.”
492 The term for dwelling (מקים) is peculiar to 1QS, with only a few occurrences in the Qumran literature at large (see iQHa XIII, 8; XIV, 26); in the Hebrew Bible it has the meaning of staying rather than living.
493 Holst 2008: 94.
community (V, 1). These shall adhere to the procedures and rules that have just been outlined wherever they happen to meet in the land.\footnote{The setting(s) of this passage is puzzling from a historical perspective. The first command could, if one understands מגוריהם as referring to “dwelling places” imply more permanent settlements such as, e.g., in Qumran. What argues for this are the mentioning of work and money as common property, as well as the repeated word יחד. The togetherness forms the basis of the community. This passage has been a problem for the theory that argues that a Qumran settlement is mirrored in 1QS. Metso (2006: 213–35) and Hempel (2003: 63) argue that this passage is a relic of older legislation. According to Collins (2010: 67) the passage supports the theory that the Yahad is not to be equalized with Qumran but is rather to be understood as an umbrella term for several communities.}

There is an air of “sending out people” in the passage. It could be that the implied setting of the previous section was a yearly reunion and that its participants are now sent back into their daily lives. It then communicates that “Now that you know all these things, practice them wherever you may encounter with fellow members.” The regulations just accounted for are to be practiced in regard to work and money, during meals and counseling. The common denominator for these instructions is the respect for a superior.

In VI, 3 it says that when ten persons from the “council of the community” are in the same place at the same time, they must have a priest who will be in charge of their activities, namely deliberations and the sacred meal. The meeting is structured from their internal ranking, just dealt with in the previous section V, 20–23. This means that they sit, speak and serve wine and food, in the order of their ranking. They must also study the law, daily and nightly. Each person shall give his council (opinion) on every matter (לכול דבר). In light of V, 15 the expression “everything” (לכול דבר) in this context relates to work, property, discussions of the law, and purity.

In VI, 6–8a it says that wherever there are ten members, one of them must study day and night, they shall relieve each other. This command exceeds the demand of other contemporary Jews and leads the mind to some kind of warfare—to always be alert against the dark forces. It compared to the demand to pray during affliction and darkness in the hymn (see X, 1–3a, 17).

Then, somewhat abruptly are the Many (הרבים) (re)introduced (see VI, 1b) and urged to keep alert (“watch”) in their studying, reading and blessing on a nightly basis. Are these two different urges to study referring to the same situation and to the same body of people? It is general trend in 1QS that a new section is preceded by a word or line that relates to the subject about to be treated. This may be the case here since the mentioning of the Many appears strange in the section. In the following section the role and function of the Many is described.

**4.2 Rules of Speech, Rules of Admission (V, 8b–VI, 23)**

**4.2.1 Translation of Text**

This is the rule for the session of the Many: Each person must be in his proper place. The priests shall sit first, the elders second, and the rest of all the people shall sit each in its order and so they shall be asked about the precepts and about every counsel and matter that concerns the Many. Each person shall present his knowledge to the council of the community. No one must speak in the middle of his fellow’s speech (and so interrupt) before his brother has finished speaking. Neither should anyone speak before another of higher rank. The person who is asked shall speak in his turn. During a session of the Many, no one must speak of any matter that is not in the liking of the Many, and indeed of the Mebaqker of the Many. But anyone who has something to say to the Many, who is not in the position of the man asking the council of the Many, shall stand up on his feet and say “I have something to say to the Many.” If they say to him (speak) he may speak.

And each one who freely offers himself to join the council of the community, shall be examined by the Paqqid, at the head of the Many, with respect to his insights and his
deeds. If he is amenable to discipline he shall let him enter into the covenant (in order) to turn to truth and to depart from all falsehood. He shall be initiated into all the precepts of the community. Later, when he comes to stand before the Many, they shall all be asked about that which concerns him. And as the decision falls, in accordance with the counsel of the Many, he shall approach or depart. When he approaches the council of the community he must not touch the purity (pure food) of the Many until they have examined him concerning his spirit and he has completed one full year. Nor shall he mix with the property of the Many. When he has completed one year amid the community, then the Many shall be asked about that which concerns him in relation to his insight and deeds in the law. And if the lot goes out for him, so that he can approach the secret teaching of the community, in compliance with the priests and the multitude of people of his covenant, then both his property and means shall be given into the hand of the man who is the Mebaqker over the means of the Many. And he shall register it on an account with his (the owners) hand, it must not go out (be used) to the Many. He must not touch the drink of the Many until he has completed a second year amongst the people of the community. When he has completed a second year he shall be mustered by the Many and if the lot goes out for him to draw closer to the community, they shall register him in the rule after his rank amongst his brother for law, judgment, and purity. His property shall (now) be mixed. His counsel now belongs to the community, as well as his judgment.

4.2.2 Text Analysis

(a) Rules to safeguard a true discourse (VI, 8b–12)

In VI, 8 begins a new serek (סרך), this time for “the session of the Many (למושב הרבים).” This is the third section in 1QS, which is called a serek rule/order (I, 1 and V, 1). This section is dedicated to “the Many,” a technical term for those included in the full membership of the community, priests, elders, and laypeople. Judging from the textual markers, a marginal hook and a blank space within the line, this is not an independent section but rather a subsection of the rule that began in V, 1. Unlike the rule beginning V, 1, which deals with the regulations for the people of the community in general, this rule involves one aspect of their activity, namely when they are in session.

The setting of the paragraph is a “session” where “the Many,” specified as the priests, the elders and the rest of all of the people (VI, 8b–9a) sit and speak in accordance with the hierarchal order (בתכונן). The first thing that is stressed is the purpose of the section namely איש בתכונן, which literally translates to: “man in his order.” This means that everyone shall stay in their assigned place during the act of speech. The order of the session follows the internal hierarchy. The term }(ך) in 1QS denotes the spiritual structure of creation, which is reflected in the way that the Yahad is organized (VI, 22). The “order” in which they sit

495 Cf. the translation of Abegg (2006): “they shall enroll him at the appropriate rank among his brothers for discussion of the law, jurisprudence, participation in pure meals and admixture of property. Thenceforth the Yahad may draw upon his counsel and judgment.”

496 “The Many” are introduced for the first time in 1QS in VI, 1b, as a juridical instance: “No man is to bring a case against his fellow before the Many that is not first reproved before witnesses.” The term occurs only in columns VI–VII and three times in columns VIII–IX. In a majority of these instances they are referred to as a legal court that settles conflicts between members. They occur once in the role of investigating the law (VI, 7) and as a party in the admission process (e.g., VI, 1, 16, and 18). The Many are organized hierarchically, their internal order structures the meetings; the way they are seated and the order of speech follows the internal ranking system (VI, 8–11 see also II, 19–23; V, 20–25). The Many has leading officials: the “examiner” (המבקר) and “overseer” (הפקד) in charge of examining becoming members, and of the possessions of the Many, the two titles could designate the same office (Metso 2007: 36–7).

497 See Metso 2007: 11.

498 If it were an independent section it would have been marked differently.

499 The category “the elders” (הזקנים) is only mentioned here in 1QS.
reflect the amount of light and darkness in each member. This manifests itself in true and unjust speech. Someone with a high degree of light is more likely to speak “truth” and therefore has priority to someone with a smaller inheritance in light. According to this seated order follows the act of speech: and so they shall be asked about the precepts and about every counsel and matter that concerns the Many. Each person shall present his knowledge to the council of the community. To be “asked” leads the mind to an inquiry but more likely were they asked about their opinion on a special matter. The term for knowledge is rare in 1QS. It occurs only in the penal code in the meaning “knowingly.” In the few occurrences in Scripture (e.g., 2 Chr 1:10–12) the term implies taking decisions and judging, and this is how it should be understood here: As practical knowledge that is necessary in order to judge and to take decisions concerning membership and settle conflicts. The session of the Many did not investigate the law per se; they rather put the law into practice.

In VI, 10b–13a there are two prescriptions: No one must speak in the middle of his fellow’s speech (and so interrupt) before his brother has finished speaking. Neither should anyone speak before another of higher rank. The person who is asked shall speak in his turn. And: During a session of the Many, no one must speak of any matter that is not in the liking of the Many, and indeed of the Mebaqer of the Many. But anyone who has something to say to the Many, who is not in the position of the man asking the council of the community, shall stand up on his feet and say “I have something to say to the Many.” If they say to him (speak) he may speak. These two prescriptions are both preceded by blank spaces indicating their importance: If someone is interrupted when performing the most important activity of the community it is regarded as a disrespect of the authority of the one speaking (see VII, 9b–10a). In addition to this, the selection of topics for discussions is not free. The subject that they wish to address has to be approved of the majority and the leading official. One can only speculate about the limits of accepted topics but perhaps more than controlling the topics of the discussion, the prohibition prevents disorder at the meetings. If anyone could bring up any subject the status of the participants could begin to depend on factors such as rhetorical ability rather than the internal ranking.

Newsom argues that the combination of the rules for the session of the Many and the following procedures for admission of a new member mutually support each other in that “the care that is taken in selecting and preparing those who will participate in taking counsel” is displayed. By placing the standards for the session of the Many before dealing with the admission of new members into the council of the community, the importance of discipline is stressed. This is the first quality that is examined during the probation. Discipline is necessary in order to take part in the true discourse that the council produces.

(b) The way to membership (VI, 13–23b)

In VI, 13 focus shifts from the orders at the sessions of the Many to procedures of admission. The Many, their officials, the Mebaqer and the Paqqid, the priests and the “Multitude” all deal with the probation and admission of new members. There are different steps in the process of initiation: First, if a person is suited for discipline they shall allow him to enter into the covenant (VI, 15) in order to turn to truth and depart from falsehood, that is, to convert. As a next step, after having been instructed in all the precepts of the community, he shall stand before the Many while they give witness about all that which concerns him (עלaroo) that is, his abilities and his conduct (see, e.g., I, 11b–12a; see V, 20b–21). If this evaluation turns out well, the potential member may approach the council of the community but is not yet to participate fully in that which concerns purity or property. When he has

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500 Other terms for knowledge are more prominent in 1QS, such as דעת בינה חוכמה, which denote knowledge, insight, and wisdom.

501 The following “penal code” (VI, 24–VII, 25) lists the cases by which they judged, while this paragraph sets out the formal standards for their sessions.


503 It may also be interpreted as if a gradual initiation is presupposed in the expression (יביעהו). See I, 16 and the ceremony of entering the covenant.
completed one year within the community, the Many shall be asked concerning his understanding (שכל) and his works in the law (Torah) again. As was discussed above (V, 20b–VI, 1a) Nyberg defines the term שכל in three related meanings namely to act wisely, with good judgment, and loving kindness, to be fostered to these abilities by chastening and to become successful by these abilities.504 It is a knowledge that is closely related to conduct and attitude, which in turn have the potential of realizing the vision of Micah 6:8 (see V, 24b–25). This knowledge is in turn what makes a member rise in the internal hierarchy. It is what gives success (V, 24). When it has been assured by the Many that he posits this knowledge he can approach the secret teaching of the community (לאלוהים ויהוה), in compliance with the priests and the multitude of people of his covenant, then both his property and means shall (approach) be given into the hand of the man who is the Mebaqker over the means of the Many. He is now on his way to be initiated but yet not a full member. The term רחא assiduously conveys meanings such as “secret teaching,” “assembly,” and “foundation.” These meanings are interrelated in this instance in that the foundation of the community is its secret knowledge, which is revealed in the investigations of the law by the council (cf. IV, 6b).

The rendering of לאלוהים ויהוה with “the secret teaching of the community” is supported by the fact that this step of initiation is authorized by the Priests and “the multitude of the people of their covenant” instead of the Many. As has been discussed above, these categories are in charge of investigating the hidden aspects of the law in order to fulfill the contract of the covenant. The becoming member is now ready to take part in the secret knowledge (see VIII, 11–12). This in turn means that his property may be brought into the community although written on his account, until he has completed a second year in the community. After a completed second year he shall be examined again. If he is approved, he shall take full part in the community and his property will be assimilated with that of the group’s. Wernberg-Møller has pointed out the interesting allusion (he calls it quotation) to Leviticus 25:30 in VI, 17. In the Leviticus text the subject of matter is about the status of a sold house during the Jubilee (25:29–34).505 Unlike houses in open country, which shall be “redeemed” in the Year of Jubilee and returned to the seller, the seller of a house in a walled city only has the right to repurchase his house within a year: “Until a full year has been completed” (יוסף מתמלא למלאת שנה).506 If he chooses not to buy it back, it shall pass in perpetuity to the purchaser, for the coming generations and it shall not be released in the Jubilee. If this Leviticus passage is alluded to here, then the scribe has made an allegoric reading of it. He then takes the potential member as the house for sale and the Yahad as the walled city. The novice is the one selling his house who, during the first year only, is a potential member who is free to leave if he wishes. When he has become a full member however, he “has sold his house” for good. After this step is taken, he is not his own master anymore but his wealth and his abilities are now the property of the group.507 According to 1QS, this step is taken after a full year when he is initiated in the secret teaching of the community. When a second year is completed in the community, he will be examined again by the Many and if they decide so he shall be registered after his rank and take full part in common life.508 The different steps toward initiation, and the ones supervising them, are then as follows:

504 Nyberg 1942: 41–42.
505 Wernberg-Møller (1957: 108 n. 56); the phrases are identical in the two texts.
506 In 1QS a supra-linear addition of a waw occurs above מלאכת. In the Hebrew Bible this is the only occurrence of the phrase.
507 1QS 11:7 picks up on this passage from Leviticus. This time on the last phrase in Lev 25:34 (also Gen 48:4) dealing with land that may never be sold, since it is an eternal possession for the Levites. In 1QS the land is the Yahad, and the owner God: “Those whom God has chosen he has set as an eternal possession.”
508 Cf. Qimron and Charlesworth (1994): “he shall be registered in the order of his rank among his brothers” (ויתכן יהיה רוחא בר מסדר פעמים בר כהן). Cf. Abegg (2006) “They shall enroll him at the appropriate rank among his brothers.” is then taken as an expression for “enrolling” while in Charlesworth it is taken as a noun: “the order.” As has been discussed (under I, 16) it seems קדש denotes both “order” but also a list, and a genre. The overarching meaning of this term in 1QS involves the hierarchical structure of the organization of the group that is reflected in all aspects of their common life. The meaning oferek expands however the meaning of each person’s rank, it is rather the entire system where each person is inscribed either symbolically or literally.
1. The covenant, if he is suited to the discipline—immediately (the Paqqid)
2. The council of the community, tested concerning his affairs—gradually (the Many)
3. The secret teaching of the community, tested regarding insights and works in the Torah—one year (the priests and the multitude of people of the covenant). His property is brought in but not assimilated. He can share meals with the Many (he is now in the council). At this point, in line with the allusion to Leviticus, he is not his own master any more but he, and all that is his belongs to the community. The community, however, is testing him for another full year before they accept him as a full member.
4. The community—two years (The Many). He may share the mashqeh (liquids) with the community. His property is assimilated and his abilities belong to the community. He is inscribed in the serek after his rank.

Himmelfarb argues that the pure food is closely associated with membership in the community. It shall become clear in the next section (the penal code) that exclusion from food (purity) is the same as exclusion from the community. In her examination of the concept of purity in the community rule she finds that, although the purity rules of the Torah were surely kept by the community, it is the moral state of mind that is at stake here. A person who had not sacrificed himself for the truth of the community’s teaching could not participate in its social life. The mustering that precedes incorporation into the Yahad involves the ethical/moral conduct that shall spring out the interpretation of the law. In order to make a judgment about this, you would have to live with the potential member during a larger time span. Only then is it possible to evaluate how he behaves in all the different situations to which he is exposed in the community.

The implied setting for the session of the Many is during the (yearly) reunions accounted for in V, 1–VI, 8a. The majority of the fully initiated members of the Yahad come together to judge, deal with admission of new members, and settle legal cases. The paragraph is divided between procedures and rules for the sessions (VI, 8b–13a) and admission of new members (VI, 13b–23). The way these topics are interrelated is as Newsom puts it: “As the repetition of key words indicates, the topic is taken up in just this place because the concern is to show how the community discourse is maintained and protected from contamination.” At the core of the process of probation and admission lies the ability to think and speak well. The insights into which the becoming member is initiated are to be transformed into speech and action. The very term for speech at the session: הנשיב איש את מדעו, which literally says: “each person giving back his knowledge” indicates that the received knowledge must be transformed into a discourse acceptable by the Many.

4.3 The Penal Code: Forbidden Behaviors (VI, 24–VII, 25)

4.3.1 Translation of Text

6 24 And these are the precepts by which they shall judge in a community inquiry, following these cases: 514

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509 The term mashqeh is mentioned twice in 1QS VI, 20c–21a and VII, 18b–20. Licht (1965: 299 n. 12) argued that the mashqeh was considered more threatening if defiled than the tohorah. For a discussion of the tohorah and mashqeh in 1QS, see also Daïse 2005: 56–61.


512 Ibid.: 146–47.

513 ייחד does not designate the community here, but should be understood as an adjective in the meaning “common inquiry.” This common inquiry was one of the three institutions of the community that are mentioned
1. If there is found among them anyone who lies about property, and (done so) knowingly they shall separate him from the purity of the Many for one year and he shall be fined with one fourth of his food.\textsuperscript{515}

2. Anyone who responds his fellow obstinately or speaks impatiently, and so undermines the foundation of the community by rebelling against the word of his fellow who is registered before him, has usurped authority\textsuperscript{516} and shall be fined for one year and be separated.

3. And anyone who mentions anything in the name honored above all it if he cursed either of being terror stricken with affliction or of any other reason he may have and he is reading in the book or blessing, he shall be excluded and he may never return again to the council of the community.\textsuperscript{519}

4. But if it was against one of the priests who are written in the book that he spoke in anger, he shall be fined for one year and separated from the purity of the Many, (to be) on his own.

5. But if he spoke unintentionally, he shall be fined for six months.

6. Anyone who knowingly lies shall be fined for six months.

7. The one who accuses his fellow unjustly and knowingly shall be fined for a year and separated.

8. And anyone who speaks to his fellow as if he were superior, or knowingly neglects him, shall be fined for six months.

9. But if it is by a fellow member he is (unconsciously) drawn into fraud, he shall be fined for three months.

10. But if he deceives the property of the community, and wastes it, he shall refund it to its full value. If his means are insufficient to repay it, he shall be fined for sixty days.

11. The one who bears a grudge against his fellow unjustly shall be fined for one year and separated.

12. The same (applies) to the one who takes revenge for himself for whatever reason.

13. The one who speaks (in his mouth) foolish words, three months.

14. The one who speaks during his fellow’s speech, ten days.

15. The one who lies down and falls asleep during a meeting of the Many, thirty days,

in VIII, 26 namely the session (VI, 8b–23), the inquiry (VI, 24–VII, 25) and the council (e.g., VIII, 1). Someone who transgressed the Law of Moses was immediately excluded from taking part in these (VIII, 21–26). It is intriguing that they are mentioned in the exact same order as these three institutions are dealt with in 1QS: VI, 8b–23; VI, 24–VII, 25; VIII, 1–IX, 12, which actually might argue for understanding the latter section as dealing with a council (and not a nucleus community).

\textsuperscript{514} The sentence in VI, 24 could be interpreted differently: can be understood as the judgments that they have reached through their investigations of the law, and as pointing toward the commands, the apodictic law, the books of Moses and the prophets (as in I, 14; III, 11), which then serve as an authority: These are the judgments according to which they shall judge one another in line with the (Mosaic) commandments. In VIII, 24 it says concerning to those who transgress the Torah inadvertently, that they shall study the “judgment”, which says that he must neither judge a man, nor be asked for any counsel for two years. Here signifies a set rule, and this could be the way we should understand in VI, 24 as well, namely as the judgments to which their common investigations have led (prejudicing cases).

\textsuperscript{515} Literally, “He” hiphil yiqtol 3ms, with a 3ms suffix. This could imply that an official shall carry out the punishment. I choose to render it “they” since the section is dedicated to a “they.”

\textsuperscript{516} מְשִׁית

\textsuperscript{517} הָיָה

\textsuperscript{518} Likewise, “or for anything that (is) to him...” (Tov 2004: 21) comments: “In the running text was written by scribe B, followed by a five-letter word, now erased, while the cancellation dots above and below were left. In line 21 scribe B likewise wrote several words in the running text.”

\textsuperscript{519} Literally, “he shall exclude him.”

\textsuperscript{520} Licht suggests the (rare) verb should be rendered: “to curse” but interpreted in the meaning “insult.” I suggest the stronger “accuse” an interpretation based on both the following words “which is not according to the law,” i.e., cannot be proved and the longer penalty that is meted out for this offense.

\textsuperscript{521} Superlinear מְשִׁית

\textsuperscript{522} The penal “six months” is put into brackets, which is a scribal convention signifying a deletion in the manuscript. The new penal is harsher: “one year.”
16. and the same (applies) to the man who leaves the meeting of the Many without permission or reason, up to three times during the same meeting, he shall be fined for ten days.\textsuperscript{523}
17. But if they have risen and he leaves, he shall be fined for thirty days.\textsuperscript{524}
18. Whoever walks naked without being ill (and it is not necessary), shall be fined for six months.
19. \textsuperscript{13}And a man who spits in the midst of the meeting of the Many shall be fined for thirty days.\textsuperscript{525}
20. The one who lets his penis come out from under his clothing, or it has \textsuperscript{14}holes so that his nakedness is shown he shall be fined for thirty days.
21. Whoever laughs foolishly and makes his voice heard shall be fined thirty \textsuperscript{15}days.
22. The one who stretches out his left hand to gestures with it shall be fined to ten days.
24. And he who slanders about his fellow \textsuperscript{16}shall be separated for a year from the purity of the Many and fined.
25. but a man who slanders about the many he shall send him away from them \textsuperscript{17}to not return again.
26. And the man who grumbles against the secrets teaching of the community they shall send away and he shall not return.
27. But if it is toward his fellow that he grumbles \textsuperscript{18}unjustly he shall be fined for six months.
28. The man whose spirit so deviates from the foundation of the Yahad, that he betrays the truth \textsuperscript{19}by walking in the stubbornness of his heart, shall, if he repents, be punished for two years. During the first year he shall not touch the pure food of the Many \textsuperscript{20}and\textsuperscript{526} during the second he shall not touch the pure drink (pure food)\textsuperscript{527} of the Many and he shall sit behind all people of the community. When he has completed \textsuperscript{21}(for himself) two years the Many shall be asked about that which concerns him and if they let him draw near he shall be inscribed after his rank and afterwards he shall be asked about judgment.
29. \textsuperscript{22}[And]\textsuperscript{528} anybody who has been in the council of the community\textsuperscript{529} for ten full years \textsuperscript{23}and\textsuperscript{530} whose spirit then backslides so that he betrays the community, so that he walks out in sight of \textsuperscript{24}the Many to walk in the stubbornness of his heart, he may never again return to the council of the community.
30. And anyone of the people of the community who mixes his pure food with him or his property which ... ] the Many, his sentence shall be the same: He shall be sent away.

### 4.3.2 Text Analysis

The cases in the penal code, all deal with violation against the harmony of the group as expressed by the vision in Micah 6:8.\textsuperscript{531} One disrespectful act against a fellow member has the potential of breaking the covenant with God, which is why behaviors rather than criminal acts are at stake here. The penal code intends to restrain every situation that may lead to social disorder. All the transgressions that are listed in the code lead to different

\textsuperscript{523} It can also be interpreted as a rule against falling asleep up to three times during a session” (see Shemesh 2008: 221).
\textsuperscript{524} Rabin (1957:105) suggests that standing up means that they are “voting”; relating to this, see Weinfeld (1986: 29-30.) who reads רכוך as related to רכוך (finger).
\textsuperscript{525} According to Josephus (J.W. 2.147) this was one of the prohibitions of the Essenes.
\textsuperscript{526} The first word in line 20 is a partly visible גננה due to scribal error or erasure.
\textsuperscript{527} The words גננה are put into brackets, i.e., deleted.
\textsuperscript{528} There is an erasure at the beginning of line 20.
\textsuperscript{529} There is an erasure following this word.
\textsuperscript{530} There is an erasure at the beginning of the line.
\textsuperscript{531} Allusions to Mic 6:8 occur in 1QS I, 5b–6a; II, 24–25a; IV, 5, and V, 3b–4a.
degrees of separation. The obvious purpose for such separation is for the transgressor to repent but it also means that the “pure” members do not risk of being contaminated by the behavior of the transgressor until his way is perfect again. The penal code is built on casuistic legal cases that in form recall the Book of the Covenant (Exod 20:22–23; 33). After an initial heading, 28 specific offenses are listed. These are followed by two general offenses that close the unit. The protasis of the conditional sentence is initiated with either “whoever” (هى) or “if” (אם). A general trend is that a new regulation is introduced with “whoever” (هى) (VI, 25, 27; VII, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 13b, 14, 15, 17, 22, 24), while “if” (אם) modifies the regulation (VII, 1, 3, 5, 8), with the one exception in the first case (VI, 24).

The heading itself is puzzling, how is to be understood in relation to the law (Torah) in the meaning study or inquiry. In VIII, 26 it is mentioned as an institution in the community in the wounds of the Many since one penalty is to be excluded from it (see VII, 2). The potential transgressor is thereby a full member of the community, which means that the ones judging also are potential transgressors. Schiffman argues that focus here is put on the decision making process in the session, rather than giving instructions in behavior. I understand it quite to the contrary, as filling a rhetorical purpose: By putting focus on the exercise of disciplinary power, each member will understand which behaviors are accepted and rejected respectively.

The object for the penal code is “a person,” “anyone among them,” “he” and “whoever.” This fictive person is part of the Many since one penalty is to be excluded from their food and purity (see VII, 3) and since some of the penalties concern transgressions during their meetings (VII, 10–12). He is also part of the council of the community (the community) since he can be excluded from it (see VII, 2). The potential transgressor is thereby a full member of the community, which means that the ones judging also are potential transgressors. Schiffman argues that focus here is put on the decision making process in the session, rather than giving instructions in behavior. I understand it quite to the contrary, as filling a rhetorical purpose: By putting focus on the exercise of disciplinary power, each member will understand which behaviors are accepted and rejected respectively.

I will in the following analysis investigate the cases one by one.

532 There are three degrees of prescribed penalties: Reduced ransom of food, which should be understood as a partial separation from the community, separation from purity (community) in periods ranging from ten days to a year, and exclusion: One year separation and reduced rations: Lying about property (VI, 24–25), disrespect a fellow member or leader (XI, 25–27), disrespect a priest (VII, 2–3), accuse a fellow member without evidence (VII, 4–5), bear a grudge against a fellow member or taking revenge for oneself (VII, 8–9) or slander about a fellow member (VII, 15–16). Reduced rations for six months: Speaking unintentionally (against the priests) (VII, 3), to lie knowingly (VII, 3–4), speaking to his fellow as if he were superior, or knowingly deceiving him (VII, 5), walking around naked (VII, 12) or grumbling against a fellow member (VII, 17–18). Reduced rations for three months: To unknowingly be drawn into fraud (VII, 6), speak foolishly (VII, 9). Reduced rations for sixty days: Inability to repay property (VII, 8). Reduced rations for thirty days: Falling asleep or spitting in a general session (VII, 10; 13). Exposing one’s nakedness (VII, 13–14), and excessive laughter (VII, 14–15). Reduced rations for ten days: Interrupting a member in a general session (VII, 9–10). Leaving a meeting without reason (VII, 16) and gesturing with the left hand during a conversation (VII, 15). Repeating the two-year initiation process: Deviating from the foundation of the Yahad, betraying the truth by following one’s own stubborn heart again. Exclusion: Misusing the name of God (IQS VI, 27b–VII, 2a), grumbling against the authority of the community (VII, 16–17), complaining against the teaching of the community (VII, 17), a ten-year veteran of the community who spiritually returns to a treacherous lifestyle (VII, 22–23), and anyone who remains involved with this expelled member (VII, 24–25).

533 Although the paragraph is physically intact and almost entirely legible, it contains many corrections, some due to a change in practice (see I. 8 where a shorter punishment has been replaced by a longer), corrections (VII, 8) or clarifications (VII, 6). In addition to this there are irregularities in the text that are due to material problems, e.g., the indentation in VII, 6 and the blank space in VII, 7.

534 The term 본 is a form in Iqs. Apart from the current instance it occurs in VIII, 15 connected to the law (Torah) in the meaning study or inquiry. In VIII, 26 it is mentioned as an institution in the community in line with the session and the council.

535 In VIII, 20, also initiating a section with transgressions and punishments, we find an almost identical phrase: השם. The words in the two phrases are identical except for the verbs: In VI, 24 they shall be judged in the rules while in VIII, 20 they shall walk, i.e., “follow” the rules, this since what follows in VIII, 20 is not a casuistic law but rather one fundamental principle put in a positive and a negative way, namely: (1) they shall conduct a perfect behavior in accordance with the law; and (2) those who transgress the law shall be excluded from the council of the community.


The opening clause of the penal code (lying about property knowingly) picks up on the previous section where the property of a fully initiated member is said to belong to the community (VI, 22). In light of that, the first provision may deal with the case of someone withholding his property when entering the community. Shemesh argues for the dependence of this clause on Leviticus 19:11 “You shall not steal; you shall not deal falsely; and you shall not lie to one another.” Someone who withheld his property from the community would commit all these crimes: He would steal—since all his property now belong to the community, he deals falsely—since he knows that he is withholding property, and he lies, both about the amount of his property but also in the sense of not adhering to the “truth” to which each member must offer his self. The seriousness of this “crime” was not primarily the loss of income for the community but the risk that a member would keep on “walking in the stubbornness of his heart.” Such a person shows an unwillingness to submit to the necessary discipline (see II, 11–18). If you enter the community and withhold some of your property, you have also withheld some part of yourself. Such person must be separated from all other fellow members in order not to spread his “decease.” In this case he will be separated for a year while he is fined one fourth of his food. As has already been discussed, the ungalow לא ימסרו should not be understood in the context of ritual purity. It is not even as Klawans seems to suggest an equivalent to sacred food, but must be understood in a social context. To be excluded from the purity implied being separated from community life, which of course implied sharing sacred meals.

Shemesh argues that also this clause depends on Leviticus 19:11. He interprets the first three clauses as a unit based on three consecutive pentateuchal prohibitions: “one who lies about property” parallels the biblical “you are not to steal, you are not to lie.” The “one who answers his fellow” parallels “you are not to lie . . . each man with his fellow.” Finally “the one who mentions anything in the name honored above all” parallels “you are not to swear by my name falsely.” Following this interpretation, to disrespect a superior is compared to lying. This makes sense from an overarching perspective on 1QS where truth is the same as concurring with the ideology of the community. The opposite, “lie,” is the same as neglecting the social foundation of the community. When someone neglects the authority of a superior fellow member he therefore “lies” about the truth that has been revealed to him and to all other members.

Shemesh argues that this clause depends on Leviticus 19:12 “And...
you shall not swear falsely by my name, profaning the name of your God: I am the LORD.”

In 1QS this provision has to do with proper speech. Not even in a situation of fear must their speech be impulsive and uncontrolled. A member of the community must never lack in self-control, no matter what.

#4 (VII, 2b–3a). According to Shemesh, should the fourth case be understood as an addition to the second case, and not to the previous (#3). Both the second and fourth cases deal with aggressive, impatient, speech. Provision #2 has to do with a superior fellow member while this clause involves the priests. According to him, this clause is a later addition reflecting a development toward priestly influence in the community, which would explain its remote placement within the penal code. On the other hand there is a link between this and the previous clause in that both deal with someone who is reading in “the book.” It seems therefore reasonable to assume that it is the same “book” that is being referred to here, or the same implied context. Since it is a book in which the priests are inscribed, it could be a list of families and members, a ranking list, and—just speculating now—the prohibition could be against commenting on this in a negative way and so undermining the authority of the priest.

#5 (VII, 3b). In this provision it is stated that even unintentional speech is punished, which says much of the self-control demanded of each member.

#6 (VII, 3b–4a). To deceive (כחש) is one of the hallmarks of the spirit of falsehood (IV, 9). The provision against deceiving someone knowingly in this instance can therefore be interpreted as the case of misleading a fellow member from the truth.

#7 (VII, 4b–5a). The seventh case has to do with someone who accuses a fellow member although fully aware that he cannot prove the charge. As was discussed in VI, 1b (above) all conflicts between members had to be settled directly before witnesses. If a conflict is to be settled by the involved parties only, there is a risk of increasing it. This in turn may lead to the scenario that the serek intends to prevent: Rivalry, conflict, and in the end, an undermining crisis that subverts the community. Just as all judicial systems, the judicial system in the penal code depends on the recognition of the sovereignty and independency of the judiciary whose decisions no one can challenge. The judicial system has a monopoly on vengeance—this must never be left in the hands of the individual. It is therefore that focus is put on the offended rather than on the offender. It stresses the need for each member to delegate the exercise of power to the Many.

#8 (VII, 5b). This case deals with scheming with the purpose to elevate one’s status (rank), a behavior that is strictly forbidden in the community. I have interpreted כרמיה in the meaning proud, haughty, which in this context denotes someone who wishes to elevate his rank before a fellow member. When כרמיה comes with the verbעשה in Scripture, it denotes a scheming, plotting person in the meaning false speech (see Ps 52:4, 101:7; see BDB 9113).

#9 (VII, 5b–6a. If someone draws you into his own schemes the punishment is lower but you are still punished since you did not understand the intention behind the words and thereby do not fulfill the standards of the spirit of truth (1QS IV, 3–6): “It is a spirit of knowledge of the intention behind every action.”

#10 (VII, 6b–8a). I have interpreted provisions 9 and 10 as further explanations on provision 8 and in line with Shemesh, who argues that Leviticus 19:13 is the source behind these provisions: “You shall not oppress your neighbor, nor rob him. The wages of a hired man are not to remain with you all night until morning” (NASB). Shemesh cites a homily in the sifra that elaborates on the Leviticus text in question: Midrash Rabba, Ecclesiastes (trans. A. Cohen). In the Midrash, the string of injunctions is interpreted as a single unit. The first injunction in the Leviticus passage: “You are not to oppress” (לא תעשה) treats nonmonetary deceit, according to the homilist, “such as when one states that someone is a very powerful man and he is not.” The meaning of this, according to R. Benjamin bar Levi, is compared to those who mimic the appearance of scholars even though they are not. This

543 Ibid.: 201.
545 Shemesh 2008: 205.
interpretation of the Leviticus passage easily compare to the implied context here, where the deceit/robbery/oppression that such a person commits toward a fellow implies falsely elevating his status at the expense of the other.546

#11 (VII, 8b). The case of someone who “bears a grudge” recalls the crucial passage in 1QS V, 25ff: No one must speak to another with anger, with grumbling or with a stiff [neck or in a jealous] spirit of wickedness. And no one should hate another because of his own [uncircum]cized heart but must on the same day reprove his fellow to not bear guilt because of him. This passage stresses the need to resolve a conflict directly instead of nourishing one’s resentment. The reason for this is the risk that a grudge grows into hatred and in the end threatens the stability of the community, which is to be built on humility and loving kindness toward fellow members. One can note that the penalty for this case has been made longer, from six months to a year. This reflects the need to further reinforce the importance of this command in the community.

#12 (VII, 9a). Revenge is a never-ending circle of violence; no one will admit to have begun the conflict. It is therefore that the community, in its function as court of the Many, is the only allowed instance to mete out penalties. It is important to note that it does not matter for what reason the revenge takes place, whether it concern small or large crimes. It is the act in itself that has to be restrained in order to prevent violence. All individual matters are lifted up to a public level. The offense that the offended suffers is not his own private matter anymore but a matter for the community at large.

#13 (VII, 9b). In this provision speech is at stake again. This time it involves “foolish words.” Speech is a breeding ground for conflict and a person who does not control his speech is a potential threat to the community.

#14 (VII, 9c–10a); #15 (VII, 10aβ); #16 (VII, 10b–11a); #17 (VII, 11b–12a). The offenses in provisions 14–17 deal with disrespectful behavior during the sessions of the Many. No matter how one resolves the difficulty of translating/interpreting the provisions 15–17, they all deal with subversive behavior during the sessions of the Many.547 To sleep or leave the sessions without an accepted reason is regarded as an offense that ought to be understood as negligence. A person who does so is unwilling to conform to the discipline but rather follows his own (stubborn) heart. A person who is negligent toward these rules will threaten the foundation of the community, which is constituted by each member’s strict loyalty and discipline. Therefore, such behavior must be restrained in its bud.

Shemesh argues that provisions 14–17, which all concern proper behavior at the sessions of the Many, are based in Leviticus 19:15: “You shall not render an unjust judgment; you shall not be partial to the poor or defer to the great: with justice you shall judge your neighbor.” Although there are no direct verbal links between the two texts, he argues that rightly ordered meetings safeguard just judgments. As was argued in the previous section under discussion (VI, 8b–23) a true discourse emanates from a strictly ordered court. In line with this it is plausible to argue that a just judgment emanates from a strictly ordered court.

Up until now the provisions all have their underlying source in Leviticus 19:11–18, which is part of the holiness code. This unit in the holiness code constitutes, according to Schwartz, an independent section that he labels “the interpersonal commandments.”548 In line with this, the provisions all deal with such behaviors between fellow members that have the potential of defiling the community. It has been argued that these provisions have their common denominator in that they all strive to restrain rivalry and conflict.

#18 (VII, 12b). #19 (VII, 13a); #20 (VII, 13b–14a); #21 (VII, 14b–15a); #22 (VII, 15a β). Provisions 18–22 deal with behaviors that deviate from the models of speech and gesture that are socially recognized and accepted in the community. Shemesh argues that Deuteronomy 23:11–15, dealing with the requirement to preserve holiness in the camp, is the biblical source for these provisions. It is comprehensible that the showing of genitals or even

546 For the complete discussion of this instance in Midrash Rabbah Ecclesiastes, see ibid.: 207.

547 Cf. Qimron and Charlesworth (1994: 31): “And whoever falls asleep up to three times at a session.” He takes חנם in the meaning “to sleep” while I interpret it as “without reason.”

spitting can defile the camp, since it to some degree implies bodily fluids. The reason why foolish and laud laughing and wild gesticulating defile it may not be as clear. Since the accepted forms for speech were restricted in the community, however, loud laughing and wild gesticulating may be regarded as rebellious acts. To behave this way in the context of speech may communicate disrespect and intents to elevate one’s status by acting in a way superior. The reason for including provision 21 and 22 may then be that these kinds of behaviors constituted a risk for the harmony and stability of the community.

#24 (VII, 15b–16a). This clause depends on Leviticus 19:16a: “You shall not go around as a slanderer among your people.” Uncontrolled words can cause great damage. In order to create the community of the perfect of the way, slandering must be strictly prohibited. Slander is used as way to heighten one’s own position at the expense of someone else. This kind of behavior runs counter to what is expected of a member of the community. It has the potential of undermining the stability of the community.

#25 (VII, 16b–17a). Unlike clause 24, which dealt with slander between two fellow members, this clause deals with the case of someone who slanders against the Many. Such a person must be excluded and never be allowed to return again. The seriousness of this crime, in comparison with the previous, is that the Many represent the exercise of disciplinary power in the community. To slander against them is therefore to neglect community discipline as such, which in turn is the foundation of the community. It is a form of treason. The community in its role as court carried out the public vengeance for offenses. If the court were not regarded as sovereign, individuals would feel the need to take the law into their own hands. This would lead to personal vengeance and in the end to an undermining of the community as such. It is therefore that such person must be excluded for good.

#26 (VII, 17ba). #27 (17bβ–18a). To “grumble” about the secret teaching of the community is the same as opposing its fundament. The term לון occurs in the Exodus story, where the people “grumble” against Moses, that is, against his vision which led them out in the desert (Exod 16:2, Num 14:36). The term there implies rebellion since it calls Moses’s (and Aaron’s) leadership into question. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the term לון is rare. Apart from here it occurs in a Hodayot psalm (1QHα 13:24–27). In the psalm, the leadership (the hymnist) suffers from a split in the community since an outbreak fraction rebel and grumble against him. This is apparently due to jealousy of his unique qualities, the secrets that God has entrusted him. His opponents “go about as talebearers,” they reveal the secrets (l. 25, see provision 24–25). Shemesh argues that the sounding board for the Hodayot psalm is Numbers 16–17 concerning Korah and his band. That story opens with the complaint of Korah and his followers. They question the authority of Moses and Aaron (16:3), whereby Moses accuses the opponents for “grumbling.” The story ends in catastrophe with 14,700 people killed. The grumbling thereby undermined the whole community in a disastrous way. Shemesh concludes about the provision in the penal code: “Perhaps the inclusion . . . was based on an actual incident of undermining the foundations of the sectarian leadership.” Although the discussion here has been on a detour it could be that the same implied context as in Exodus, Numbers, and Hodayot is mirrored here. The secret teaching of the community is what has led them out in the wilderness (in a concrete or symbolic meaning). To question this teaching is the same as undermining the community. It may also be a case of rivalry over the power, as is the case in the Hodayot psalm. In Hodayot the desired object is the revelations of the law, entrusted to the teacher who thereby has a special chosen status, which the adversaries wish to usurp. Since they cannot get access to the secret sources that are entrusted him, they intend to undermine his authority. This is a form of treason and rebellion that, like the situation with Korah, will end in catastrophe.

#28 (VII, 18b–21). This case picks up on provisions 26 and 27 and deals with the possibility for a person who committed apostasy to be reinitiated into the community again. The passage is remarkable, from an overarching view of 1QS. It presupposes readmission for

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549 See 1QH-a XIII, 24–25 where the hymnist recounts a situation similar to the cases stated in clauses 26 and 27.

persons who committed such severe offenses. Such a person must start anew with a two years' probation time during which the normal procedures of admission take place. When he is re-initiated he will "be asked about judgment" again. This would only be confided to someone totally dedicated to the "truth" of the community since it implied the "true administering of power."

#29 (22–24a); #30 (VII, 24b–25). Provision 29 deals with a person who has been part of the community for a long time (at least ten years) but then returns to his old way of thinking. He is someone "who walks out in sight of the many to walk in the stubbornness of his heart" (see II, 11–18). Such behavior is considered as treason. Such a person may never again return to the council of the community. Consequently, anyone who interacts with such person socially, or commercially, will suffer from the same penalty, namely exclusion. The difference between clauses 30 and 29 could be the length of membership. A person with a longer history in the community would have had sufficient time to adjust to its principles and to reshape his inclination. If such a person, with an elevate status in the community, deviates from its teaching, his very existence in the community could lead to degeneration of lower standing members. This means that he can no longer be seen as a role model. In addition to this, the hope of a second conversion of such a person is unrealistic.

4.4 Discourse Analysis (V, 1–VII, 25)

Following the teaching (III, 13–IV, 26) about the dual opposed forces of truth and falsehood, those who have chosen truth instead of falsehood are now introduced. They are the "people of the community." Their devotion rests on two pillars: Faithfulness to the law and separation from the congregation of the people of falsehood. The first pillar includes not only the Mosaic Law and the prophets, but also the "hidden revelations" that spring from the exegesis of the community. The core in these hidden revelations is that community discipline is necessary in order to keep the covenant. This discipline is in 1QS called the Derek, which organizes the community in a ranking system and regulates all social interaction. All possible sources of rivalry and conflict, such as power, property, and doctrine are put under the supervision of a priestly and lay communal leadership. In column V these are called the "multitude." The same categories are also in charge of the yearly evaluation of spirits, which decides the internal ranking system. This hierarchal system is what renders possible to realize the vision of Micah 6:8 of a community built on humility, justice and merciful love. This will become real when they all act prudently toward one another in accordance with the norms of the community. Those who are suitable for this vision are those who have "circumcised their inclination and stiff neck" (V, 4–5). This is someone who can put the betterment of the community before his own pride. Such a person is like one who offers a free will sacrifice, who atones and exercises justice (V, 5–6). In order to put the devotion and loyalty on trial, every member of the council of the community must enter into the covenant in sight of all other members. This takes place during what could have been a yearly reunion, "when they are gathered to the community." When they enter the covenant they make an oath to return to the Mosaic Law (V, 8–9) and to separate from the people of falsehood. The latter are those who have not cared to investigate about the hidden aspects of the law and who therefore live in sin and defilement. Their identity is largely spelled out by quotes and allusions to Scripture. They are characterized as negligent, aggressive, and false. They are the antithesis of the vision depicted in Micah 6:8, which is the way an ideal member of the Yahad should behave. In addition to this, they are in power. All interaction with them is strictly prohibited.

The hidden spiritual structures of the unseen world, the תכון are revealed to the community through its exegesis. This in turn render possible to structure the community accordingly. In accordance with this, it is up to each member to "establish" (יהכין) his steps for walking perfectly" (III, 9). This implies also accepting one's ranking in the hierarchal system (see VI, 8 and 22). These hidden structures are manifested in the two statutes of the covenant: To abide to the law and to separate from those who do not. The covenant therefore
represents an interpretation of the law that some did not agree on. Perhaps the non-agreeing ones still belonged to the greater movement, in which case a demonstration of loyalty (in the sight of all members) would be crucial in order to know the color of each member. This view of the covenant is like the "eye of the needle." Only the most dedicated would enter it, those who could accept the strictest form of loyalty and discipline. This is explained the case which begins in II, 25, where a person who refuses to enter the covenant but wishes to be part of the community is depicted. His reluctance for the covenant stems from a repugnance toward discipline and subordination.

In V, 13 and 25 there are two admonitions, both of which treat matters of uppermost importance to the community. They must not mix (purity) with morally impure people (the people of falsehood) and not hold a grudge against a fellow member. The first admonition is developed into three areas of forbidden contact, law, property and purity (meals). It was argued that these three forbidden objects witness to a rather close contact with the opponents. With them they shared discussions of law, had some exchange of property and participated in meals. The second admonition places the responsibility of not transmitting grudge on the offended party. A member of the community must exercise self-control, and put the harmony between fellow members before his own pride. The sole focus on the offended party demonstrates knowledge of the mechanisms of revenge and violence that the community possesses. Unsettled conflicts, where the offended party keeps on carrying grudge and resentment, risks poisoning the whole community. The immediately following command prohibits against accusing a fellow member before court (the Many) without first having reproved him before witnesses. This admonition deals with a related problem, namely to settle a conflict before it escalates. The largest threat to the community is a person who concurs with the vision of the community on the surface but in his heart cultivates pride and resistance (see II, 11–18). Such a person's attitude is an opening to rivalry and conflict and must be nipped in the bud before it spreads like decease and contaminates more people.

In VI, 1b the reunited people are sent back to their respective contexts. There they shall live according to all the precepts that now have been outlined. Wherever, and whenever, they share meals, give counsel, or bless they must observe mutual respect and humbleness in accordance with each person's rank. In all economical or practical undertakings they must obey a superior fellow. The counseling concerns "every matter/thing" (דבר). This recalls the use of the term דבר in V, 13, where it refers to Torah, property and purity. These are the main pillars on which the community rests. These are also the very objects of conflict with the people of falsehood. The community is urged to study on a daily and nightly basis, and to bless together. It may be that the readings and investigations of Scripture were understood as warfare against darkness. By the "word" they maintain a fortress against evil.

It seems as if the most interesting details prevail on the fringes of the serek of the session of the Many (VI, 8b–13a.). Why is the act of speech so restrained and regulated? And which were the forbidden topics? The most ardent questions in 1QS are related to the exercise of word. The spoken word is strictly controlled both within the community and in relation to outsiders. It was argued that discussions of the law lie at the core of the conflict with the people of falsehood (V, 13b–20a). It is therefore not surprising to find regulations that safeguard a true discourse, without the risk of evoking rivalry between the members. This is done by following the hierarchal system of internal ranking in both seating and speaking. In addition to this are the accepted topics of discussion delimited. It is as Newsom puts it, “Only rightly ordered proceedings could produce rightly ordered speech.” With other words: Form defines content. From the overarching image of the importance of speech in 1QS, one can assume that it is a potential source of rivalry and conflict. Since those highest in rank would have priority during the meetings, it would be natural to crave for such an elevated position where one's word would be more respected. A way to elevate one's position would be to deliver a skillful speech. It may well be in order to restrain all such intents that the discourse of speech is controlled to such extent. They must follow both the form and content decided by the majority. It is surely also, as Newsom stresses, that the highest in rank would be most probable to deliver a true discourse. In this way the ones lower in rank
would learn from the higher ranking ones before delivering their part.\textsuperscript{554} This is also the link between the rules for the sessions of the Many and what follows.

During the sessions of the Many, admission to the community is dealt with. This is the topic of the second part of the paragraph. The process of admission constitutes of several steps during which the initiate enters the community gradually. Each step implies an evaluation conducted by the Many. The first step is to enter the covenant. This may be done if the Many consider the initiate suitable for discipline. To enter the covenant is expressed as “turning to truth in favor of falsehood.” It means to convert to the worldview of the community. If the Many decides so, the initiate becomes a full member after a two-year probation. During probation he is tested in two aspects: In his understanding of the true meaning of the law and in his behavior, which stems from this understanding. At the end of the first year he is no longer a self-governed individual. His knowledge, skills and assets now belong to the community and he may be initiated in the secret teaching of the community. After a two-year probation the community finally chooses him as a full member and he may be enrolled in the social hierarchy of the community.

Finally, the penal code lists cases of behaviors that pose a threat to the community. To a large degree these concern improper speech and that of undermining the authority of a fellow member. The prohibited behaviors have their common denominator in an inability to accept discipline and instead keep on walking in a “stubborn heart” (see II, 11–18). A frequently repeated word in the penal code, just as in the Decalogue, is רעהו (fellow). In both texts the neighbor is at stake, only that 1QS demonstrates a deeper understanding of what causes conflict. It begins at the very gesture, tone, and attitude that precedes the moment when you kill, steal or acquire the goat, wife, or position of thy neighbor. Since the foundation of the Yahad is constituted of such values as mutual respect and loving kindness (Mic 6:8), all behaviors that threaten to undermine the foundation are dealt with here. And the reverse: “By their nature, rules simultaneously expose and reinforce lines of fragility in a human community.”\textsuperscript{552} The foundation of the community is the mutual respect between members. This is thereby also the line of fragility in the community, which comes to fore in the penal code. The penalties all imply some degree of separation from the community since such behaviors are regarded as contagious. The offender had to be kept apart until having learned his lesson, or else banished.

\textsuperscript{554} Newsom 2004: 146, 148.
\textsuperscript{552} Ibid.: 150.
Chapter 5

The Mission of the Perfect and Holy Community (VIII, 1–IX, 11)

Although both themes and topics are familiar from previous parts of 1QS, there is no doubt that something new begins in VIII, 1, expressed with an intense idealistic tone. It is as if the writing now reaches its climax by communicating the highest vision and potential of the community. That which has been dealt with in previous sections in 1QS is now to become accomplished. The vocabulary in the section points in the same direction. In comparison with 1QS overall there is an excessive use of the terms תמים (two-thirds of the total occurrences in 1QS) and קדש (more than half of the occurrences in 1QS). The audience now encounters the community of perfect holiness whose metaphorical identity is that of the temple. This metaphor permeates the language in columns VIII–IX. Its architectural references underscore the identity and the mission of the community. There are also features that expand the traditional view of the temple, such as atoning for the land, which otherwise belongs to the sphere of eschatology.

The initial mentioning of the עצת היחד (the council of the community) as a delimited body of twelve (lay)men and three priests (VIII, 1) has been the object of much scholarly debate since the early days of the discovery of 1QS. In his influential study, Sutcliffe understood this as the original first 15 members of the Qumran community. Depending on this theory, Murphy O’Connor would ten years later mint the label “the Manifesto” for the section that for decades would become standard in the scholarly world. According to both these theories, this section expresses a future vision that was formulated before departure into the wilderness. The other parts of 1QS are regarded as later. They reflect life in the desert settlement. But not all agree on these theories. Quite to the contrary, Stegemann recognized the whole of columns VIII–IX as secondary additions. Another way of understanding the social setting of the section has been to take the reference to the “council” literally (and not as synonymous to the community) as an inner elite council in the society at large. The delimitation of the group as twelve men and three priests could argue for such interpretation. Collins takes this theory one step further in arguing for an elite group within the council of the community. These were given a special training that was necessary for the completion of the Yahad.

A problem with all these theories is how they compare to VIII, 10–12, where the community and council are bodies into which “they” shall be incorporated. Two groups are presupposed in this passage. One group is not to be afraid to share the secret revelations with “these ones,” which usually are understood as new members. An already existing community is thereby presupposed which, if these parts of the paragraph spring from the same redactional stage, argues against understanding the “council of the community” in VIII, 1 as the nucleus group. If the formation of an elite group is at stake here, it is more likely that it possessed the deepest secrets and was afraid of sharing them with “ordinary” fellow members of the community.

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554 Ibid.: 155.
556 Murphy O’Connor 1969.
557 The theory departs from the three times repeated expression “when these become in Israel” (VIII, 4, 12; IX, 3) and especially VIII, 12–13: “When these become a community in Israel, according to these doctrines, they shall separate themselves from the session of the people of falsehood in order to depart into the wilderness to prepare there His way.”
559 See 1QS VI, 3–4, where the council of the community is constituted by ten men and one priest.
560 Collins (2010: 69–75) finds support for his theory in the phrase: “When these exist in Israel (i.e., the elite body)—then the council of the community is established in truth” (VIII, 5).
The section of 1QS VIII, 15b–IX, 11 is absent in 4QS. This has led some scholars, who hold 4QS to preserve a more original variant, to regard that section as a secondary insertion in 1QS. Other scholars recognize the lack of VIII, 15b–IX, 11 in 4QS as the result of the scribal shortening of the text. Although redaction critical perspectives can explain discrepancies in the text, the main focus of this thesis concern the interpretation of the extant text of 1QS. My approach is in line with who states: “However the text might have reached the form in which it appear in 1QS, it is both intelligible and rhetorically coherent.”

The larger section of 1QS VIII–IX, 11 is organized both by the use of introductory formulas and by graphical markings. The introductory formulas divide the text into three major parts: VIII, 1–19; VIII, 20–IX, 2; and IX, 3–11. Marginal hooks are placed under lines VIII, 4, 10, 12, 19; IX, 5 and 11. Of these, the hooks under VIII, 19 and IX, 11, as well as the large marginal sign in IX, 3, have the function to divide the text into sections. Blank spaces occur within the lines of VIII, 5, 7, 8, 12, and in IX, 9. The blank space in IX, 9 is due to a defect in the leather while the three blank spaces in VIII, 5–8, each precedes a description of the council of the community as a temple (“an eternal plant,” “the tested wall,” and “a most holy dwelling for Aaron”). The blank space in VIII, 12 is accompanied by a hook and could either initiate something thematically new, or highlight the phrase “When these become.” The large marginal sign in IX, 3 most likely indicates the importance of IX, 3 or of the section that begins with IX, 3. The graphical structure of the larger section (VIII, 1–IX, 3) corresponds with the five times repeated formula containing the word “these” (אלהים). One could oppose to this overall structure that the penal code in VIII, 16b then lacks an introductory formula although its material differs in content from what precedes.

Like the preambles of columns I, 1b–11a and V, 1–3a, the opening part of the text (VIII, 2–4) is constructed on liqtols in a modal function. These three preambles compare in that they present a program for a community in an idealistic form after which they focus on different procedures to be carried out. The overall discourse type in VIII–IX, 11 is procedural. It contains a program to be carried out. It is non-agent-oriented. It is directed to whoever happens to be in the position to carry out the procedures. Its time perspective is ongoing.

562 Murphy O’Connor 1969: 532–33.
563 Newsom 2004: 152.
564 Line 27 contains only one word (“years”), which usually marks the end of a sentence but since the normal length of a column in 1QS is 26 lines, and since what follows in IX, 1 is directly related to the preceding context, it should rather be explained by the scribe wanting to finish the sentence in the same column (or by his having omitted this word and added it later).
565 The general tendency in 1QS is that a hook placed above the section it wishes to mark, indicates a content division while a hook placed below highlights the content.
566 This, since they are also accompanied by indentations that open VIII, 20, IX, 3, and IX, 12.
567 Column VIII suffers from many errors, corrections and additions. Qimron and Charlesworth (1994) explain it as a result of “faulty eyesight or hasty reading” by the copyist.
568 The sign is, according to Tov (1996: 63–64), a composite sign where the paragraph sign indicates a new section while the letter combination may convey a sectarian message.
569 The same phrase (ביהי אלהים) is repeated three times (in the third case with a supra-linear addition “to/for a community”) in between these phrases there are two other formulas both containing the word “these” (אלהים). That these formulas also structure the text can be seen from the marginal hooks and, in the last case, from the large marginal sign that initiates them. The latter three are in addition to this, initiated with a blank space (VIII, 12) and an indentation (VIII, 20; IX, 3).
570 Metso 1997: 118.
Unlike previous sections, focus here is clearly on the community as a collective carrying out God’s mission. Where previous sections focused on the true conversion of the pious member and rules and regulations for the community, this section focuses on the next step: The mission for the community of the perfect of way; the people of perfect holiness. The inner transformation of each member is now presumed. All members have by now reached the highest level of perfection and can therefore fulfill the purpose of their existence, namely to atone and judge. The ones who carry out the procedural and the objects for the procedural thereby conflate to some extent except for the very last part of the section where the Priests are to be in charge of community life.

5.1 A Temple in the Wilderness (VIII, 1–19)

5.1.1 Translation of Text

8 In the council of the community (there are to be) twelve (lay)men and three priests, perfect in everything that has been revealed from the whole Torah. They shall perform truth, righteousness, justice, merciful love, and to walk humbly, each one with his fellow. They shall preserve truth in the land with a steadfast mind and a broken spirit. They shall pay for iniquity by doing justice and suffering affliction. They shall walk with all by the measure of truth and the doctrine of the time.

When these exist in Israel—the council of the community is established in truth—an eternal plant, a house of holiness consisting of Israel, a most holy assembly consisting of Aaron, true witnesses for justice, chosen by (divine) pleasure to atone for the Land and to repay "the wicked their reward. It shall be the tested wall, the costly cornerstone vacat its foundation shall neither be shaken nor dislodged from their place vacat. (They shall be) a most holy dwelling for Aaron, with all-encompassing knowledge of the covenant of justice, offering up a sweet odor. (They shall be) a house of perfection and truth made up of Israel to uphold the covenant of eternal statutes. They will be accepted to atone for the land and to decide judgment over wickedness (by their perfect behavior) and falsehood shall cease to exist. When these are established in the secret teaching (foundation) of the community for two years, with respect to their perfect behavior, they shall be set apart as holy in the midst of the council of the people of the community. Everything that has been hidden from Israel and is found by someone who studies shall (the interpreter) not conceal (anything) from these out of fear for a backsliding spirit.

When these become a community in Israel according to these doctrines they shall separate from the session of the people of falsehood and depart into the wilderness to prepare there His way as it is written: In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make level in the desert a highway for our God. This alludes to the study of the law which he commanded through Moses to do, according to everything that has been revealed (from)
time to time 4and according to everything that the prophets have revealed by His holy spirit. No one from the people of the community, the covenant 17of the community, who departs from any aspect (word) of the commandments deliberately may touch the purity of the people of holiness 18nor know any of their counsel until his deeds have been cleansed from all evil so that he again walks in a perfect way. Then, if the Many decides so, he may participate 19in counseling, and be enlisted in his rank. And this precept goes for anyone who is added to the community.

5.1.2 Text Analysis

(a) Preamble: The realization of Micah 6:8 (VIII, 1–4a)

Unlike the introductions in columns I and V, this one concern a defined body of people, a council constituted of (at least) twelve men and three priests. It is a community of the reconstituted Israel and priesthood that is envisioned here. They shall judge and atone for the land. The first characteristic of this group is that they shall “walk perfectly” concerning all that which has been revealed from the whole Torah. The meaning of the expression “the whole Torah” ought to include a larger (or the complete) set of rules from the Mosaic Law. This means that a larger legislation than normal was to be followed by these. The continuing discourse (VIII, 2–4) recounts the inner qualities and outer mission required by this group. These two are combined in such a way that only those with an inner (moral) perfection can fulfill the ascribed task. As would be expected Micah 6:8 is alluded to here. This Micah text occurs frequently in passages where the ethical standpoint and special identity of the community is expressed (see I, 5b–6a; II, 24–25a; IV, 5; and V, 3b–4a). But unlike the other passages where it occurs, it here comes to full bloom with some interesting alternations:

Micah 6:8:
כי אם עשות משפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת עם אלהיך

1QS VIII, 2
לעשות אמת וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת איש אמ רעה

In comparison with the Micah text, 1QS contains two more things that they are to perform namely “truth and righteousness.” More strikingly, the scribe alters Micah’s "to walk humbly with your God” with to walk humbly each one with his fellow. “God” has in 1QS been replaced by the “community” in order to stress the fundamental importance that the interpersonal aspects have in the community. They can only choose truth and reject falsehood if they together practice the spirit expressed in Micah 6:8 (see II, 23–25). The Micah phrase is in 1QS augmented with the words (they shall) preserve truth in the land with a steadfast mind (לשמור אמונה בארצ ביצר סמוכ). This phrase depends on Isaiah 26:2–3: (Open the gates, so that the righteous nation) that keeps faith (may enter in) (שמר אמנים יצר (משר אמנים יצר). Those of steadfast mind (you keep in peace—in peace because they trust in you).” The words in Isaiah are part of a description of a city that God has reinforced with walls and bulwarks. The city’s walls that will protect its inhabitants are called “salvation.” Taken symbolically, the salvation of God is like the walls in the city. Taken literally, he lets the walls

583 That is, acts in a way that is morally blameless. My translation here is not idiomatic in order to maintain the metaphor “way.”
584 See 4QMisc. Rules VII, 7–17, where 15 members of the community are to atone for the land during which they wait for the coming judgment. Following this are purity regulations governing a postpartum woman’s period of uncleanness, which is 40 days for a male and 80 days for a female. After her time of purification she brings burnt and sin offerings to the sanctuary and the priests make atonement for her. Peters (forthcoming) points out that the sanctuary is equated with the Garden of Eden, which Adam and Eve could only enter after 40 respective 80 days of purification. She concludes “thus, these archetypical first humans represent the Yahad in its period of purification prior to return to the “sanctuary” in juxtaposition with the language of atoning for the land.”
585 For the expression “perform truth,” see the discussion under 1QS I, 5.
in the city bring salvation to the people. The scribe took the Isaiah passage in the latter meaning. What is being kept inside the boundaries of the community is not inhabitants, but truth. And the boundaries, the walls, are compared to the integrity of each member of the community who acts with a steadfast mind. They are “the watchers of truth.”

To the Isaiah passage is added another requested quality namely “a broken spirit” (ורוח נשברה). Brownlee refers this phrase to Psalms 51:19: "The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit" (שrss והסער). This fits well into the general context of temple and sacrifice in the 1QS passage, and in particular to what follows they shall pay for iniquity by doing justice and suffering affliction (ויעש משפט וצרת מצרפ). The phrase when these members of the community are like the sacrifice brought forth in the temple. Their perfect conduct atones for the land. The atoning function/paying off for iniquity shall be made by two means namely doing justice and suffering affliction. The participle in the phrase מצרפ can either be taken as nominal as in “by works of judgment” or as verbal as in “by doing justice.” In comparison with the second part of the phrase they shall pay for iniquity “and suffering affliction,” the latter interpretation is to be preferred. This also compares to the overarching message in the section where moral perfection is what brings atonement. The second part of the phrase informs that they shall pay for iniquity by suffering affliction (ויעש משפט וצרת מצרפ). The word מצרפ occurs in 1QS I, 17 where it denotes the suffering associated with the dominion of Belial. In the Treatise, the רצתי (distress) is the suffering caused by the messenger of darkness that is, the contemporary corrupt leadership (III, 23; see VII, 1).587 In the final hymn the psalmist blesses and lauds God under affliction and distress (ויעש משפט וצרת מצרפ) since the suffering brings witness to a coming justice for the judgment of all living belongs to God (X, 18). Likewise in XI, 13 the hymnist states: When my distress is unleashed (ויעש משפט וצרת מצרפ) he rescues my soul from the pit. Affliction is thereby a hallmark of the evil time leading up to the end time when God will judge and truth will shine forth. The community atones for moral sin when they do what is just and suffer afflictions. It is a passive way of atoning for the land and the identity of the community here touches on that of the suffering servant in Isaiah, an association that is made explicit in VIII, 6 (see below).588 Finally, closing the current section under discussion (VIII, 4), it says that they shall walk with all (לHintsהלצ סם יכ) by the measure of truth and the doctrine of the time. In comparison with the occurrence of the similar phrase in the Instructions for the Maskil as well as in the final hymn, it becomes clear that it implies making discriminations. In IX, 12 the Maskil shall be instructed by the statues (in his interaction) with every living being ( поя ושם פי). Following this are instructions to love and hate, to include and exclude, and to separate the children of righteousness. To walk with thereby implies adjusting one’s behavior with respect to whomever is being dealt with. In the final hymn the expression מצרפ comes in the context of judgment, it says that the judgment of all living belongs to God (X, 18). Judging from this, the phrase in VIII, 4 implies making judgments and just as is the case in the Instructions for the Maskil, this shall be done in accordance with the measure of truth and the doctrine of the time (cf. IX, 3b–4). It shall be made in accordance to each person’s share in truth and falsehood (IV, 16) and in accordance to that which is demanded of the current time.

(b) A most holy assembly: To atone and judge (VIII, 4b–10a)

In VIII, 4 the first occurrence of the three times repeated expression “when these exist/become in Israel” (ביהיו אלה יבראלו) occurs. The purpose with “their” existence is described with a metaphoric language related to the temple. There are three blank spaces that precede and accentuate the temple metaphors within lines 4b–10: “An eternal plant,” “a House of Holiness consisting of Israel,” “a most holy assembly consisting of Aaron,” “the tested wall,” “the costly cornerstone,” “a most holy dwelling consisting of Aaron,” and "a

587 See Dan 11:35 and the discussion under I, 13–15; 17.
588 There are several echoes of the servant songs (Isa 42–55) in VIII, 1–IX, 11; for a list, see Wernberg-Møller 1957: 158–59.
house of perfection and truth consisting of Israel." The first and the last sequences are similar. They both mention Aaron–Israel (in different order) and the mission for them, which in both instances are to atone and to judge over wickedness (VIII, 6b–7a and 10). The two times repeated construction of “Aaron–Israel” corresponds to the initial constitution of the council as consisting of laypeople (Israel) and priests (Aaron). The middle phrase (7b–8) alludes to Isaiah 28:16 “I am laying in Zion a foundation stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone.” In order to adjust the allusion to the community, the scribe replaced the biblical אבן (stone) by בחרי עם רצון ("wall), so that it corresponds to the vision of the walls of the protected city in Isaiah 26 (see above). Still, the reference to the cornerstone would be implied. This stone is crucial in a building in that it defines the position for all other stones. It sets the standard for the building. By conducting a morally flawless life the community sets the standards for all other people and become a judgment for the world. The Messianic connotations of this Isaiah passage are now projected on the community and just as the role of the expected Messiah(s) they are to judge the people and restore peace. The link to Isaiah 42:1 in the phrase "chosen by (divine) pleasure" (בחירי רצון) underlines the means by which the community shall judge and atone, namely by their own moral actions, by their personal sacrifice (VIII, 6). Just like the suffering servant, the judgment consists of bringing forth justice without violence but rather by suffering. Peters finds that the expression “to atone for the Land” (as in 1QS VIII, 10b) is used as subversive coded language in the Scrolls. The righteous and repentant members of the Yahad will escape judgment since they are in a true covenantal relationship with God. “Marginalized priests, “exiled” from positions of priestly power in the temple, may not have wished to write openly about their hopes for the destruction of powerful priests whom they perceived to be violent, wicked, and deceitful. By hiding their criticisms within rewritten Bible stories, or a concept like “atonement for the land,” they were able to communicate to insiders in a coded language while maintaining the outward appearance of a people who were not a threat. In 1QS, and in particular in columns VIII, 1–IX, 11, the merge of the categories of moral and ritual impurity becomes visible. In the Hebrew Bible these two are separate categories, which imply different sources. A bodily flow brings on temporary contagious impurity and is removed by bathing. Idolatry, on the other hand, defiles the land and has to be removed by acts of atonement or punishment such as exile. In 1QS, sin is identified with defilement and the categories are merged in that anyone morally sinful can never be ritually clean. As Klawans puts it, “repentance from sin and purification from defilement have become mutually dependent”; moral sin is considered to bring ritual impurity. From this background one can better understand the conflation of motives in columns VIII–IX. Since the concern here is principally with the moral impurity of the land, the language of atonement is combined with the destruction of evil. The latter is an eschatological vision that the community projects into their contemporary time.

The problem with the time perspective in this section has already been mentioned. In line 10 a clue is given by the verb יחלו “they shall become” (weqatal), which points to a future vision. A comparison with the eschatological outcome of the struggle between truth and falsehood in the Treatise (IV, 15–26) casts light on the section. In the end time, God will purify some from among mankind and let them share the wisdom and knowledge of the children of heaven. The human chosen party is called the “upright ones” and the “perfect of the Way.” They are chosen for an eternal covenant, the glory of Adam shall be theirs and
there shall exist no more falsehood (ז進めיל). “These” in column VIII, 4b–10 are the ones who take part in this final eschatological scenario. They are the ones who uphold the covenant of the eternal statutes. By their perfect behavior they atone for the land and become a judgment over wickedness and there will be “no more falsehood” (ז進めיל).

Reading the section so far, this is the vision of the end time (“the doctrine of the time,” VIII, 4) when God will extinguish all evil spirit and truth will appear forever in the world (IV, 19). From a text-internal perspective, then, this section in 1QS communicates a somewhat later stage of the mission of the Yahad. This is the time when the members of the community, after years of studying the law and practicing it in everyday life, have reached the highest perfection and holiness and will fulfill their mission.

(c) Concerning the secrets (VIII, 10b–12a)

When these are established in the secret teaching of the community for two years, with respect to their perfect behavior, they shall be set apart as holy in the midst of the council of the people of the community (VIII, 10b–11). There are two ways of understanding this rather puzzling information. Either they are to be treated as holy among (בתוכ) the council of the people of the community just as all the people of the council are holy, or else a special group, which should be separated in the midst of the council are dealt with here. When considering what follows in VIII, 11–12 the latter alternative seems highly unlikely: Everything that has been hidden from Israel and is found by somebody who studies shall not (the interpreter) conceal it from these out of fear of a backsliding spirit. One would not expect a backsliding spirit from those of highest perfection. In the section as a whole (VIII–IX, 11) there is a dichotomy between Aaron and Israel, that is, between a priestly and lay identity. This could argue for understanding Israel here as representing the lay member of the community while those who study the law are the priests. It would then be an urge for an equalitarian community. A question that then arises is whether “these” refer to those described in VIII, 1–4 in which case what is envisaged in the first four lines is the “final product” while the way to perfection is what is dealt with in the following section (VIII, 4–IX, 11). This way of structuring the section compares to the development in both columns I and V, where the idealistic program of the community is presented before discussing the way to the covenant and all it demands of the initiates.

(d) Preparing the way in the wilderness (VIII, 12b–19a)

In VIII, 12b a new section is opened with the same words that in different forms are repeated in the paragraph, When these become a community in Israel according to these doctrines. They shall separate from the session of people of falsehood and depart into the wilderness in order to prepare the way of the Lord. A question is how this information relates to other parts of 1QS. Is it dealing with a chronologically earlier stage in the group’s history than what we find in columns I and V? In light of what preceded it may deal with new members who, when they are established in the doctrines of the community, shall do what others have done before them, namely separate from other Jews and depart into the wilderness. The wilderness may be either the Khirbet Qumran or a way of interpreting the Torah that necessitates separation from other people. Following the text down to line 19 a symbolic interpretation of the wilderness seems plausible.

It has long been debated whether the departure into the wilderness is “real” or symbolic. The former alternative is the main pillar when regarding this section as a

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595 The supralinear addition of “community” can be due to an error in the hand of the copyist (where he missed the word and had to add it after) or it is a later addition.

596 The waw most likely refers back to the preceding context and we can therefore assume that the same group is mentioned here as in the previous section.

597 Lund (2007) argues that the figurative speech in Isa 40–55 is grounded in historical realities.
There are two factors that argue against a literal interpretation. The first is the reference to the “session of the people of falsehood.” The word that is translated with session (ϐροτοί) also takes on meanings such as “dwelling.” In 1QS it is always used in the meaning “session” referring to the sessions of the Many (see VI, 8, 11; VII, 10, 11, and 13). In light of these instances and in light of the topic here, which involves interpretation of the law, the separation concerns a way of interpreting the law that runs counter to the adversary’s. The second argument against a literal understanding is provided by the text itself when it says that departing into the wilderness: (alludes to) the study of the Law that he commanded through Moses to do, according to everything that has been revealed (from) time to time, and according to everything that the prophets have revealed by His holy spirit. Withdrawing into the desert is an allegory for studying the Mosaic Law. These studies are preparing the way of the Lord since they pave the way of perfection, which restores the covenant and enables atonement (and judgment). Although other text external factors, such as the need to separate oneself from a land defiled by sin, argue for a real (geographical) exile the section makes perfect sense without a literal understanding.

The investigation of the Torah shall be done in the light of that which has been revealed in the course of time (or about the times, a preposition is lacking) and that which has been revealed by the prophets. In Jewish tradition a distinction is made between what is “revealed” (העמיד), that is extant for all Jews, and the “hidden” (הוסר), which refers to esoteric knowledge. In line with this, Schiffman defines the revealed law as “those laws rooted in Scripture whose interpretation are obvious to everyone.” The hidden law he defines as “those commandments the correct interpretation of which is only known to the sect.” I insert a question mark after his definition since “the revealed” (ה念יד) in 1QS also include revelations made by the community, which in turn were secret. It seems then that a distinction between the hidden and the revealed is not useful in 1QS. That which was revealed to the community was hidden to all other (see V, 11–12). To put it differently, the true meaning of that which was revealed to all Jews was only given to the community, as a secret.

Many commentators discern a content division in VIII, 16b. A new category is brought in VIII, 17 the people of holiness, followed by a general regulation against departing from any word/aspect of the commandments. The penalty for doing so is separation from the purity of the people of holiness. This general regulation ought to refer to a larger

598 Sutcliffe 1959, Murphy O’Connor 1969.
599 In its second occurrence in col. VIII, 26, it explicitly concerns the same; a transgressing member can after a time of repentance again take part in the “sessions.”
600 This also strengthens the case of understanding the council of the community in VIII, 1 as a function that corresponds to the session of the people of falsehood; in their activity the law was revealed to them so that they could accomplish perfection and atone for the land.
602 Klawans (2000: 89) holds possible that Qumran could have been on the boundary of Israel and its inhabitants therefore in exile from the land. “The juxtaposition, in 1QS VIII, of the themes of atonement for the land and exile from the land certainly raises the possibility of such connection.” See also Peters (forthcoming) who argues for a geographic reference in the allusion: “Their relocation as a desert settlement at Qumran, in particular, served to reenact the exile by re-literizing the Isaianic wilderness metaphor.”
603 “Torah” most likely refers to the Law and not to a canon of books.
604 In 1QS V, 11 the hidden is referred to as a noun: The antagonists have not sought or inquired after him (God) through his statutes in order to know the hidden in which they have erred. In all other (verbal) occurrences the same issue is at stake namely to conceal their own interpretations: In IX, 22 the Maskil should possess a “concealing spirit” toward the people of perdition. In XI, 6, wisdom is to be concealed from mankind. There are two verbal occurrences of the term: “to conceal.” Still the object in all instances is the knowledge of the group (the law, teaching). As such we find it in VIII, 11–12 when it says that the man who studies shall not be afraid to share his investigations of the law. Finally in X, 24, the hymnist says: “I shall conceal knowledge.
605 Schiffman 1983: 15.
606 For a discussion of the relation between the Law, the Prophets, and the interpretations of the Law made by the community, see Jassen 2007: 49–52.
607 Blanton (2007: 62 and n. 115) argues for this meaning of the hidden and revealed on basis of CD III, 13 and V, 4–5, although he limits the discussion to that of the calendar, which he in turn simplifies as being constituted by a conflict between lunar and solar calendars.
collection of cases, such as in the penal code, which are here packed into one general rule. The subsection is concluded with the words “and this (precept) shall be for everyone who is added to the community.” In VI, 14 one finds the same expression to be added/joined, which could argue for understanding also this instance as dealing with to those who are not yet full members but on their way to become so.608 This would explain the existence of two similar regulations with totally different penalties in the larger section where the penalty in this case is “to be separated” while someone who breaks the law in the next subparagraph (VIII, 20–IX, 2) is to be expelled. For an analysis of these two instances see the discussion below.

5.2 Transgressions of the Law (VIII, 20–IX, 2)

5.2.1 Translation of Text

20And these are the precepts in which the people of perfect holiness shall walk (in them) with each other. 21If there is anyone, who enters into the council of holiness, (of?) those who walk in a perfect way, as he commanded 22who transgresses a word from the Law of Moses deliberately or by negligence, they shall expel him from the council of the community 23and he may never return again. No one of the people of holiness must mix with his property or counsel in any 24matter. But if he acted unintentionally, he shall be separated from the purity and from the council and they shall study the rule, which is: 25“He must neither judge a anyone, nor be asked for any counsel for two years.”609 If he perfects his behavior (he may again participate) 26in session, in study and in council, [if the] Many [de]cide so, (that is:) if he does not commit any more inadvertence (unintentional error) until he has completed two 27years. 9For it is only for one inadvertence that he is fined for two years, while if the sin was intentional, he will not return again. Only the one who (errs) unintentionally shall be tested for two years as to the perfection of his behavior and his counsel under the supervision of the Many. And after this they shall register him in his rank of the holy community.

5.2.2 Text Analysis

This section contains what could be regarded as a new penal code. The rule concerns “the people of perfect holiness” in general and those who “enter the council of holiness” in particular (VIII, 21). The category “the people of holiness” (אישים הקודשים) occurs six times in 1QS. In the current instance (VIII, 20) it comes with the enforcement “the people of perfect holiness” (אנשי התמים הקודשים).611 This category always occurs in relation to impurity. This is how the perfect of way are labeled in sections dealing with the threat of mixing purity, property, and interpretations of the law with a defiled person, that is, someone who does not agree with the ideology of the community. In the same manner is the council of holiness to be understood. This is the way to label the “council of community” when there is a risk of defilement and profanation (see VIII, 22). “The people of holiness” is therefore not a separate category but rather fully initiated members who share property, counseling, and purity.

The first case has to do with anyone who enters the council of holiness and then transgresses the Torah of Moses deliberately (21b–22). Such a person will be expelled from the council of the community. It is argued in this thesis that the council of the community refers to the community in its activity of investigating the law. These investigations have repercussions all the way down to the behavior of the individual members of the community. Anyone who takes part in the counseling ought to be familiar with the law and its

608 The stem forms differ in the two instances: VI, 14 reads hiphil and VIII, 19 reads niphal.
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interpretations and implications in daily life. If such a person errs on repeated occasions he must be excluded.

It does not say explicitly that the rules that are accounted for are part of a legal system. Instead the metaphor “to walk” is used in relation to precepts (משפטים) with an explicit mutuality, “each with his fellow” (איש את רעהו). But from what continues it becomes clear that implies more than conduct. There is a similar expression in IX, 12 where the Maskil is urged to walk in them (the statutes) with every living being, a passage that implies making discriminations. To my mind this is also how this section ought to be understood. The people of perfect holiness have a leading and legal responsibility toward each other (and the initiates), which at times implies separating and even excluding members. It thereby contains a general case, a transgression of the Law of Moses that is punished either with exclusion (if it was committed deliberately) or with a two years separation from the important institutions of the community until the ways of the errant are perfected again (if inadvertently and only at one occasion). No one of the people of holiness must mix their property or share counsel with excluded members, or anyone on probation until he is a full member again. This rule should be understood in light of the opening lines of column VIII where they (the men and priests) shall be perfect in everything that has been revealed from “the whole Torah/Law.” They shall keep every single commandment that the community values. It is therefore that only someone who at a single occasion breaks the Law of Moses inadvertently can become a full member again, that is, if he perfects his conduct: Any member of the council of holiness must know the rules and not commit inadvertent mistakes more than once. Acquisition of knowledge was a significant part of the moral purification process at Qumran, but this opportunity was only given once, after which the member was expected to avoid even unintentional transgressions. This also elucidates the occurrence of two similar rules with different penalties in the larger section. The deliberate sinner in VIII, 16b suffers from the same punishment as the one who unwittingly sins in VIII, 24b–IX, 2, namely a two year probation during which he is excluded from the purity and counseling. The punishment of the one who sins deliberately in VIII, 20–24a is however to be banished. This difference is usually explained as a result of redaction, where sources from different contexts or periods in the history of the community are compiled. But from a text internal perspective it can be explained in a logical way. Newsom suggests that the different regulations are due to the different status of the transgressor. VIII, 16b–19 refers to a person who is on his way to initiation, that is, not yet a full member, while the rule in VIII, 20–IX, 2 involves a fully initiated member. Her strongest argument is the respective references to purity in the two instances. In the first instance a person who transgresses shall not “touch the purity” (see VI, 16; 20) while in the second he shall be “separated” from the purity, which implies that he was already part of it. But it should also be observed that the first case deals with someone who is part of the community by the covenant, while the second deals with the council of the community. This argues for understanding those targeted in the current passage as being more initiated in the rules that govern the community, which may also be why their penalty is harsher.

One must ask why this section contains only a single rule, which is very general. The general answer to this is that it belongs to a nucleus group who had not yet worked out the internal organization and regulation as it is found in the penal code. It has to be noted though that the context is different from the larger penal code in VI, 24–VIII, 25 and that this may explain the lack of specified rules. The whole section VIII, 1–IX, 11 is concerned

612 See the opening line of the penal code: these are the precepts by which they shall judge (VI, 24).
613 Although they do not agree on which is to be regarded as the older rule (cf. Murphy O’Connor 1969: 533; Metso 1997: 127–28).
614 Newsom 2004: 164.
615 One can also add that the terms for the rules that are violated differ in the two texts where “commandments” (מצוה) occur in the first passage while “a word from the Law of Moses” (דבר מתורה משה) is referred to in the second. The former could refer to the regulations derived from the Law of Moses and therefore be of lesser importance. This distinction, however, as Newsom (2004: 163) points out, is not satisfying since the way the community present themselves in 1QS, every command, great or small, was of crucial importance.
with those who have achieved the highest perfection of their conduct. The important matter here is therefore not to recount the many ways in which a person may break the law, since this knowledge is expected. What the rule communicates is rather that no one who breaks any of the fundamental rules that govern the community wantonly can continue to be part of the council of the community since this person has double standards. The rule allows for one inadvertent mistake, but not for two, since repeated transgressions show that you are not suited for the council of the perfectly holy people. This may be enough to state in this context where the highest values and mission of the council of the community is expressed. Unlike the biblical view on moral sin as not being contagious (as is the case with ritual impurity), moral sin is in 1QS considered contagious, which is why someone who transgresses the law must be excluded from the purity.

Finally it is spelled out that the way back to membership and to being enlisted in the hierarchal order goes through the decision of the Many, as is accounted for in VI, 13b–23. The council of the community and the institution of the Many are thereby not to be equalized in meaning.

5.3 Inaugurating the Messianic Era (IX, 3–11)

5.3.1 Translation of Text

\(^3\)When these exist in Israel, according to all these norms, a foundation of holy spirit for eternal truth, \(^4\)they shall atone for the guilty rebellion and sacrilege of sin, becoming a ransom for the land by means of the flesh of burnt offerings and through the fat pieces of sacrifices, and \(^5\)lips offered for justice will be as a soothing odor of righteousness, and the perfect behavior will be as a freewill offering.\(^6\)

At that time, the people of the community shall separate themselves, \(^7\)as (a) a house of holiness for Aaron, the most holy community, and a house of community of Israel; those who walk in perfection. \(^8\)The sons of Aaron alone shall exercise power in judicial and financial questions, they shall decide on the every foundational principle for the people of the community\(^9\) and (concerning) the property of the people of holiness, those who behave perfectly, \(^10\)their property may not be mixed with the property of neglectful people, those \(^11\)who have not cleansed their way by separating themselves from falsehood and by walking in a perfect way. And they must not deviate from any counsel of the law to walk in all the hardness of their heart. They shall judge themselves by the first precepts, by which the people of the community began to be instructed/disciplined \(^12\)until there comes a prophet, and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel.

5.3.2 Text Analysis

For the last time the introductory formula, “When these exist,” is repeated in the section (VIII, 1–IX, 11) and the text reaches its climax by expressing the highest potential for the council of the community. It both recapitulates and concludes the section that began in VIII, 1.\(^13\) When they have fulfilled all these norms, they become a foundation \(\text{תכון}\) of holy spirit and for eternal truth. The term \(\text{תכון}\) refers to the blue print of God’s creation (III, 15), his secret plans for it, as well as its concrete manifestations in the organization of Yahad such as each member’s rank (e.g., VI, 22). The manifold use of the root \(\text{בר}\) in nominal and verbal

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\(^6\) If the proposition \(\text{מן}\) is understood comparatively, this passage may be taken as a rejection of the sacrificial cult. I read with Wernberg-Møller (1957: 133 n. 9) who took the preposition in the meaning “through/by means of/from.” This reading does not posit the sacrifices of the community in opposition to the official cult. Cf. Qimron and Charlesworth (1994): “without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fat of sacrifices.”

\(^7\) The terms \(\text{גורל}\) and \(\text{תכון}\) occur here, which indicates that questions of the internal hierarchy are at stake.

\(^8\) Literally, “those who walk perfectly.”

\(^9\) Newsom 2004: 164.
forms in 1QS all give witness to the idea of a predetermined plan into which each member must conform his life.\textsuperscript{620} In its nominal form it designates three things. First, the procedure of taking decisions, “the determination of the lot.”\textsuperscript{621} Second, it relates to the rank of each member, which is defined on basis of the determinations of the lot.\textsuperscript{622} Third, it denotes the norm/plan/precept that shall be fulfilled and that in turn relates to the ranking of each member and to the doctrine/norm of the time.\textsuperscript{623} The latter, the norm of the time, is peculiar to columns VIII–IX and has to do with the idea that history is divided into periods. Each period demands something of the “chosen” ones. The demands of the present time (in cols. VIII–IX; see also V) is separation and perfect conduct. By their flawless behavior they inaugurate the last time when God will put everything straight again. In IX, 3 (as well as in V, 7 and IX, 21) the term denotes the guiding principles or norms that underlie existence and since they are revealed to the Yahad, are manifest in their way of living.\textsuperscript{624} Therefore, when “these” have adjusted their lives to the schemes of God they will be able to do the following, expressed with two infinitive constructs: To establish a spirit of holiness for eternal truth and to atone for rebellious acts, sacrilege of sins and for the acceptance of the land. Or, as C. Murphy puts it, “the community is to be the people whose holiness establishes \( \text{יִשָּׂרָאֵל} \) the foundations of sanctity for the edifice of truth within which atonement is made.”\textsuperscript{625} In the current time of the community, they will atone for sin with offerings such as judgment, righteousness and a blameless behavior. They become a ransom by their perfect conduct, which implies raising their voice for justice. According to Schiffman, the Qumran members believed that violations of the law defiled the temple. Therefore the sect viewed itself as “a sanctuary that brought its members into the same intimate contact with God that members formerly had experienced through cultic worship.”\textsuperscript{626} The community replaced the temple defiled by moral sin in Jerusalem, which meant that issues of temple purity now became issues of community purity, a purity that has to be protected.\textsuperscript{627} Key words that express the identity and purpose of the community in VIII, 4–10 are repeated here, as well as the references to the sacrificial terminology (יְהוָה יְהֹוָה). Verse IX, 5 draws on Leviticus 22:21, which states that only unblemished animals may be brought as freewill offerings: “When anyone offers a sacrifice of well-being to the LORD, in fulfillment of a vow or as a freewill offering (זוֹבָעָה) from the herd or from the flock, to be acceptable \( \text{זַהְבָּעָה} \) it must be perfect \( \text{זָמֵשׁ} \) [there shall be no blemish on it].” According to Dimant, 1QS IX, 5 contains the three major elements of the statement in the Leviticus verse: “perfection, free will, and acceptance” with the meaning that the perfection required for sacrificial animals is transferred to the “particular piety of the Qumran sectaries.”\textsuperscript{628} This relates to the passage in III, 11–12 where the perfect moral conduct is likened to an offering.

The mission of the community is here spelled out as to be a foundation for truth. Truth is dealt with in the Treatise where it is opposed to falsehood. The concept truth represents in 1QS all that leads to atonement and a new creation. Truth demands of each member to circumcise the self in favor of the community. Truth is the ideology that reveals the foundational mechanisms of evil in the world where each person follows his own inclination and corrupts both his soul and society. When the community, contrary to this behavior, adheres to its special way of life they become a foundation for truth and for holy spirit. This means that they can fulfill their task, namely to “atone for the guilt of transgression and rebellious sin.” These words are reminiscent of the enumeration of sins in

\textsuperscript{620} See I, 12 where a new member shall order/conform his strength to his, God’s, perfect ways. In III, 9 the new member shall “order/establish \( \text{יהכין} \) his steps for walking perfectly.”

\textsuperscript{621} E.g., V, 3 where it is used for the decision \( \text{יהכין} \) of the lot, in the meaning “determination,” or perhaps it shall be understood as “establishing, setting the case.”

\textsuperscript{622} See VI, 4, 8, 10, and VII, 21.

\textsuperscript{623} For norm/plan/precept, see V, 7; VIII, 13; IX, 3, see also X, 5, 7, 9; for doctrine of the time see VIII, 4; IX, 12, 18, 21.

\textsuperscript{624} In III, 15 it is God who before creation ordered/established \( \text{יהכין} \) the design of all that then came to exist.

\textsuperscript{625} Murphy 2002: 148.

\textsuperscript{626} Schiffman 1994: 290.

\textsuperscript{627} Toews 2003: 79–80.

\textsuperscript{628} Dimant 2007: 243.
I, 22–23 and to some extent of the confession of sins in I, 24–25, two passages that allude to Leviticus 16 and the account of the scapegoat. In the current instance it is implied that the community, by being morally flawless atone for the sins that have defiled the sanctuary and the land. They thereby take on the role of the scapegoat/innocent victim that atones for the whole land. And just as the scapegoat they now separate themselves from the Jewish congregation. Although no grammatical indications of time perspective is given, it is reasonable to assume that the perspective here involves the last times in the perception of the community. When perfection is accomplished they can fulfill their task and inaugurate the final eschatological times. They now await the coming of the prophet and the two anointed/Messiahs. The two Messiahs represent the priestly and royal offices. By explicitly stating that the office is dual, a criticism to contemporary society is heard. Some of the contemporary leaders of society also took on the high priest’s office, which ought to have evoked criticism from a group such as the Yahad. What is forecast is then a restored society and cult when legitimate leadership will reign in the land. It is up until this time, in this last time inaugurating the new, that the priests shall be in charge and they shall follow the earliest regulation. Perhaps, now speculating, the coming of the messianic time when the land will be ruled by justice, they will not need to follow their own regulations anymore. Just as the covenant ceremony shall be performed as long as Belial (evil) rules, so is their legislation a corrective to injustice, it demonstrates a righteous leadership exercising justice in the land. The reason for assigning the whole power to the priestly leadership here may be understood in the paragraph’s explicit context of the “temple.” Newsom concludes: “The idealism and programmatic commitment to the perfection that will atone for the land through the assimilation of the community to the image of the temple is thus set within the contours of the eschatological plan of God.”

5.4 Discourse Analysis (VIII, 1–IX, 11)

It is comprehensible that some of the information given in the section under discussion may be taken as witness to the nucleus community who moved out in the wilderness to Khirbet Qumran. It may in fact be that some parts of this section sprung from an earlier stage in the history of the community. Still, when only considering its placement in the extant text of 1QS and that which is communicated here, a future vision of the perfect and holy community who will inaugurate the messianic time appears. This future vision is however already happening in the time of the community. It is in this aspect comparable to the “kingdom of God” in the Gospels, which is already present and yet still to come (IX, 11). From a historical perspective it may be that the early vision, the Manifesto, remained a future vision since it demanded such a high degree of perfection, which is never fully accomplished and therefore must always be projected into the future. This may be the reason why it has been placed in the end of 1QS. All that which has been communicated so far, aims to create the blameless and holy council of the community, which shall atone for the land and exercise judgment over wickedness. In line with this, all that which is elaborated on in previous parts of 1QS, such as the meaning of true conversion, the origin of evil, the reason for separation from society at large, the restriction of speech during sessions, and the offenses in the penal code is taken for granted here. This knowledge is presupposed in the discourse. It is because of this that one finds a simplified set of offenses and penalties namely “depart from any aspect of the commandments deliberately” and “transgress the word of the Law of Moses deliberately or by negligence.” Any member of the council of the community was expected to understand the full meaning of these general cases as it is outlined in other parts of 1QS, such as in the penal code. This may then explain why only two general cases are stated here, something that in the Manifesto theory is explained as mirroring a more simplified—and early—constitution of the community. The second reason for understanding this section as a future vision is that it almost completely lacks the individual perspective in favor of the community. The reshaping

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629 Newsom 2004: 165.
of the mind of the individual, the true conversion, is here taken for granted. The perfectly behaving individuals now become the council of the community of the highest perfection and holiness. They shall keep the larger set of rules from the Torah and administer atonement and judgment over wickedness.

The metaphorical identity of the community is here spelled out clearly. The architectural references pertaining to temple are transferred to the community in order to express its highest values and potential. The community is like the most holy sanctuary. Its walls consist of the integrity of each one of its members. Inside these walls truth is protected. In other parts of 1QS it is communicated that truth is manifested in the relations between the fellow members. In light of this, it is within the community, which is like the Garden of Eden (“an eternal plant”) that a new creation takes place when its members realize the vision of Micah 6:8 “each with his fellow.” By living so, the community becomes like the cornerstone in Isaiah’s vision, to which all other stones must adjust their position. This means that they—by their flawless conduct—judge all other people who do not think and behave in the same manner. By the word, by studying the law and restricting one’s speech in relation to fellow members and by speaking up for justice, the community atones for the land and become a judgment over wickedness. Apart from doing justice, the community also atones by suffering. The role model for the community is that of the suffering servant, an identification that becomes explicit in the allusion to Isaiah 42:1. The phrase “chosen by (divine) pleasure” (בחחירי רצון) underlines the means by which the community shall judge and atone, namely by their own broken spirit, by their personal sacrifice. Just like the suffering servant, the judgment consists of bringing forth justice, and of manifesting an anti-violent way by suffering. By the perfect conduct and by their suffering, they inaugurate the messianic era of peace and abundance when all the regulations that govern their social interaction will be written in their hearts. This time is inaugurated by a time when the democratic structure of the community is set aside for a theocratic. It was suggested that this may be comprehended in the explicit context of “being a sanctuary” in the last paragraph of the section. During that time the earliest regulation shall be applied, the earliest and the last time thereby concur when the council of the community takes part in the final stage of the eschatological plan of God. This shall go on until society is restored with a righteous dual leadership of king and high priest and a prophet with the authority to scrutinize their behaviors.
After having dealt with different aspects of community life in nine and a half columns, focus is now put on the individual member of the community through the lens of the Maskil, the wisdom teacher. Thematic threads and topics in previous sections are now tied together in the dispositions, actions, and attitudes of the Maskil both as a community official (IX, 12–21a) and as an ideal member of the community (IX, 21b–XI, 22). The paragraph that begins in column IX, 12 is graphically marked with both an indentation and a hook as well as by a heading: These are the statutes by which the Maskil shall be instructed. Judging from the way a new section is marked in the composition overall, this is the last larger subunit of 1QS, which also includes the final hymn (cols. X–XI). The blank space within line 21 precedes a new heading, ואלה תכوني הדרכה למשכיל בעתים האלה. This heading begins a section dealing with rules of behavior for the Maskil. Apart from this, the section as a whole is not internally structured by scribal markings but rather by topics, style and voice. Accordingly the section will be discussed as follows: IX, 12–21a; IX, 21b–26a; IX, 26b–X, 17a; X, 17b–XI, 15a and XI, 15b–22.

In the first section the Maskil is addressed in his role as a spiritual leader who makes discriminations and guides the community into deeper understanding of the law in each time (IX, 12–21a). In a second part the inner dispositions of the Maskil are at stake, such as his attitude toward “outsiders” and his complete devotion to the will of God (IX, 21b–26). This section then moves seamlessly into a calendrical section listing the community’s times for prayer (X, 1–8a) after which the voice shifts and for the first time in 1QS an “I” (yiqtol) speaks about tuning himself into harmony with the heavenly world and adjusting his actions in accordance with God’s will (X, 8b–XI, 2a). Following this are the Maskil’s reflections on human sinfulness and divine mercy in three sections all introduced with כיא אני and ואני (XI, 2b–9a; 9b–11b; 11b–15a). This is followed by a blessing of God as the one who controls everything (XI, 15b–20a). Finally the section, and thereby 1QS, is closed with a somewhat surprising reflection of the human incapability of understanding any counsel whatever (XI, 20b–22).

Because of the many verbal similarities between the hymn and columns I–III, it has been suggested that the final hymn was recounted or chanted in the covenant ceremony. But it could also be, as D. Falk points out, that the parallels are purely literal with the rhetorical purpose of recalling the covenant ceremony without describing it in detail. Following that line of thought, it was suggested (see discussion under I, 21–II, 10) that the ceremony accounted for in 1QS I–III, may function as a ritualized text that is enacted in the mind of the audience when read/heard. In the hymn, the community commemorates the entry into the covenant in their morning and evening prayer it is an integrated part of their daily routine, just like “an engraved statute” (X, 8b).

The extant text of 1QS IX, 12–XI, 22 is the result of redaction where several separate units have been put together with, as Newsom puts it, “a discernible rhetorical sensibility.” Although the passage recounting the times for prayer (X, 1–8a) may be a separate unit that is incorporated in 1QS it is now linked to the preceding passage. In IX, 26a the subject of

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630 There are two marginal signs in form of hooks in the section at large, placed under IX, 19 and XI, 15, but they do not appear to have the function of dividing the text, but rather to highlight the content: IX, 19: “that will be the time for preparing the way” and XI, 15.
631 Weise 1961: 70–73.
prayer enters the context and the word “to bless” בָּרֵךְ is repeated twice followed by the phrase “He shall praise him.” Apart from a redaction critical perspective, there is no reason to draw a sharp line between the instructions for the Maskil and from what follows in X, 1. The whole larger section is part of the same implied context although different text may at some stage have been compiled to constitute the extant text of IX, 12–XI, 22. As Falk points out, the calendar of times does not mention prayer at all, which according to him is due to redaction where a traditional list of appointed times has been incorporated into the hymn.

The first part, “the Instruction for the Maskil” (IX, 12–21a), is constructed on modal use of liqtols as the online verbal form, while the qatal gives the offline information (e.g., IX, 15, 24). In the rules of behavior for the Maskil (IX, 21–26) the online verbal form suddenly changes to yiqtol, although the text type is the same. The use of yiqtol as the online verbal form continues through the hymn only that in X, 6 the voice changes from a 3ms to a 1cs: “I shall bless him.” It is only XI, 15b–22 that strictly speaking ought to be labeled a hymn. It is introduced with the formula of blessing “Blessed are you my God” and uses parallelism. The other parts of X, 8b–XI, 22 are perhaps more accurately defined as poetic reflections, where the singing of hymns is referred to (with thanksgiving hymns I shall open my mouth, X, 23). The genre is known from the Hodayot where an “I” reflects on similar issues with a poetic language. Despite this, I will use the label “hymn” to designate 1QS IX, 26–XI, 22. There is a wide general agreement that the hymn (IX, 26–XI, 22) belongs to the same stage of redaction as the covenant service in I, 16–III, 16, and that it therefore has been incorporated at a later stage than columns V–IX.

6.1 Duties of the Maskil (IX, 12–21a)

6.1.1 Translation of Text

12These are the statutes by which the Maskil shall be instructed (in his interaction) with every living being. He shall be guided by the doctrine appropriate to each era and the weight of each person. He shall do God’s will in compliance with all that has been revealed for each time and study all the received wisdom of earlier times as well as the statute for the time (being). He shall separate and weigh the people of righteousness according to their spirit and support the chosen of this time in sustaining with his (God’s) will as he has commanded. He shall make a judgment for each person after his spirit. He shall allow him to approach if his hands are clean and to enter if his understanding measures up.

Concerning his love and his hatred: He shall not reprove or argue with the people of the perdition but hide the counsel of Torah among the people of falsehood. He shall only reprove those chosen for the Way with true knowledge and righteous judgment treating each as his spiritual qualities and the precept of the time (requires). He shall guide them with knowledge, and thereby instruct them in the true and wondrous secrets in the midst of

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634 Several scholars, e.g., Knibb (1987: 144) and Metso (2007: 14) regard X, 1–8a as a separate unit incorporated into the hymn and linked to the preceding part by the words in IX; 26b–X, 1a: “He shall praise him (in accord) with the times that he has decreed.”

635 Falk 1998: 107. In addition to this, Falk writes: “9:26–10:8 is concerned to emphasize the idea of prayer at fixed times, but does not provide a complete outline of the calendar, nor introduce the content of the prayers” (ibid.: 104).

636 For predicative use of the infinitive in the scrolls, see Qimron 1986: 70–71.

637 Falk (1998: 104) notes: “The hymn is probably a literary piece to summarize poetically the role of the Maskil, who appears here as elsewhere to be a prominent spiritual leader, teacher, and liturgical master.”


639 For the verbal similarities between 1QS I–II and X–XI, see Falk 1998: 111, also 104.

640 Literally, “by which the Maskil shall walk with every living being.”

641 לֹא תַעֲמֹד...הַשֵּׁם...טֵקֵע

642 The meaning of the phrase is obscure; I here interpret it in light of the previous phrase as “legal findings of earlier times.” Cf. Wernberg-Møller (1957: 35): “The entire wisdom which has been found in chronological order.”
the people of the Yahad so that they can walk blamelessly each with his fellow, in accordance with everything that has been revealed to them. That will be the time of preparing the way in the desert. He shall instruct them in every legal finding that has been found to be done in this time, and (teach them) to separate from every person who has not turned his way from all evil.

### 6.1.2 Text Analysis

The role of the Maskil in this section is to make discriminations of human character and fate. This discrimination is based on the interpretation of the law in the time being and from an evaluation of history. The two parameters on which the evaluation of spirits depends in other sections of 1QS appear here as well. He shall muster them in relation to their understanding of the law and to the outcome of this understanding, that is, their behaviors. The Maskil also takes on the role of a teacher by which he guides individuals into the secrets of the community in the midst of the community. As a second step he guides them as a group, teaching them the concrete implications of how the law must be lived in the community life. This is called “to prepare the Way to the wilderness” and necessarily implies a separation from those who live differently.

The heading dedicates the new paragraph to the Maskil (משכיל) and more specifically to the statutes (חקים) that will guide the Maskil. The Maskil (the wise) is known in the composition as a teacher (III, 13–IV, 26) and a liturgical official (I, 1–III, 12). In the current section he appears as a community leader, a wisdom teacher, and a spiritual guide. He has the deeper knowledge about the correlations between the law and the times, and how this shall be put into practice in the community. Unlike the more general use of the term Maskil in the book of Daniel (“the wise”), it is usually taken in the specific meaning “community official” in 1QS. Still, the demands of him in this section concur with those required for any member of the community. They shall all study the law in respect to its revelations throughout history in order to understand the commands of both the current time and the past times (I, 11b–15). They all have the task of evaluating each other spirits (V, 20b–23a). They must all keep the interpretations of the law secret to outsiders (indirectly VIII, 11–12). Judging only from this, the term Maskil may be a designation for any member of the community. At the same time he is in a special way responsible for guiding fellow members into the secret interpretations of the law. This argues for understanding him in a leading position (IX, 18–20). More important is however the rhetorical function of the text (IX, 12–XI, 22). I concur with Newsom that the Maskil here serves as the role model for every member of the community with the purpose of each member’s inner transformation.

The instructions for the Maskil are summarized in the first two commands. He shall do God’s will in accordance with the interpretations of the law (莛) in both past and present times. He shall make discriminations of human character and so adjust his behavior consequently. The “discriminations,” here called “weighing,” has to do with an evaluation of the moral integrity. *He shall separate and weigh the people of righteousness according to their spirit* (לא всего בני צדוק). The phrase depends, as Wernberg-Møller observed, on Job 31:6a “let me be weighed in a just balance” (נָשֵׁקַל בְּמָאזָן צָדָק), which in Job indicates an evaluation of his moral integrity. The evaluation in 1QS depends on two factors. The first is the cleanliness of hands and the second the understanding of the law. These two parameters

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643 That is, if the broken heading in I. 1 contained the words “for the Maskil.”
644 In Daniel (11:33, 12:3) Maskil is a general term, “the wise man”; most Dead Sea Scrolls scholars understand the term in CD and 1QS as designating a community official, but differ on understanding the Maskil as a layperson or a priest.
645 Newsom (2004: 166) interprets the Maskil as a leading community official who at the same time “represents the spiritual ideal of the sect.”
646 For a discussion of what the “weighing” implies, see Anderson 2004: 141–47.
647 Wernberg-Møller (1957: 137 n. 33) argues for a wordplay here: “our author having seen in the biblical bmʿzny śdq an allusion to bny śdq.”

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are at play every time the criteria for becoming, or remaining, a member of the community is discussed (e.g. V, 21 and VI, 14). In 1QS, the flawless moral conduct must be paired with knowledge of that which has a potential of violating the covenant. It is a knowledge/understanding of historical and present times in close relation to the commands of the law. The purpose is to understand how to behave in the current time of the community. This is what the Maskil teaches and it concerns the social interaction between members of the community and the attitude toward outsiders.

The Maskil must further support the chosen of this time in sustaining with his (God’s) will as he has commanded. This means that he shall strengthen and motivate them to continue on the chosen way with integrity. This shall be done in two ways, firstly by rebuking them with true knowledge and righteous judgment. This rebuking shall be adjusted to each person’s spiritual conditions as well as the precept of the time. Secondly he shall guide them with knowledge and thereby instruct them in the true and wondrous secrets in the midst of the people of the Yahad so that they can walk blamelessly each with his fellow, in accordance with everything that has been revealed to them. The instruction is personally adjusted so that each person has the chance of succeeding in a blamelessly conducted life. The objects for the blameless conduct are fellow members, each with his fellow. The interpersonal aspects are thereby at stake here as well just as in all other parts of 1QS. This may also be the way to understand “in the midst of the people of the Yahad” namely that the teaching is to be well founded in community life with all its aspects, and not in an isolated ascetic place. In this instance the relationship between knowledge and the interpersonal aspects is accentuated. Knowledge involves how to live in community without creating rivalry and conflicts. This behavior is then clarified with an allusion to Isaiah 40:3 (see VIII, 14) That will be the time for preparing the way in (lit. “to”) the wilderness.” Just as was the case in VIII, 14, the road to wilderness is associated with a blameless conduct and separation from those who live and think differently. In this instance just as in VIII, 14, it is related to the studying the law and to the separation from adversaries. Just as in VIII, 14 it implies both a way to exile for the community in that a separation from the larger Jewish community (in whatever aspect it may be, theological, physical, geographical) is implied. It also implies a return from the exile since they pay recompense for sins and restore the covenantal relationship with God that once led the whole people into exile. As has been discussed (I, 10–11 and VIII, 1–10) the righteous conduct and the constant search in the law are considered to bring about judgment, which in turn paves the way to the purified land and to the temple cleansed of defilement. As Peters puts it, “they believed their words and deeds were actively achieving exile’s end,” after which God would judge and punish the wicked.

Finally, certain behavior toward the corrupt people (literally, the “people of perdition”) is demanded. This category occurs only in the last section of 1QS (IX, 16; 22; X, 19 and XI, 13). Judging from the contexts in which they occur, always in relation to the interpretations of the law, labor, and property, they are reminiscent of the “people of falsehood” (col. V). The Maskil must not, as is the case with the chosen, rebuke (יכח) them since this would reveal the secret interpretations of the law (IX, 16–17). Wernberg-Møller argues that the term יכח must not be taken in the meaning “rebuke” here since it the object for the action is an outsider group, but rather in the meaning “argue.” I think the other way around. Just as is the case in the polemic text in V, 10–20, against the people of falsehood, this instance give witness to a close relationship to the opponents. This interpretation is strengthened by the placement of the action, namely “In the midst of the people of falsehood.” The interpretations of the Torah have to be concealed since the opponents are close at hand. The sobriquet “children of the pit/ perdition” is, as Peters puts it, one of “pithy condemnatory expressions of judgment” and part of a speech act of judgment in which the Yahad/Maskil took part as God’s coworkers. A reason for labeling the group differently in the final

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648 For a biblical equivalence of this idea, see Ps 24:4: “Those who have clean hands and pure hearts, who do not lift up their souls to what is false, and do not swear deceitfully.”

649 Peters, forthcoming.


651 Peters, forthcoming; see CD 20:11, 15.
section of 1QS could be due to its eschatological tone. The term perdition/pit occurs only once outside this section namely in the Treatise. There, the punishment for belonging to the spirit of falsehood is “eternal perdition.” Those depicted here, most likely the same category as the people of falsehood in column V, are now labeled after the destiny that soon awaits them, namely perdition.

6.2 Norms of Behavior for the Maskil (IX, 21b–26a)

6.2.1 Translation of Text

These are the norms of behavior for the Maskil in these times with respect to his love and his hatred. Intense hatred in a concealing spirit against the people of perdition. He shall leave property and profit (labor of hands) to them as a slave does to the one who rules over him, and one oppressed before the one who dominates him. But he shall be a man zealous for the statute and ready for the day of vengeance. All his gaining of possessions must concur with God’s will and all that which he possesses must be put under God’s command. And in all that befalls him he shall be pleased, as a freewill offering, for he desires nothing but God’s will, and finds pleasure only in every word from his mouth. He shall desire nothing that he has not commanded, always in wait for God’s justice. [...and in affliction he praises his creator. And in whatever circumstances may occur he shall recount his (God’s) mercies with the offering of the lips.

6.2.2 Text Analysis

In IX, 21b a new topic is introduced by a heading that is preceded by a blank space: “These are the norms of behavior for the Maskil [literally, norms of the way of the Maskil] in these times with respect to his love and his hatred.” The term that is here rendered by “norms” in 1QS conveys the meaning “foundational principles.” In this instance it means that the behavior of the Maskil must concur with the larger divine plan. The norms all deal with the issue of desire in one way or another. They concern the relationship first toward adversaries and second toward God. The Maskil must avoid provoking rivalry and conflict with the adversaries. He must act toward them as someone without full rights of his possessions. He must leave to them property and labor (literally, “wealth and produce of hands”) just as a slave would have to do to his master. The intense hatred must be concealed in the same manner as the interpretations of the Torah are concealed from them. Newsom points to the similarity between the role of the Maskil here and the suffering servant in Isaiah (52:13–53:12). Just like the servant, the Maskil is someone who possesses the truth about good and evil, but who must conceal this and act subordinate to those who walk on the way to perdition. The implications of the personal sacrifice that each member makes in the community are displayed in his dispositions. He must never be ruled by his own craving for power or possessions. This self-sacrificing behavior is facilitated by the conception of the imminent Day of Judgment when truth will shine forth. In what follows the main line verbal

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652 In this instance I understand as designating intensity rather than something perpetual; see Brin 2001: 286.
653 The Hebrew text reads: I render (lit. sending out hands) in line with Isa 11:14, as gaining possessions/control, and as that which is under the control of the Maskil, namely his possessions (which may include his knowledge). Cf. Abegg (2006), who quite differently renders this “when he attacks the wicked.”
654 The word is conceivable in the lacuna before (see X, 6).
656 See Josephus (J.W. 2.135, 139, 142), who argues that the Essenes were “ministers of peace” and resisted using violence, although they hated the wicked.
form is abruptly altered with yiqtol, which must be explained as a way to foreground the pivotal urge to only desire what God desires. This is spelled out in three parallel sentences:

All his gaining of possessions must concur with God’s will, and all that which he possesses must be put under God’s command.
And in all that befalls him he shall be pleased, as a freewill offering, for he desires nothing but God’s will, and finds pleasure only in every word from his mouth.
He shall desire nothing that he has not commanded, always in wait for God’s justice.

The desire, which is the main reason for interpersonal conflicts of all kinds, is to be constrained and directed toward God. He shall only desire that which God desires. Both his desire to gain wealth and his actual possessions are subordinated to God in order to restrain the evil inclination. The attitude of the Maskil recalls again the servant in Isaiah. He shall accept all that which is done to him. His attitude is likened to a personal sacrifice, which from the larger horizon of 1QS consists in not transmitting violence by retribution. In the last lines he is urged to praise God even in affliction and in all circumstances. This leads up to the next section where times for prayer are at stake: [...] and in affliction he praises his creator. And in whatever circumstances may occur he shall rec[ount his (God’s) mercies] (with the offering) of the lips, (he shall praise Him).

6.3 The Times for Prayer (IX, 26b–X, 17a)

6.3.1 Translation of Text

He shall praise him (in accord with) the times that he has decreed:

At the beginning of dominion of light, at its turning point, and when it withdraws to its assigned dwelling; At the beginning of the watchers of darkness, when he opens its storehouse and spreads it over the taw [earth?] and at its turning point, when it withdraws from light; When the luminaries shine forth from the holy habitation, when they withdraw to the glorious abode; at the entrance of times appointed for the days of the new moon, together with their turning points, when each gives way to the next. When they are renewed, (it is) a great day for the Holiest of Holy and a sign of the release of his eternal loving kindness at the beginning of the season, in every coming era.

At the beginning of months according to their appointed times,
and holy days in their fixed order, as memorials on their appointed times
With offering of the lips shall I bless him,
according to an eternally engraved statute.
At the beginning of years,
and at the turning point of their seasons,
when their prescribed statute is completed
each day having its precept one (time follows) after another
the season of harvest until the season for summer;
and the season of sowing until the season of grass;
the appointed times of the years until their seven years periods,
and the beginning of their seven years period
until the appointed time of liberty.

658 I read with 4QS rather than 52.
659 The single ה in l. 4, could be due to the scribe depending on Ben Sira but hesitated in writing וְחָיָה “terrible” since of what follows and therefore just left the nun hanging (Wernberg-Moller 1957: 142–43 n. 12).
660 Abegg (2006) renders it: “holy days laid down as a memorial” but the preposition b disturbs this otherwise elegant solution.
661 When the statute of peace is the norm, the day of judgment/justice is here.
662 I.e., the Jubilee.
As long as I exist shall this statue be engraved on my tongue, 
with praise its fruit, my lips portion I will lift.  
I will sing with skill, all my stringed music is to the glory of God, 
the lyre of my harp to his holy order, 
the flute of my lips I shall lift in tune with his justice.

With the arrival of day and night 
I will enter into the covenant of God, 
and with the departure of evening and morning, 
I will recite his laws.

In their existence I shall establish my boundary without turning back. 
I will declare his judgment concerning my sins, 
my rebellion (stand) before my eyes as engraved statutes.

To God I say “My Righteousness,” 
and to the Most High “Foundation of my goodness” 
“Source of knowledge,” and “dwelling of holiness,” 
“Height of Splendor,” and “Almighty Eternal Majesty.”

I will choose what he instructs me, 
and I will be pleased in however he judges me.

When I begin to stretch out my hand or my foot, 
I will bless his name; 
As soon as I go out or come in, 
I will cry out to him.

I will bless him with the offerings of the utterance of my lips 
in the row of men, 
and before I lift my hand to enjoy the delights of the world’s produce.

In the beginning of fear and terror 
and in the place of distress and emptiness; 
I will bless him for (his) exceedingly miraculous acts, 
and meditate upon his power, 
and upon his mercies I shall rely all day.

For I know that in his hand is the judgment of every living being 
and that all his deeds are true.

When affliction is opened up (released) I shall praise him 
and at his salvation shall I rejoice jointly.

6.3.2 Text Analysis

The first part of the hymn recounts the times and occasions for prayer (IX, 26b–X, 8a). The first occasion is “during affliction” after which it calls for prayer on two daily occasions. In addition to calling for two daily prayers the allusions to Scripture brings in an eschatological perspective on times of darkness and light. The same goes for the prayers on the new moon festival, holy days and seasons, years, sabbaticals, and the Year of Jubilees. As an underlying current, the eschatological and messianic times are also alluded to.

The strange word חקקא in X, 1 is often understood as “decree” (a 3ms verb with a suffix) with God as the subject. The verb חקק in the meaning “decree/inscribe” is unusual.
in the Hebrew Bible. A thematic parallel is found in Proverbs 8:29, referring to God’s ordering of the world through a decree, “when he assigned to the sea its limit, so that the waters might not transgress his command, when he marked out the foundations of the earth” ( Jeremiah 50:25). In Proverbs 8:29 occurs as a noun and it is the waters, not the sun as in 1QS, that has been assigned to a place. The underlying idea in both texts is however the divine covenantal promise to uphold the order of the world. 667 Although the following word פֶּס should not be taken in the meaning “end,” it is the border times that are at stake here. 668 It is the “end” of darkness, light, years, and the “beginning” of day, night, new moons, and years, which are causes for prayer. And the term אָשָׁר (the times that he has decreed) stresses the right calendar as part of the covenantal contract that makes God keep his promise not to allow a second deluge.

After the introduction, the two daily prayers are presented three times (X, 1b–3a). 669 Apart from stating two daily prayer times as evening and morning prayers, these lines also communicate the need for prayer during the eschatological times of darkness and the coming messianic time of light. 670 This is achieved through allusions to biblical texts. In the three passages (X, 1–3) mentioning the withdrawal of light, darkness, and the stars Psalms 104:22 is alluded to: “When the sun rises, they withdraw and lie down in their dens” ( בָּאֶרֶץ אָסָפוּ וְאֶל מַעְוַנָּם יִרְבֶּצוּ). Psalms 104 deals with the young lions who withdraw to their dwellings at sunrise. 1QS, using the same vocabulary deals with the withdrawal of sun(light) when it withdraws itself to its assigned dwelling (אַחֲרֵיהֶם לְמַעְוָן חֲצִיוֹן). Both texts deal with the division of time made by God. This is acknowledged by both the lion and the pious. In Jewish tradition, Psalms 104:22 has been given a messianic interpretation. The comment on this particular line in Midrash Tehillim reads, “When the sun of the king Messiah rises, [heathen] nations of the earth will sink away, and couch in their dens.” 671 Although the images do not fully correspond between the two texts since it is the sun that withdraws itself in 1QS, the allusion to creation and the messianic times gives the passage its eschatological overtone, which could have been discerned by a trained audience.

The second time the two daily prayer times are displayed, the darkness and the stars are in focus. X, 1b–2 mentions the beginning of the watchers of darkness. The phrase has an equivalence in Lamentations 2:19: “Arise, cry out in the night, at the beginning of the watchers!” 672 As will be discussed below this Lamentation text may influence the passage in X, 17. When referring to the (eschatological) times for prayer the hymnist there states that he will laud God “when affliction starts” and “cry out” (רָע) for God’s salvation, using the same verb as in Lamentations 2:19 (רעות). In the second part of the sentence (X, 2), When he opens his storehouse and spreads it over the earth, there are two texts from Scripture that may be at play. Both Jeremiah 50:25 and Deuteronomy 28:12 combine the two words “open” פֶּס and “storehouse.” In Deuteronomy, “The LORD will open for you his rich storehouse, the
heavens, to give the rain of your land in its season and to bless all your undertakings" (Deut 28:2; 33:28). The theological idea in Deuteronomy, just as in Psalms 104, is that if the human keeps the covenant then God will show his response in maintaining the order of nature (“if you keep the commandments of the LORD your God and walk in his ways,” Deut 28:9). If the scribe had these texts from Scripture in mind here one must ask why the text from Lamentations with such a negative tone, reflecting a chaotic situation, has been combined with the promises of Deuteronomy. Or could it be that the Deuteronomy text has been given a negative overtone? It is not only God’s storehouses that are mentioned in 1QS but also the storehouses of darkness. These are released by God over the earth. A key here could be the verb “to open” (מזרを作; and let it open). It only occurs once in a verbal form in the Hebrew Bible: “Out of the north disaster shall break out (מזרを作) on all the inhabitants of the land.” This passage from Jeremiah 1:14 could be influencing the related phrases in X, 17 (and XI, 13) When affliction is opened up (released) I shall praise him, and at his salvation I shall rejoice (or “cry out”) jointly (רבעה שח יארלו בברכת ראשות). which may argue that it the same passage is echoed also here. So in addition to inaugurating the night, darkness in the meaning of distress is opened up. This gives the night a double meaning in that it also denotes a time of distress. In this way the audience will hear both the message about two prayer times a day, as well as the urge to pray even in the eschatological dark times in light of God’s future promises. Finally, the phrase and spreads it over the taw [earth?] could depend on Psalms 104:20: “You make darkness, and it is night, when all the animals of the forest come creeping out” (פּוֹתֵחַ יְהֹוָה יִלָּעַד לְמַעֲמָל כִּלְיוֹר). Although the verbal resemblances are week, the images compare. Both texts describe the making of night and its dangers. In Psalms 104 it is the wild animals that come creeping out while in 1QS it is darkness that comes out over the earth, using the same verb פותח. Following this, the seasons and feasts determined by the new moon are dealt with. The vocabulary in this part of the hymn recalls both Genesis 1:14–16 and Ben Sira 43:6–8 but also Psalms 104:19. Genesis 1:14–16 deals with the fourth day of creation when the “lights” where created; the sun, moon and the stars:

'Let there be lights in the dome of the sky to separate the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years, and let them be lights in the dome of the sky to give light upon the earth.' And it was so. God made the two great lights—the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night—and the stars. (Gen 1:14–16)

675 In 1QS יא לוא is introducing the phrase, perhaps as an explicit reference to Deuteronomy: The Tetragrammaton is lacking and the suffix on “storehouse” is in 1QS most probably referring to the darkness (or the stars, but the 3ms suffix on “storehouse” speaks for the former) while in Deuteronomy it refers to God.

676 See Wernern-Moller 1957: 147 n. 54.

677 As was discussed above in words such as “crying out” in X, 17 correspond to Lam. 2:19 and it could be that a play on X, 2 is seen here, where “storehouse” has been replaced with the similar sounding “affliction” (כוא). See Deut 28:9 and XI, 13 where the same combination of words occur.

678 The third and last time that the two daily prayer times are repeated it says: When luminaries shine forth from the holy habitation, when they withdraw to the glorious abode.” Again it is the evening prayer which is mentioned first, i.e., “when the stars come out.” The Hebrew term for luminaries: מאורות. Reminds of Gen 1:14 where it denotes the sun, the moon and the stars, as in our phrase. The phrase: “holy habitation” echoes of Isa 63:15: “יֵשׁ חֶקֶר בָּרְשֵׁי הָעָלָה נְעָרֵי בּוֹרָא. (Where are your zeal and your might? The yearning of your heart and your compassion? They are withheld from me.)” Finally Ps 104:22 is echoed again, just as in X, 1 and 2, in the image of withdrawal. This time דרים, i.e., in X, 1 and 2, is altered with דבק of the psalm (Ps 104:22). It is the stars (and perhaps the moon) that withdraw themselves to their dwelling. They are not chased away, as is the case for the darkness but return to their “glorious abode/dwelling” using the same word for “dwelling” as is used for the sun in X, 1.
With this Genesis text, 1QS shares terminology such as מִשְׁמֵרָתָה עֲדֵי יְהֹוָה. Both texts are concerned with the celestial bodies as signifiers of the changing seasons and of feasts. The focus in 1QS is however on the moon, which regulates the beginning of feasts, months, and years. Ben Sira has transformed the Genesis text in the same manner, “For the Lord has made him a signal and his message will direct his leaders and the moon, too, will guide the times to dominate the era and be an everlasting sign in both of them (we recognize) the seasons and set of times” (43:6–8). In Ben Sira it is only the moon (of the celestial bodies) that is said to govern times and to be a “sign”; it is even said to be an “eternal” sign. This is resembled in 1QS but with a slightly changed meaning. The moon is not a sign for the seasons but for the release of God’s loving kindness (X, 4b). The moon points in this way to something else, that is, God’s mercies that are said to be “eternal” (instead of Ben Sira’s “eternal sign”). Another text resembling Ben Sira and 1QS in themes and wording is, again, Psalms 104:19: “You have made the moon to mark the seasons; the sun knows its time for setting” (הַנַּחַת הָרִים הַמְּסִכֹּתֵן הַיֹּדֶעָתָה הָרִים מִדָּעַת). The shared vocabulary is used in somewhat different meanings. Both passages are concerned with the new moon made from this argument. Dupont-Sommer, in using the same expression, seems to juxtapose the Sabbath and the holy days so a case cannot be made from this argument. Some scholars argue for this, refers to Isa 58:19 in this matter, where this same expression is used for the Sabbaths. On the other hand, in Neh 10:32, in using the same expression, seems to juxtapose the Sabbath and the holy days so a case cannot be made from this argument. Dupont-Sommer (1961: 97) claims that this expression refers to the Sabbath. He sees an indication in the phrase that the dates of the Sabbaths are fixed according to the beginning of every season.

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In Scripture, the verb בִּאֱמֹרָה מִשְׁמֵרָתָה יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעוֹלָם (כִּי וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְעוֹלָם מִשְׁמֵרָתָה) translates the phrase, including the three last words: “as memorials in their appointed times.” This concerns the days in between the new moons, called “bonds,” which lead up to the new moon, here defined as a great day for “the holiest of holy” (כִּי מִזְכָּרוֹנָה בְּיְמֵי קָדוֹשִׁים). In Scripture, the verb מִשְׁמֵרָתָה most often refers to the temple, or a place in it where sacrifices were brought. Translators of this passage in 1QS usually interpret it as referring to God as “the holy of the holy ones.” Instead it may be that the scribe, in deriving a terminology from the temple, is referring to the community here. In 1QS, VIII, 8 the group describe themselves with these exact words “a most holy dwelling.” The scribe here then stresses that this is a big festivity for the community whose metaphorical identity is that of the temple. The idea is surely not to replace God but rather to express the identity of the community in terms of the temple as the place where God is present. In 1QS IX, 6, the community is mentioned as a reference to the Sabbath. Wernberg-Møller, who argues for this, refers to Isa 58:19 in this matter, where this same expression is used for the Sabbaths. On the other hand, in Neh 10:32, in using the same expression, seems to juxtapose the Sabbath and the holy days so a case cannot be made from this argument. Dupont-Sommer (1961: 97) claims that this expression refers to the Sabbath. He sees an indication in the phrase that the dates of the Sabbaths are fixed according to the beginning of every season. But, it seems more plausible that the term מִשְׁמֵרָתָה יִשְׂרָאֵל refers to the new moons, just as in X, 3. P. Sacchi (2006: 146, nn. 3, 5) translates the phrase, including the three last words: “as memorials in their appointed times” as follows: “כִּי נֵי גוֹרְיֵי שָׁלוֹם מְסִכָּרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעוֹלָם מִדָּעַת.” He thereby interprets it as referring to the liturgical feast where the different stages in creation and human history where remembered, and understands the last two words as: “as memorials of the special times.” This would then speak for hearing a
moon thereby implies also a celebration of the new creation in the spiritual temple of the community. The expression תרומת שפתים is probably how the broken line of IX, 26 ought to be reconstructed. It occurs in passages dealing with prayer as a replacement/complement to the times for offerings in the temple (X, 6 and 14). Nitzan argues in line with this that “the Qumran prayers for the festival of the Torah bear explicit testimony that the worship of God through prayer was not just theoretical, but practiced on all those fixed occasions when sacrifices would have been brought.” But it should also be understood in light of IX, 4b–5 where the offering of lips means to speak justice where the rightly put word is likened to a freewill offering.

The last part of the section stating times for prayer is again initiated with the word ברכות after which New Years, seasons, sabbaticals, and jubilees are dealt with (X, 6b–8). Again, it is the completion of a course and the renewal of astronomical phenomena that are cause for praise. The meaning of the sentence בהשלם חוק תכונם is literally “fulfilling the law of their decree.” It is usually understood as the fulfillment of each unit of time, which delivers its course to the succeeding period of time. The vocabulary so typical for 1QS, may however at the same time refer to the division of history of which each era has its command, which the community must fulfill (see, e.g., IX, 13–14).

Following this is the recounting of the seasons as four units of time, which constitute a (agricultural) year, (from) the season for harvest until the season of summer; (from) the season of sowing until the season of grass. This passage echoes three texts from Scripture. The first is God’s promise in the aftermath of the deluge in Genesis 8:22: “seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night, shall not cease” (יודע עקיב יקר וקר וחם וקיץ וחרף ויום ולילה לא ישביה). Some parts of the Genesis passage are lacking here. The parts left out do not fit into the present context, namely “cold and heat” and “day and night.” What is resembled is instead the vocabulary for “seedtime and harvest” and “summer.” The delugian theme influences the hymn, which may argue for discerning it also here (see X, 10–11). The theological idea being that the order of nature is maintained by God as a covenantal promise, as long as the people stay loyal to the covenant.

Considering the importance of Genesis 1:1–2:3 throughout column X, it seems likely that Genesis 1:11 is also echoed here: “Let the earth put forth vegetation: plants yielding seed, and fruit trees of every kind on earth that bear fruit with the seed in it” (תדשא הארץ דשא עשב מזריע זרע עץ פּרי עשה פרי למינו אשר זרעו בו). The hymn shares the Genesis vocabulary of דשא and זרע. In the directly following phrase the word פרי, which in Genesis 1:11 is what comes out of the trees, is picked up on. In this instance it is that which comes out of the hymnist (X, 8). Further, the word for “species” מני in Genesis 1:11, has been beautifully transformed to מנה “portion” in the hymn (see below). There is however one more text which could be influencing the passage namely Leviticus 26:5, “Your threshing shall overtake the vintage, and the vintage shall overtake the sowing; you shall eat your bread to the full, and live securely in your land” (והשיג לכם דיש את בציר ובציר ישיג את זרע ואכלתם לחמכם לשבע וישבתם לבטם בארץכם).

The two texts compare as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1QS</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>מתייער קציר להצלומ ומרות</td>
<td>אאת בציר ובציר ישיא את עונ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The passages resemble phonetically in the words קציר and בציר as well as the joint use of עונ. The placement of the phonetically similar-sounding words and shared vocabulary correspond in the two texts. The blessings in Leviticus 26:3–13 speak of a messianic age, comparable to Isaiah 11, with the promise of peace to the extent that all dangerous animals

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and swords shall cease to exist in the nation. The condition for these blessings is the human ability to keep God’s commands/covenant. God will then respond through ensuring the cooperation of nature, which will occur as reliably as clockwork. The rain and thereby the crops will come in the right time, the seasons will occur in their proper time (26:2, 34–35, 43). The earth shall produce food in such abundance that the people will not be able to consume it all. God will walk among them and be their God.

These three passages from Scripture communicate that the order of creation, as an antithesis to chaos, depends on the loyalty of the people of Israel, that is, the community. The loyalty of the community will inaugurate the eschatological time of judgment from which peace and abundance will spring. This will take place when the land is purified again through the acts of the righteous community.

The last times for prayer to be mentioned in 1QS are at the sabbatical years and thereafter the time of liberty/release (X, 8). The latter is a reference to the Jubilee but may also be understood as the release of God’s mercies over the land—when it is purified.\(^{685}\)

In the second part of the sentence, the exegetical techniques of the scribe come to fore. In playing with the words “fruit”  "אָרְץ" and “portion”  "גָּרֵרָה," Genesis 1:11 is recalled again. Here, Genesis species “species”  "גָּרְדָּנָה" has been taken in the meaning "portion."\(^{686}\) So what comes out of the earth according to Genesis, “the fruit trees of every kind” is what comes out of the mouth and lips of the hymnist. In addition to this one may add the pneumatic interpretation of the term “species”  "גָּרְדָּנָה" in the Treatise (III, 13–15). In the Treatise, that which comes out of the mouth shows what “kind” of spirit you have.\(^{687}\)

In what continues, the times for prayer, ruled by the heavenly bodies, are to be internalized in the body of the hymnist. The opening words, I will sing with skill, all my strung music is to the glory of God (אָרוֹן בַּרְשֵׁת הָוָלָי נַנְתָּ לָבֹז אֶל) remind one of Psalms 104:33 "I will sing praise to my God while I have being." \(^{688}\) If this is an allusion to the Psalm, than the scribe alters הביר (I have being) to the similar (in spelling) הרִבְרוֹ. The following passage in X, 9b: In tune with his justice (והושע לָבֹז אֶל), echoes Isaiah 28:17. In this Isaiah passage the covenant of death (28:18) will be annulled since God will make "justice the line" (לֹא עָשַׂה מִלָּת). This Isaiah passage is particularly interesting since it is preceded in 28:16 with the words so important for the self-understanding of the community: “I am laying in Zion a foundation stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation” (see V, 5b–7a and VIII, 7b–8). Here the identity of the community as those who annul the covenant of death and uphold the true covenant with God by living flawlessly is spelled out. In Isaiah it is God who draws the line while in 1QS it is the pious who tunes in on God’s justice and who “measures” his behavior in accordance with the times (X, 26). He thereby draws the line for humanity. The covenantal duties are spelled out in the next phrase, with the arrival of day and night, I will enter into the covenant of God, and with the departure of evening and morning I will recite his Laws. The entering of days and nights refers back to the recitations that should be performed at these times (the Shema and the Decalogue), a practice that is part of keeping the covenant.\(^{689}\)

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685 The closest biblical reference to this passage is to be found in the Holiness code, this time in Lev 25:1–12. In this section of Leviticus, the people are told to observe the Sabbath, the Sabbatical year and the Jubilee; units of time united by the abstinen
ces (III, 13–15). In the Treatise, that which comes out of the mouth shows what “kind” of spirit you have.\(^{687}\)

686 Wernberg-Møller (1957) discerns an allusion to Prov 18:21: "Death and life are in the power of the tongue, and those who love it will eat its fruits!" (NRS), and LXX Hos 14:3: ὁ πως μὴ λάβῃς ἄδικα καὶ λάβῃς ἄγαθα καὶ ἀνταποδώσεις καρπὸν χειλέων ἡμῶν. The last reference lies close in wording; the “fruit of lips” is mentioned where they give their promise to return to the Lord and offer the “fruit of our lips.”

687 The opening words of the sentence As long as I exist might be picking up on Ps 104:33: אֲמִתָּהוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּעֵית I have being” since this same phrase continue to influence the hymn in the following lines (see X, 9a).

688 The expression  "לָבֹז אֶל" may echo of its only occurrence in Scripture in Ps 19:2, a song opened with the words the heavens are telling of the glory of the Lord," a song of praise over God’s creation which, just as 1QS, combines moral issues with creation.

689 The first and the fourth stanza refer to the recital of the Shema by alluding to Deuteronomy 6:4–9. “I will recite his Laws” is, according to Falk (1998: 113), a reference to the recital of the Decalogue, which was corporate with the recital of the Shema in Qumran.
with other contemporary usage of the Shema it here includes a confession of sin as well as a recollection of the annual covenant ceremony. In X, 10b–11a follows: In their existence I shall establish my boundary without turning back (בנהיה גבולות 내לשת). According to Wernberg-Møller this passage is a homiletic application of Psalms 104:9. The Psalms text deals with the boundary that God has laid down for the water in order to keep them in place, “You set a boundary that they may not pass, so that they might not again cover the earth” (ונلجنة גבולות לא שייבון ללבוש הארץ). D. Barker argues that it is the story of the deluge, and not the creation story, which lies behind the passage in Psalms 104:6–9, namely Genesis 7:19–20. “The waters swelled so mightily on the earth that all the high mountains under the whole heaven were covered; the waters swelled above the mountains, covering them fifteen cubits deep.” The covenant with Noah is a constant promise that the boundaries set by God to prevent chaos (the water) will last. In 1QS it is however the human being who sets the boundaries and promises not to transgress its borders. The destiny for walking outside the boundaries of God’s commands is chaos and upheaval of order, compared to the waters of the flood. Keeping the commands upholds the order of the universe and prevents chaos, by doing so they keep the covenant. The passage refers to the account of entering the covenant in column I, where a reason for entering it is to not turn back from him because of any fear, terror, or persecution during the reign of Belial (I, 17b–18a). It was discussed in that instance that Belial represents the upheaval of order in society. This is what they remember when they re-enter the covenant every evening and morning, in their prayer.

This is immediately followed by the words, I will choose what he instructs me, and I will be pleased in however he judges me (12b–13a). The term ידוע (pleased) is repeated many times in the last part of 1QS. Perhaps more than any other term, it expresses the attitude of the Maskil in relation to God. He is to be pleased with God’s decisions, and only desire what God desires. Of the seven occurrences of the term in 1QS, four occur in the last major section (IX, 12–XI, 22) where it defines the attitude of the Maskil (IX, 24; 25 and X, 13; 20). In III, 11 it designates the way a morally flawless person becomes a pleasing sacrifice in the eyes of God, and this is the way I understand it here as well. The humble attitude of the Maskil, whose only desire and pleasure is God re-establishes the covenant and atones for the land.

With the word רבים in the following sentence in X, 13, When I begin to stretch out my hand and foot, I will bless his name, the opening part of the hymn is recalled (and Gen 1:1). Now the bodily movement of the hymnist is connected to the movement of the celestial bodies. What then follows in 13b–14a, namely: As soon as I go out or come in, to sit down or rise up; And while I lie on my couch, I will cry out to him is influenced by Deuteronomy 6:7, which requires that the Shema be recited “when you are at home and when you are away, when you lie down and when you rise” (see 12:7, 15:10, 28:8). In the second part of the passage Psalms 63 can be heard (14b–15a): I will bless him with the offerings of the utterance of my lips, in the row of men, and before I lift my hand to enjoy the delights of the world’s produce. The possible allusion to Psalms 63 is interesting since the setting of the Psalm is the wilderness of Judah. It also touches on some of the topics in the hymn so far: “My soul is satisfied as with a rich feast, and my mouth praises you with joyful lips when I think of you on my bed and meditate on you in the watches of the night” (Ps 63:6–7). It combines the theme of blessing (of the mouth) and praising, with the fulfillment of the soul,

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690 The language here is, as Newsom (2004: 183) puts it, “replete with echoes of the annual covenant ceremony in which persons entered the covenant (1QS I, 16–II, 26)”; see also Falk 1998: 48, 114–16.
691 Barker 1986: 76. “You cover it with the deep as with a garment; the waters stood above the mountains. At your rebuke they flee; at the sound of your thunder they take to flight. They rose up to the mountains, ran down to the valleys to the place that you appointed for them” (Ps 104: 6–8).
692 In Jubilees, in the Noah story, the correct calendar becomes part of the eternal covenant between the Lord and members of the chosen line (see 1QS I, 13–15).
693 See CD II, 14–16, where the pious is urged to desire God instead of following his “thoughts caused by the sinful urge and lecherous eyes.”
694 The other two occurrences of the term come in IV, 1 where God takes “pleasure” in the spirit of light and in XI, 16; see below.
which in turn is compared to a rich meal. It mentions the psalmist lying in his bed, meditating on God in “the watchers of the night” (see X, 2). It also has a tone of distress since the desert is a place of want, and since enemies are mentioned (63:9). Both themes and terminology (เทพท ที่ ค้นหา) from Psalms 63 are resembled in X, 13–15, and perhaps also in X, 17 (below). Wernberg-Møller suggests that the phrase “the worlds produce” might be a messianic interpretation of Psalms 36:9 alluding to the time leading up to the messianic era as a time for praise.695

After this, prayer in times of distress is dealt with. It opens with the word בְּרֹשֵׁית (in the beginning), which again recalls the account for the daily prayers which begun in X, 1 and in particular the nightly prayer (X, 1b–2). The image of the heavenly bodies having their dwellings is now altered with the places/abodes of distress and emptiness (X, 15b). The switch from the positive tone in the previous passage, where the hymnist already enjoyed the fruit of the messianic time, is now exchanged for the opposite, namely terror and distress. Just as in the calendric section there are two aspects of times at play here. These are the two daily prayers and prayers during the (eschatological) times of darkness, as well as during times of light. The current terrific time has an end: I will mediate upon his power, and upon his mercies I shall rely all day. For I know that in his hand is the judgment of every living being, and (that) all his deeds (are) true. The expression כל חי (all living) recalls Genesis 8:21. In the aftermath of the deluge God promises to never again destroy “all living.” It also recalls Job 12:10 where also occurs in the same meaning: “In his hand are the life of every living thing and the breath of every human being.” As was argued in VIII, 4 and 12, the words נפש also appears in the context of judgment, such as is the case here. The same development as in column IX, 21b–23 is seen here: The stressful situation of oppression and suffering shall come to an end on a day that God has decided. This day is the day of judgment.

This is followed by the passage already briefly discussed under X, 2: When affliction is opened up/released I shall praise him, and at his salvation shall I rejoice/cry out in joy, jointly (והפתח צרה אהללנו ובישועתו ארננה יחד). The same three texts from Scripture that were discussed under X, 2 may be at play here as well. Instead of the storehouse אוצר of darkness in X, 2, it is affliction צרה that is opened up for here. This may be a wordplay on X, 2 (Deut 28:9 and Jer 50:25), the “storehouse” אוצר being replaced with similar sounding “affliction” צרה. So instead of opening the storehouses of darkness, the distress is what is “opened up.” In addition to this, the term for “crying out” ובידיו recalls Lamentations 2:19 (see above, X, 2). The two daily prayers ruled by light and darkness are then accompanied by prayers during eschatological dark times and the messianic time: during affliction and salvation (see XI, 13) and they shall be spelled out “jointly” (יחד), that is, within the community and at the same time, since affliction is the herald of peace.

6.4 Reflections on Interpersonal Relations (X, 17b–XI, 15a)

6.4.1 Translation of Text

I will pay nobody the reward of evil
18 With good I will pursue mankind,
For the judgment of all living belongs to God,
and he will pay to each man his reward.
I shall not be envious in a spirit 19 of wickedness
and property of violence I shall not desire.

695 Wernberg-Møller (1957: 146 n. 46) writes, referring to Ps 36:9: “The turgidity of the whole passage might suggest a messianic interpretation, in which case it alludes to the time until the messianic era as a time for praise.”
696 Wernberg-Møller (1957: 146 n. 52) suggests that the scribe of this section found Job’s נפש suggestive of מלחמה and changed it accordingly.
In the dispute of the people of perdition I shall not engage until the day of vengeance, Neither will my anger turn away from the people of falsehood and I will not be pleased until justice is established. I will not keep anger toward those turning away from rebellion, but I will not have compassion for anyone who keeps on rebelling against the Way. I will not console the smitten until their way is perfect.

I will not keep Belial in my heart, from my mouth shall not be heard either foolishness or guilty lie, fraud or falsehood shall not go out from my lips, But the fruit of holiness (shall be) on my tongue, and abominations shall not go out from it. With thanksgiving hymns I will open my mouth And my tongue shall always recount the righteousness of God (as well as) the unfaithfulness of mankind until their rebellion ends. Vanities I will remove from my lips, impurity and crookedness from the knowledge of my heart. Counseled by wisdom I will hide knowledge and with the prudence of knowledge I will hedge it with a firm boundary, to preserve faithfulness and strong justice. For God's righteousness I will mete out a statute by the measure proper to each time and [ righteousness, loving kindness toward the humble and to strengthen the hands of the anxious I shall teach] the erring of spirit understanding, Make those who grumble understand instruction, respond humbly before those haughty of spirit, And in a broken spirit toward those who oppress, who point finger, speak iniquity, and who strive for wealth. But as for me, my justice belongs to God, the perfection of my ways lies in his hands, as well as the uprightness of my heart. By his righteousness, my rebellious actions are blotted out.

Since, from the source of his knowledge he has opened up my light. My eyes have gazed into his wonders and the light of my heart into the mysteries of what occurs and shall be forever. A staff supports my right hand, my step goes on a firm rock. It shall not be shaken on account of anything, because the truth of God is the rock of my steps.

697 There is an error in the text since the scribe mistakenly copied words from the next line. The words are added above the line as a correction.
698 הפוך עד יום
699וכון משפט
700סוררי דרך
701My translation in X, 23b–24a depends on Vermes (2004: 114): “as well as the sins of men until their transgressions end.”
702 Or “with the counsel of salvation I will conceal knowledge” (so Qimron and Charlesworth 1994), but this does not correspond with the following line where the same message is repeated in other words.
703 “Strong justice” or “judgment.”
704 The two words must be understood as one: והדים.
and his strength is a staff in my right hand.
From the spring of his righteousness comes my justice,
From his wondrous mysteries the light in my heart,
My eye has gazed the eternal wisdom that has been hidden from humans,
knowledge and wise prudence (hidden) from the children of Adam.
A source of righteousness and a well of strength,
as well as a spring of glory (hidden) from the assembly of flesh.
God has given them to his chosen ones as an everlasting possession,
and he has given them inheritance in the lot of the holy ones.
He has joined their assembly with the sons of heaven
for a common council and for a foundation of a holy building,
for an eternal plantation during every age to come.
But I belong to a wicked mankind (Adam),
to the assembly of deceitful flesh.
My iniquities, rebellions, and my sins,
as well as the perverseness of my heart
belong to the assembly of the haughty
and of those who walk in the dark.
For the way of the human does not belong to him
and he cannot establish his steps
since justice belongs to God
and the perfection of way (lies) in his hands.
All things come to pass by his knowledge,
and all that occurs is established in his plan.
Without it nothing is done.

But I, if I stumble
the mercy of God is my salvation forever.
When I totter over the iniquity of flesh
my justification depends on the righteousness of God,
which endures forever.
When my distress is unleashed (opened)
he rescues my soul from the pit
and directs my steps toward the way.
In his compassion he draws me near
and from his mercy comes my justification.
He will judge me in the righteousness of his truth
and in his abundant goodness he will atone for all my iniquities.
By his righteousness he cleanses me
of the impurity of the human
and of the sin of humankind
so that I may give thanks to God for his righteousness,
the Most High for his glory.

6.4.2 Text Analysis

The implications of what in other parts is called “love and hate” (see IX, 21b), namely interpersonal relations, are outlined in this part of the hymn. Each category of people demands a certain behavior from the pious. It begins with the attitude toward mankind in

705 The term עונש, otherwise rendered with the word “falsehood” in this thesis, in this instance makes more sense rendered as “deceitful.”
706 The term here rendered “pit” I otherwise render “perdition” (in the meaning corruption) the choice of “pit here corresponds better to the metaphor walking, where God prevents the hymnist from falling into a pit. The meaning is the same though: it deals with someone being on the edge of the precipice due to transgressions.
general, followed by the adversaries, the hymnist himself, and finally toward fellow members. The adversaries are depicted in XI, 1b–2a as powerful people who are in the service of falsehood and who oppress. They are victims of their own desires (strive for wealth). The Maskil must stay away from them and their property in order to not be contaminated by their moral iniquity (X, 19). His attitude toward the adversaries recalls IX, 22b–23a, a passage dealing with the required behavior of the Maskil.

In the first four clauses, the Maskil’s attitude toward mankind in general is depicted (X, 17b–18a). At first glance it seems strange that the Maskil will take no part in what previously has been set out as the task of the community, namely to “ repay to the wicked their reward” (VIII, 6b–7). Rather he shall “pursue mankind with good” (לְאָבֵד לְמַעְלֵי מַעֲלֵי). This is however not a contradiction since it is not the wicked, but mankind in general that is at stake here. In addition to this, that which the Maskil sets himself to do is to not repay evil with evil; that is to not retaliate. Instead good will be given in return for evil. The term “pursue” normally occurs in the context of war where one party pursues the other with weapons. In this instance goodness is a weapon in the eschatological drama in which the community takes part. This attitude recalls the suffering servant who brings forth justice by not retaliating (Isa 42:1–53). The subjects in these clauses revolve around envy, desire, and the violence that stems from them. In a first clause X, 17b–18, the hymnist sets his mind to never letting his wicked inclination lead him into envy. In a second clause X, 18b–19a, he shall not desire any property that is gained from violence, such as things, assets, that are the cause of rivalry (see IX, 22–23a). The idea here, and in 1QS, is that objects of conflict are considered impure. This idea comes to the fore in V, 13–20a, where any contact with the property of enemies is prohibited. The reason for this is that the object (physical object or interpretations of the law) carries the memory of conflict and is a potential threat of drawing the adversaries back into the conflict. Directly following this (X, 19b) is a statement to not engage in dispute with people of perdition (see IX, 22). In this case it is the knowledge, the law, which is the desired object that causes rivalry and conflict (see V, 15b–16). The literal meaning of the term רִשָּׁע, which is here rendered “perdition,” is πτώς. When it occurs in Scripture as a means to characterize human beings, it takes on meanings such as “corrupt” and “destroyed”—always in the meaning of moral corruption or decay (e.g., Deut 32:5). In light of that, those depicted here are driven by their personal desires and end up in corruption. They are walking on a road to perdition. The prohibition of engaging with the adversaries in discussions or in any economic exchange is dealt with in several instances in 1QS. The implicature is that the community is shut out from the discourse of power and shall not engage in any discussions until God intervenes and judges the wicked. Any intervention would contaminate the participants who are to stay pure.

When it comes to the Maskil’s attitude toward erring fellow members (X, 20b–21a) one discerns a forgiving attitude. Someone who repents and turns his way away from sin must be treated with love again but during the period of repentance such a person is not to be pitied. The second clause may reveal internal conflicts. It says that the Maskil must not show compassion for anyone who keeps on rebelling against the Way (הָרָאִים עַד הָדָּי). The term that here is rendered “rebel” is peculiar here in 1QS, but it occurs in 1QH-a XIII, 15,

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707 E.g., CD 1, 21, and יָדְפָא לִבּוֹךָ חָרֹם: “So they persecuted them violently”; see 1QpHab XI, 5 concerning the Teacher, and the occurrences in M, e.g., 1QM IX, 5.
708 The four clauses repeat the way the Maskil must behave in IX, 21b–22a; 23; 25, where his hatred must be concealed under a veil of humility while he awaits the revenge and judgment executed by God.
709 The term for “assets” (וֹיָרָם) appears in I, 13 concerning that which the initiate brings into the community and which is assimilated with the assets of the community after a full initiation (VI, 22). That the assets cause conflict becomes clear in the penal code where “lying about property” is the first case dealt with (VI, 24b–25).
710 The designation “people of perdition” occur three times in 1QS, all of them in the final section (IX, 16; 22), and always in relation to the interpretations of the law and property, i.e., that which can cause rivalry. It was argued (above) that behind this designation one finds a group with which the community were conversant, since the Maskil is urged not to “reprove” them, and since the secrets must be concealed from them (IX, 16, 18), and that they are in power since the Maskil shall act toward them as a slave before his master (IX, 18).
711 “The Way” as a label for the community occurs here and in IX, 18.
where it designates the betrayal of the hymnist in the context of internal conflicts.\textsuperscript{712} Considering the unforgiving attitude toward such a transgressor argues for understanding also this as a case of someone who betrays the foundations of the community (for similar cases, see VII, 17–25).\textsuperscript{713}

This is followed by the Maskil’s reflections on his self-control in relation to speech (X, 21b–24a), an activity that is highly regulated in 1QS (see VI, 8b–13a). The behaviors that are listed here, such as fraud, foolishness, falsehood, and vanities are regarded as offenses in the penal code and consequently punished since they may distort the harmony of the community. Here they define what it implies “to keep Belial in one’s heart.”\textsuperscript{714} In the last sentence the Maskil sets himself to remove the violent structures that permeate mankind: \textit{Vanities I will remove from my lips, impurity and crookedness from the knowledge of my heart.} These evil structures are what the community, by the serek, intend to erase by reshaping the mind of each member of the community. Instead the pious must keep watch of his speech in order to protect the secrets: \textit{Counseled by wisdom I will hide knowledge} (see VIII, 11–12; IX, 17). The passage depends on Isaiah 26:1–3:

\textit{We have a strong city; he sets up victory (salvation) like walls and bulwarks. Open the gates, so that the righteous nation that keeps faith may enter in. Those of steadfast mind you keep in peace—in peace because they trust in you.}\textsuperscript{715}

In Isaiah the salvation (ישועה) comes in the form of walls and bulwarks, only the righteous nation can enter this walled city. Only those of steadfast mind shall be kept there, in peace. Understanding the passage in 1QS in light of the image of the walled city puts light on the scribal techniques and the double message that the passage communicates:

Counseled by wisdom I will hide knowledge, and with the prudence of knowledge I will hedge it with a firm boundary, to preserve faithfulness and strong justice.

The first phrase, here rendered “counseled by wisdom”, can also be rendered “the council of wisdom” and then referring to the community. The scribe then takes the community in parity with the city in Isaiah. This is also the way the quote to Isaiah 26:2–3 is taken in VIII, 3, where the council of the community shall “keep faithfulness in the land with a steadfast purpose” (לשמור אמונה בארץ ביצר סמוך). The word in the second clause can also be taken in the meaning “congregation” as a parallel to \textit{כְּנֵא} in 1QS it is thereby the

\textsuperscript{712} See the discussion of betrayal in the penal code (above), where the same Hodayot psalm may be alluded to.

\textsuperscript{713} This is followed by the statement: \textit{I will not console the smitten until their way is perfect.} When the term here rendered with “smitten” (נכא) occurs in the scrolls in a physical meaning it denotes someone who is paralysed or crippled (in legs: 1QSa II, 15), and thereby partly excluded from community life. When taken in a spiritual meaning it means the contrary; an ideal member of the community is someone with a broken spirit who thereby is open to the will of God (see 1Q33 XI, 2). In this instance the meaning ought to lie in between these two, it is someone who is crippled in his mind, i.e., who have transgressed in some aspect, and such a person must not be consoled until he walks straight again.

\textsuperscript{714} For the term Belial see I, 18; 24, II, 5; 19.

\textsuperscript{715} Cf. the translation in KJV: “In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah; We have a strong city; salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks.”

\textsuperscript{716} The same Isaiah passage is alluded to in the Treatise, where the “steadfast mind” is a hallmark for the spirit of truth (IV, 4).
community, its council and its congregation that corresponds to the walled city in Isaiah. The message being that the secrets shall be kept within the steadfast boundaries of the community, which in turn is constituted by those of steadfast mind (see VIII, 2). The word which is rendered with wisdom/salvation יִשְׁתַּחַר could be a homonymic wordplay on the Isaiah יִשְׁתַּחַר. Just as the walls protect the city so does the wisdom protect the hymnist (and brings salvation). The last words in the last sentence: “strong justice,” complies with the “strong city” in the Isaiah text. It stresses the idea that the inner mind of the sectarian and the integrity of the community, is like a strong city with protecting walls where truth will be kept safe.717

In what follows (X, 25b–XI, 2a) the Maskil shall mete out a statute that is adjusted to each time. This is followed by a partly broken line. Judging from the context the missing word ought to be something equivalent to “practice.” This means that the statute for the time being demands that one practices righteousness and loving kindness toward the humble (as, e.g., in I, 9b–10a; V, 3–4). It also means that one corrects those members of the community who deviate from the norms, and that one shows oneself humble to the corrupt and oppressing ones.718 The opponents are depicted as proud, oppressizing, false, and filled with desire to gain wealth. They are in other words people who easily end up in rivalry and conflict. In order not to be drawn into these evil structures the Maskil must never pay back evil with evil, but rather act in a way contrary to them, not to ignite rivalry and conflict.

Following this, the first of three reflections on the incapacity of achieving any of the precious virtues of discipline, knowledge, insight, and strength begins (XI, 2b–9a; 9b–11b; 11b–15a). Rather it is God who gives these gifts to those he chooses. To the Maskil he has given forgiveness of sins and knowledge. The relationship between forgiveness of sins and knowledge is the knowledge of good and evil, which renders it possible to walk flawlessly before God and thereby be forgiven. The Maskil has been given insight into both past, present and future times, into the history of violence and the awaiting salvation of God. This is called the “hidden wisdom.” Despite this knowledge, his ability to stay loyal to the ideology of the community totally depends on the truth and strength of God.719 Since the Maskil has been enlightened with knowledge from God and given a firm rock for his footsteps, which is the truth of God, he has perspectives and a larger vision that prevent him from being led into rivalry by his desires.

The reflections on the limited possibilities for the human being to reach perfection lead up to a passage where the community, instead of the Maskil, is in focus. Here the community is depicted by images from the temple. They are conjoined to the heavenly assembly, which may be understood as angels. This divine mission of the community is immediately contrasted in the following passage. There the Maskil expresses an awareness of his evil inclination and how he, just as all human beings, belongs to structures inherent in all human interaction that inevitably lead to suffering for which no human remedy exists. By juxtaposing the “assembly of a holy building” in the previous passage, with “the assembly of deceitful flesh” in the current, focus is put on the inherent evil inclinations of mankind. In light of this, the community appears as a fruitful garden that grows inside the boundaries set out by God. In this garden a new creation is cultivated that will reverse all manner of things and prepare the way for truth in the world. This resumes what has been communicated in all other parts of 1QS, and the very meaning of the serek of the community. Only in the community can a person live a morally flawless life and so inaugurate the messianic time and the new creation since the evil inclination is restrained in the special form of life that the community demands. Only by having access to the secret knowledge (XI, 3–4) of how falsehood manifests itself in society, can a person remove all falseness and evil inclination.

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717 This last line in the passage is further enlightened by a comparison with VIII, 3 where it says the group will “pay for iniquity by doing justice.”
718 It is really another exposition of the way the love and hate shall be channelled, where love implies the relationship toward insiders and hate to outsiders, only that the hate must be concealed under a veil of humbleness in order not to create conflict and violence.
719 It is argued in this thesis that the concept truth implies a perspective on history and present times as being ruled by violence and falsehood. Truth means conforming oneself to a new way of thinking and acting against other human beings in order not to transmit more violence but reestablish the covenant of peace with God.
from the knowledge of his heart (X, 24). With the words in XI, 11 saying that *All things come to pass by his knowledge, and all that occurs is established in his plan: Without it nothing is done*, the opening part of the Treatise is echoed. This part of the Treatise deals with the predestined order of human history, something that lies in the hands of God. God is the one who has planned for all this to come.

Finally, the expression “when I totter over fleshly sin” (XI, 12b) may allude to Hosea 14:2: “for you have stumbled because of your iniquity.” In this case the scribe may have felt a need to strengthen the assertion that even the chosen ones of the community commit moral sins. In the directly following line saying, *when my distress is unleashed/opened* (ואם יפתח הצרתי), the opening part of the hymn is recalled again. In X, 2 the storehouse is opened (יפתח אוצרו) and in X, 17 distress is opened (ובפתח צרה) (see discussion of the wordplay above). In this instance, just as in the two previous, the current dark and evil time of the hymnist are referred to. During these dark times God establishes the steps for his chosen ones so that they do not fall into the same pit as mankind in general but can maintain their high standards. The idea that God is the one who cleanses the human being from his impurity recalls the Treatise where the evil structures of mankind are washed away from the heart and mind of the chosen ones (IV, 21–22).

### 6.5 Reflections on God’s Greatness and Human Incapacity (XI, 15b–22)

#### 6.5.1 Translation of Text

Blessed are you, my God,  
who opens your servant’s heart for knowledge.

16 Establish all of his deeds in righteousness.  
Raise up the son of your handmaid  
as it pleases you to (raise up) the chosen of Adam  
to stand firm before you forever.  
For without you no way can be perfected,  
nothing can be done unless it is your will,  
You teach all knowledge  
and all that which shall be,  
by your will it shall come to pass.

No one but you can contest your counsel  
or understand any of your holy plans,  
have insight into the depths of your mysteries  
or apprehend your wonders  
or your mighty strength.

Who can endure your glory?  
What indeed is the son of Adam among thy wondrous works?  
21 Born of a woman, what can he be reckoned before you?  
He who is kneaded from dust,  
whose dwelling (body) is the food for worms,  
his is but a discharge.\(^{720}\)

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\(^{720}\) The word מ süreוק is an unattested form. Qimron and Charlesworth (1994) suggests that the form consists of two words (מ and סкур). The latter means spit in MH and is a euphemism for semen (Niddah 16b). The former (contraction of the Hiphil participle of the root with defective writing) means “coming forth” the phrase would then mean: “discharged semen.”
pinched of clay,
whose longing is for dust.
What can clay,
and that which is formed by hands dispute,
and what counsel could it understand?

6.5.2 Text Analysis

1QS closes with a hymn. It begins in verse 15b and is introduced by the blessing formula: “Blessed are you my God.” In this final section of 1QS the confidence of gaining knowledge and insight into God’s secret plan is even more conspicuous by its absence. The statements about human incapability stand in stark contrast to other parts of 1QS, where the human being can understand counsel and apprehend God’s plans. The human being is here depicted as purely mortal. Instead God is elevated on behalf of man.

In this final part of 1QS the hymnist gives thanks to God for the knowledge by which he can understand the course of events throughout history. This section reconnects with the Treatise on the Two Spirits both verbally (God of knowledge by whom all things comes to pass) and in the somewhat deterministic tone. The human being is in both sections presented as a recipient of God’s counsel who, if God lets him, may be opened to knowledge and so walk on a straight path. But human beings can never question or really understand God’s counsel or secrets. They are earthly creatures, limited in their nature and understanding. What is communicated here seems to be the very opposite of the otherwise so ascertain attitude of being part of the divine counsel and understanding the divine secrets in 1QS. The meaning of the sentence in XI, 16–17 is enlightened by the identification of an allusion. This allusion gives an important clue to the self-image of the pious covenanter: Blessed are you my God who opens your servant’s heart for knowledge. Establish all of his deeds in righteousness. Raise up the son of your handmaid if it pleases you to (raise up?) the chosen of Adam to stand firm before you forever (ברוך אתה אלה הבורח לך במעדה הכה). The Scriptural text that lies behind this passage is Isaiah 42:1: “Here is my servant, whom I uphold, my chosen one, in whom my soul delights” (יהי עבדי אתמך בו בחירי רצתה). This allusion finally identifies the role of the Maskil with that of the suffering servant. It was argued that the same passage from Isaiah 42:1 has influenced VIII, 6 (chosen by divine pleasure) where the mission of the community is communicated in terms of the suffering servant’s. The current passage under discussion reproduces all the words from Isaiah (עבד רצתו בחירי). It also contains the phrase בן אמה, which alludes to Isaiah’s אתמך בו (“whom I uphold”) but takes it in a new meaning “the son of your handmaid,” where the truly human nature of the hymnist appears (see also Ps 86:16 and 116:16). The identification of the Maskil with the suffering servant in Isaiah 42 underscores the means by which they shall bring forth justice, namely by suffering affliction (see VIII, 3–4).

In this final section of 1QS, God is elevated on behalf of the community. It is God who opens the servant’s heart for knowledge (XI, 15b–16). And instead of the human establishing his steps in order to walk straight (III, 9b–10), it is God who shall “establish all of his works in righteousness” (XI, 16). To enter the covenant of the community is not a decision by the individual but by God: Raise up the son of your handmaid if it pleases you to (raise up?) the chosen of Adam to stand firm before you forever. The “perfect of the way” depend not so much on their efforts but on God: For without you no way can be perfected, nothing can be done unless it is your will. The teaching role of the Maskil is set aside for God the teacher: You teach all knowledge and all that which shall be, by your will it shall come to pass.721 Even the counseling, which is the core of community life, is a limited action: No one but you can contest your counsel or understand your holy plans, have insight into the depths of

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721 The Treatise (III, 15) is echoed in the phrase: You teach all knowledge and all that which shall be, by your will it shall come to pass.
your mysteries or apprehend your wonders or your mighty strength. In the last lines of the
hymn, and thereby 1QS, this is taken to the extreme. It asks: Who can endure/contain your
glory? What indeed is the son of Adam among thy wondrous works? Born of a woman,
what can he be reckoned before you? He who is kneaded from dust, whose dwelling (body)
is the food for worms, he is but a discharge, pinched of clay, whose longing is for dust.
What can clay, and that formed by hands dispute, and what counsel could it understand?

Biblical texts dealing with the limited nature of mankind in relation to the gracious gifts of
God are sounding boards here. These are, for example, Psalms 8:5: “what are human beings
that you are mindful of them, mortals that you care for them?” and Job 7:17: “What are
human beings, that you make so much of them, that you set your mind on them?” In these
Scriptural texts God’s greatness and goodness in relation to the human nothingness is
communicated. The final lines in the hymn (20b–21a) recall Genesis 2:7 (the LORD God
formed man from the dust of the ground). It also echoes of some Job and Isaiah texts such as
Job 15:14: “What are mortals, that they can be clean? Or those born of woman, that they can
be righteous?” (see 1QS 20b–21a); Job 33:6: “I too was formed from a piece of clay” (see 1QS
21b–22a); and Isaiah 29:16: “Shall the potter be regarded as the clay? Shall the thing made
say of its maker, ‘He did not make me’; or the thing formed say of the one who formed it, ‘He
has no understanding?’” (see 1QS 21b–22a). Although, as Hughes points out, rather than
thinking in terms of allusions, the expressions are better defined as idioms that
communicate the idea of the limited nature of the human being in relation to the divine. 722
In the phrase whose longing is for dust (XI, 22) Wernberg-Møller discerns Psalms 104:29b
“return to their dust.” His observation depends only on one word (while “return may be
picked up in the following phrase) but is supported by the fact that Psalms 104 influences
column X overall. The very last phrase indicates that no human being can really understand
that which lies at the heart of the activity in the community namely העת (counsel). 723 This
statement undermines the in other sections so confident faith in the possibility to
understand God’s intents. At the same time it strengthens the case for the community as the
only way to perfection since God has communicated his counsels to them. It also answers a
Job-like question of why the current time implies suffering. It is all part of God’s plan, which
no human being can grasp. God is elevated on behalf of humanity who is merely dust,
discharge, and a piece of clay. Only God deserves to be imitated and desired, and in his
hands are all that will come to pass. He is the one who controls the larger schemes.

6.6 Discourse Analysis (IX, 12–XI, 22)

The correlations of times, commands, and interpersonal behavior is a main theme in 1QS. In
this last section it comes to fore in the instructions, disposition, religious activities, and
ponderings of the Maskil. Two aspects of time are at stake here. The times of the calendar
that cause for regular prayer, and the eschatological times of darkness and light. During the
morning and evening prayer the pious enters the covenant and is reminded of his true
conversion and of the significance of the covenant in these dark times (“during the time of
Belial”). In this manner are the daily and nightly prayers and holidays and seasons also
remembrances of the messianic time of light and abundance that will follow the dark and
stressful times. The current time is dark. It is a time when wild animals dominate the world,
where distress and violence is unleashed. This image is communicated by allusions to
Scripture in a poetic and esoteric manner, which depicts a group of oppressed people who
must not express any criticism against power openly. The Maskil must during all afflictions
bless God, since he knows that the current dark time is the precursor to the messianic time
where truth will shine forth. He (and the community) inaugurates the messianic time by his
flawless moral behavior.

In Mishneh Torah Maimonides describes the messianic era as absence of hunger, war,
jealousy and rivalry. Instead there shall be abundance of good, delicacies and of

723 Cf. the Hodayot psalm XX, 29–38 [XII, 26–35].
knowledge.\textsuperscript{724} Israel will have access to the esoteric truths and understand the hidden wisdom. He quotes Isaiah 11:9: "For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the sea." Maimonides’ concept of the messianic time, although formulated much later, has a strong resonance in this final section of 1QS. The coming messianic era is here glimpsed through allusions to Scripture, which communicate an image that compares well to Maimonides. It shall be a time of abundance such as depicted in Leviticus 26:3–13, where the earth shall produce an abundance of food when the human beings keep the covenantal contract. The same is hinted at in Psalms 63:6–7: “My soul is satisfied as with a rich feast, and my mouth praises you with joyful lips when I think of you on my bed and meditate on you in the watches of the night.” The promises of the coming messianic time of abundance, strengthens the pious during the dark current time of want in the wilderness. The absence of war, jealousy, and rivalry is resonance in the demanded anti-rival behavior and attitude of the Maskil. He must never follow his cravings and desires since it may lead him into rivalry and conflict. His own desires must instead be channeled toward God: All that which he possesses, and all that which he craves to possess, may it be wealth, knowledge, or power, must be subordinated to the will of God and used in a way pleasing to him. Toward the adversaries he must behave as a slave before his master and give his profit and property to them. The adversaries are depicted in XI, 1b–2a as powerful people who are in the service of falsehood and who oppress. They are victims of their own desires (strive for wealth). In order to not be contaminated by their moral corruption and the violence they spread, the Maskil must stay away from them and from the offspring of their activity. The latter concerns their property that is “gained from violence” (X, 19). His attitude toward the adversaries recalls the suffering servant in Isaiah in that he shall endure the suffering that they cause him while he awaits the justice of God.

In the final part of the hymn the identification of the pious, and thereby the community, with the suffering servant is spelled out (XI, 15b–16a). The servant is chosen by God to receive knowledge about creation and about God’s mysteries. Already now is the pious community given access to the esoteric truths and hidden wisdoms of which Maimonides speaks (XI, 5b–9a). The image produced in the hymn is that of the pious and the community living in a dark time of suffering and want. During this dark time they inaugurate the messianic time by their perfect behavior in the social interaction in the community. The vision of Micah 6:8 is being implemented. The metaphoric identity of the community as a sanctuary/garden is spelled out clearly. The community is the holy place inside the borders of which the perfect of way recreate the world by their access to knowledge and wisdom. Their community is like the Garden of Eden where a new creation takes place. By contrasting the assembly of a holy building with the assembly of flesh it is stressed that during these dark times, the only remedy is to enter the serek of the community in order to be restrained by its moral yoke. In line with this, the Maskil states that he shall not “keep Belial in his heart.” Belial is in this particular instance related to speech. The Maskil shall never use his speech in the service of falsehood or for the love of gain. All such “knowledge” shall be erased from his mind. This is possible since he has received the knowledge that leads to life.

\textsuperscript{724} Mishneh Torah: H. Melakim 12:4–5 (following the reading of most of the manuscripts and the Frankel edition); see also H. Teshuva 9.2.

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Chapter 7

Conclusions and Summary

This thesis set out to investigate the implied social and cultural contexts in 1QS by means of a synchronic text analysis. As part of the analysis, questions of text cohesiveness and coherence have been investigated by paying attention to lexical choices, grammatical forms, references, topics, themes, and intertextuality. The results of the analysis demonstrate that the text is both cohesive and coherent to such extent that it is valid to speak of it in terms of a coherent communicative event. There are discrepancies and problems in the text that commonly are explained as due to its history of redaction. Among these are the different ways of labeling the community and its antagonists, the different implied settings, and the duplicate sections. This analysis has been able to demonstrate that these “problems” often can be solved from a text-internal perspective where the implied social context prefers one term in favor of another or reforges information that is already provided in a previous section in a new context.

In line with my approach to analyzing the text “from bottom-up and then top-down” (see Introduction), I will begin by summing up my overall conclusions resulting from the text analysis, that is, concerning the semantic discourse. This will be followed by a more detailed review of the most important parts of the analysis. The way that the text is presented here depends on my overall understanding of what is communicated in it (the discourse). The reading I present here is the result of this thesis: namely, my apprehension of how the bits and pieces hang together to form a coherent unit. This reading has grown out of a thorough analysis of the text, building up from words and sentences toward the broadest linguistic unit—the discourse. I will conclude by drawing some overall conclusions concerning the implied social and cultural contexts.

7.1 The Discourse of 1QS

From the analyses, the image of a community with a strong consciousness of the mechanisms of violence, and also a cure for it—which is conveyed in the term serek—has appeared. The implied cultural context is one of a society in crisis that is corrupted by unjust leadership. It is argued that the community that calls itself the Yahad (meaning “togetherness” or “unity”) is presented as a response to this crisis. Its hierarchal organization and the regulations concerning all human interaction—the serek—must be understood in light of this perceived dissolution of contemporaneous society and culture. The reason for its stringent rules and strict organization is to restrain all such unruly behavior, which has the potential of undermining the society they wish to create. The Yahad is thereby best understood as a corrective to corrupted leadership and society. By subordinating personal envy, desire, and conflict under community discipline and by establishing a differentiation in lay, priestly, and prophetic functions, they demonstrate how society and culture ought to be functioning. By manifesting this “true” way of living they become a judgment for culture and society and atonement for the land. By the knowledge that they possess they inaugurate a new society and culture. It has been demonstrated in the analysis that this knowledge is

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725 Society is here defined as a group of people who occupy a shared territory and culture. In this instance the denoted society is that of the Jewish Second Temple Society in the land of Judah.

726 The definitions of culture and society overlap to some extent. Culture has to do with the traits of a population’s behavior, values, practices, beliefs and religion, while society is usually defined as the environment or community that surrounds an individual. Another way of putting it is that culture is the total practices of a people while society is the general humanity. Both these aspects of human life are at stake here.
closely related to Micah 6:8, which is argued to be the foremost important intertext in 1QS. Just as the vision in Micah, the aim of the Yahad is for each member to perform justice, loving kindness, and to behave in a humble way toward one's fellow. The words of Micah, which are repeated more than any other scriptural text in 1QS, express a way of behaving that is the very antithesis of the society that they reject.

The community experiences two “times.” One is the contemporary dark and wicked time that corrupts all the living, including the righteous ones. It is during this time that the hierarchal structure and regulations of the Yahad must be kept as a barrier against anarchy and chaos. This time is ruled by “Belial,” a symbol for a culture that cultivates falsehood and is perhaps a sobriquet for a figure or figures that were actually in power. Belial obscures the truth and makes the eyes blind to true knowledge of the mechanisms of evil. Belial says that you are not repeating the evil logic of the past, but those who enter the covenant of friendship know otherwise. They know that combat of evil must begin with a collapsing or at least a shaking to the foundations all the things that are based on that we can call our self, our personality and temperament. This is the “freewill sacrifice” that they make—each individually—by entering the community and collectively taking on the role of the scapegoat (Lev 16). The other kind of time is messianic, which is already now being realized in the community of the perfect and holy Yahad. The Yahad is like the Garden of Eden, a new creation that is taking place in the midst of a dark time. The means by which they inaugurate this new era is by suffering affliction and behaving toward one another in a way that is flawless. By their special way of organizing and regulating the community they become like the cornerstone envisioned in Isaiah. That is, as a corrective to the whole building of society and culture. Rather than understanding the function of the language in 1QS as a transaction (ideational), it is to be understood as interaction within the community and the surrounding world. The language has a performative function. Rather than describing the way things are, it aspires to evoke the ideal society.

7.2 Summary of Text Analysis

The first longer section of 1QS I–III, 12 is held together thematically by the motif of entering the covenant. The metaphor “way” permeates the section overall and underscores the conversion scene where one way has to be chosen in favor of another. Two opposed ways are outlined here. The way that a convert leaves behind is driven by personal cravings and desires without any responsibility for fellow human beings. Such behavior has created contemporary society, which is ruled by lie under the sobriquet “Belial.” The covenant is here labeled “the covenant of friendship,” and by entering it the individual leaves the evil structures that rule society in favor of the good structures of the community. It was tentatively suggested that the first broken line may have communicated that the initiate into the covenant lays down his life as pledge, as a ransom for debt. Although the textual evidence is far too weak to sustain such a reconstruction, it is totally coherent with the concept of membership in the Yahad. Following this opening line are the aims of the community, namely, what they pledge themselves to do in the covenant. They enter the community as a freewill offering, contributing themselves and all their assets just as they would to the temple and its service. All things that have the potential of provoking envy or strife such as intelligence/knowledge, strength/power, and wealth (I, 11–13) must be “purged,” which means to be channeled in line with the ideology of the Yahad. Knowledge is highly valued in the Yahad, but it is not just any knowledge that is desired but rather “true” knowledge (I, 12). Such knowledge understands the relation between actions, the times, and God’s commands. It was argued that the concrete implications of the law are concerned with interpersonal relations in the time being. All knowledge that does not result in the realization of the vision in Micah 6:8 is false knowledge and does not adhere to truth. Those who are enlightened with “truth” are those suited for a covenant with God. They are consequently called the “children of light.” Instead of explaining this label as reminiscent of a once separate source, I argue here that it is closely related to the act of entering the covenant and therefore peculiar.
to the first three columns of 1QS. Entering the covenant by the serek means giving up the self and personal desires; “all the heart and soul” now belong to the Yahad and are placed under its dominion. Even love and hate are not to depend on individual feelings that could arouse desires, rivalry, and conflict (I, 9–10). An initiate of the covenant must accept that his life is restrained by its regulations and its hierarchy (the serek). Only in this way is it possible to walk straight and thereby fulfill God’s statutes in the covenant (I, 15). This is why they enter the covenant by the serek. This way of living is likened to a purging and, in light of the allusion to Daniel 11:35, this purging restores the covenant and inaugurates the time of judgment. By entering the covenant the initiates are saved from evil, hence the divine epithet: “God of Salvation.”

The second paragraph brings the audience into the account of a ritual with blessings, curses, and a confession of sins (I, 21–II, 10). It is argued in the analysis that the influence of Psalm 106 provides a consciousness of history as consisting of a long series of wrongdoings by the Israelites, with the main problem consisting in craving, envy, and rivalry. Just as in Psalm 106, the righteous devotion of the individual in 1QS is what saves the community and restores the covenant.727 In addition to this, I argue for an overall influence of the Leviticus account of the Day of Atonement in the section overall (I–III, 12). In a first instance, the account of the scapegoat is alluded to in two passages (I, 23–25 and II, 1b–10). As individuals they both confess an awareness of past and present transgressions as well as their own share in the rebellion against God. Instead of a third party relieving the nation of its wrongdoings on a yearly basis while rebellion and violence keep dissolving society, each individual is urged to take personal responsibility and steer his path toward the right way. When they therefore confess the sins of the children of Israel, the historical perspective—so absent otherwise—is present: we and our ancestors before us. They thereby take on the guilt of both past and present rebellion toward God.

The second instance where Leviticus 16 is echoed is in the blessing and curse over the “lots” of God and Belial (II, 1b–10). The blessed party is those whom God has enlightened so that they understand which mechanisms lead to life and peace. The cursed party, on the other hand, is those who keep adhering to evil unaware of the fact that they repeat the sort of wrongdoings that led to violation of the covenant in the past. In line with Werline, I argue that the curse, although formally constructed on the Aaronitic blessing, is best understood in light of texts such as Jubilees 23.728 In Jubilees the covenant is violated by Jews holding onto false interpretations of the Torah. In light of Jubilees 23, past transgressions have led to the current situation where falsehood (Belial) dominates the land and the righteous ones are exiled. It is no longer enough to only follow the formal expressions of the religious rites. It has to be accompanied by a conversion of the mind. The people of the lot of Belial think, however, that they take no part in evil and are therefore blind to their own guilt, which is why they cannot be atoned or saved. I argue that the curse ought to be understood as an account of how humans keep on reproducing violence by not admitting their part in a rebellious history. The violence that is forecast is consequently a reverberation in society that the people of falsehood themselves keep recreating, rather than a divine punishment.

The third paragraph castigates anyone who enters the covenant without inner conversion (II, 11–18). Such a person is what is most feared in the community in 1QS, since he will not only curse himself but corrupt the whole community that depends on the total loyalty and subordination of its members. It was argued that the term סַכּ, which in Deuteronomy 27:17 denotes physical boundaries (domains) between neighbors, in 1QS is taken in the meaning of “social” boundaries. Since the one depicted is a person who will not submit to any other authority than himself, he will sooner or later violate these social boundaries of the community. By doing so he also violates the covenant since this depends on each individual’s acceptance and respect for the social ladder. This is why a person such as the one depicted here poses a great threat to the Yahad.

In the last paragraph of the first section the close connection between the covenant and the hierarchal ladder on which the community rests is clearly articulated (II, 19–III, 12).

727 “Then Phinehas stood up and interceded, and the plague was stopped” (Ps 106:30).
I argue that the seemingly different parts of this section are like building stones that together form the ideological outlook represented in 1QS. I understand this paragraph as pivotal in order to apprehend the overarching discourse of 1QS. The way the text hangs together is as follows: Acceptance of each member’s placement in the internal hierarchy (II, 19–23) is presented as crucial in order to accomplish the ideal social life, which rests on values such as humility, merciful love, and righteous intention toward one another (II, 24–25a). Anyone who refuses to discipline himself within this hierarchy is someone who is blind to the true interpretations of the law (II, 25b–6a). He is someone who will not submit to other authorities than himself (III, 2b), which is why he cannot benefit from any acts of purging and atonement (II, 4b–6b). In the section that begins in II, 6a this negative case is used as the necessary background from which the mission of the community and its council shines forth. It is claimed that it is only the council of the community that possess the true knowledge of the divine commands and that it is only within the community that this knowledge can be incarnated.

This is why purging and atonement is only possible within the community and by its council. The paragraph is summed up by stating that if such a person as the one depicted converts and accepts community discipline, then he will become like an atoning sacrifice in the eyes of God, who will then accept him in the covenant. The overall influence from both terminology and motifs of the account of the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 16) is discussed in the analysis. I argue that the cleansing of the high priestly garment is likened to life in the community—the only place where the human may be cleansed of sin (see IV, 19b–22). In both texts is the expected effect of the ritual/procedures of atonement. Only those who make such personal sacrifice may be cleansed and washed, like the high priest’s clothes after driving the goat off into the desert. The one who does not accept this hierarchal system and its implications is consequently someone “who abhors the discipline” that is necessary for partaking of the secret knowledge of the Yahad (II, 25–III, 1). Such a person is—in the typical language of 1QS and of Hosea 10:13—one who wishes to trust in his own intellectual strength and judgment and follow his stubborn heart. He is therein a victim to “falsehood” and reproduces injustice. He is someone who, with the words of Leviticus 26:43–44, “rejects” entering God’s covenant. His soul abhors the necessary discipline that is crucial for achieving the right knowledge. The consequence of this is that he is spiritually unclean, like a leper, and must be kept outside the community as long as his stubborn ego guides him. If however he converts and subordinates himself to the community, then God will accept him as he would accept a sacrifice for atonement and the covenant will be reestablished on the basis of personal devotion in parity with Phinehas.

In the second major section in 1QS called “the Treatise” (III, 13–IV, 26), the two opposed forces in human inclination and culture are outlined. From the analysis of the Treatise it is argued that it tells the history and mission of the Yahad in mythological language. It begins by presenting the historical background of the community (III, 13–IV, 1). This is followed by an account of the characteristics of truth and falsehood in human behavior (IV, 1b–IV, 14) where the community and its adversaries are easily identified. In its last paragraph it gives an account of the present mission of the Yahad, which implies suffering as a means of purging. By their inner purging they become a judgment on falsehood, bring “truth” back into the discourse about power, and inaugurate a new world.

The subject of the discourse is introduced as a teaching of the different spiritual characters, “signs,” of human spirits, as well as the rewards that follow from their spiritual makeup. Alluding to Genesis, human spirits are compared to plants, “kinds,” who reveal their species by their behavior. This visible spiritual belonging is called “signs,” which recalls the heavenly bodies reflecting light or darkness in Genesis. The Maskil is to teach how to discriminate between “spirits” by teaching the audience about the kinds of behaviors that belong to truth and falsehood respectively. It was argued that the “dwelling of light” (III, 19) denotes the community. It is in the community that true knowledge of these things is available, while the “abode of darkness” is where the law is corrupted and violated. God is the one who beforehand has planned everything but rather than understanding this as a statement of fierce predestination, as is a common view among scholars, it was argued that it
deals with cause and effect: That which originates in light, namely knowledge and a willingness to sacrifice the self for a larger “truth,” will result in good deeds and healing. That which originates in darkness on the other hand, namely ignorance and a reluctance to be subordinated to a higher authority than the self will eventually result in evil actions and violence. It is therefore not a dichotomy between the psychological and the cosmic that is at stake here but rather the correlation between human behavior and socio-cultural structures where human behavior recreates culture and society, and in turn culture and society influence the choices of the individual.

In between the lines of the first paragraph the origin and mission of the community was discerned. It is argued that Hosea 9:7 is alluded to in 14b–15a where the dual destiny of humankind is depicted. The context of this Hosea passage is that truth has been oppressed and silenced in a wicked era, which in turn has put Israel in a severe state of defilement. In 1QS, just as in Hosea, is society depicted as being corrupted by an unjust rule from which no one can escape. “Truth” has been oppressed and silenced. The wicked and immoral acts that this has resulted in have put Israel in a severe state of defilement. I argue that the first paragraph of the Treatise thereby retells the origin and history of the community as emerging from a hostile rule under which they all violated the law. Unlike many previous interpretations of the Treatise, I understand its sobriquets as references to “real” historical persons. In line with this the messenger of Darkness is someone or several persons in power within the society and cult whose decisions had such impact that it could corrupt society. It was tentatively suggested that the historical teacher of righteousness may hide behind the “messenger of truth.” At least it was someone who helped them to choose truth (therefore his title) and thereby to walk on paths of light. From this moment God has loved everything that the community does, while he hates the deeds of those following darkness and falsehood. It is argued that these last lines retell the history of the birth of the Yahad.

The second and third paragraphs situate the opposed forces of light and darkness as truth and falsehood in human character and behavior. It also outlines the rewards and punishments for those following these. It was argued that the attitudes and behaviors that are most valued and feared in 1QS are displayed here. Those are behaviors with a potential to construct or deconstruct the community. Among these are humility and patience on the one hand and haughtiness and pride on the other. The offspring of light, namely “truth,” can be summed up with the words of Micah 6:8, which I argue is the very leitmotif of 1QS: “to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God.” The way to fulfill this vision depends on each member’s ability to be disciplined in the community, which in turn gives access to knowledge, or rather, is the knowledge. It has been argued in this thesis that the implications of the commandments in the contemporary time of the community concern interpersonal behaviors. These demand a humble attitude between fellow members, and separation from outsiders. Consequently these virtues are repeated every time the highest values of the Yahad are at stake. Those who behave in this way toward fellow members will be rewarded with the fallen glory of Adam. They inaugurate a new creation.

The analysis has shown that the behaviors associated with the spirit of falsehood are in all aspects contrary to the vision depicted in Micah 6:8. To this spirit belong all those who are guided by their selfish desires, who will not submit to external discipline, nor humble their hearts before a fellow Jew. Such persons are depicted as proud and hot tempered. They negotiate with truth in order to fulfill their desires. They are therefore in the service of impurity. A community built on such attitudes will never be able to keep their part of the covenant. In the analysis of the cases in the penal code (VI, 24–VII, 25) the reconnection to these vices were made. These behaviors are strictly forbidden and punished with separation since they undermine the covenant of loving friendship. The destiny of those behaving in this way is consequently harsh: All the curses of the covenant will befall them and they will be extinguished. Although the virtues and vices in this passage correspond in form—and to some extent in content—with other such (usually later) lists, it is argued that the ones displayed here in all aspects correspond to the ideology that is communicated in 1QS as a whole. The positive and negative behaviors that are listed here are reproduced in other parts of 1QS where the demanded or rejected behavior of the Yahad (or its antagonists) are
outlined. The qualities are, as Newsom points out, not abstractions but “dispositions that are part of the daily praxis of the sect.” In this manner “humility” should be understood in relation to acceptance of discipline (2:24–3:1) and in the daily interchange with fellow members (V, 24b–25).

The fourth and last paragraph of the Treatise opens by positioning humankind within the domains of the two spirits. Everyone is guided by truth or falsehood, depending on his respective share in light and darkness. It is argued that this part of the discourse presents the final solution to the stressful situation depicted in the first paragraph. It consists in God choosing some human beings (the community) for a re-creation. These he will cleanse and purify from the evil structures of society by the means of knowledge. This paves the way for “truth,” namely the ideology of the community, to regain power, since the “truth” is this special way of living. Still, during contemporary time, the human heart is torn by the internal power struggle between good and evil, which is why the community of those who choose truth and depart from evil still is necessary (cf. II, 19ff., and V, 1f.). It is argued that the special mission of the community comes to the fore in this paragraph as due to a conflict over different interpretations of the law, which in turn leads to an irreconcilable enmity between the two sides—they cannot coexist. The strong image that the truth “has debased itself” (IV, 19) suggests that until recently no one stood up for the righteous values but even the law was misused to benefit evil. This image was further stressed by analysis of the allusion to Habakkuk 1:3 where the law could not shine forth with its light since wicked people oppressed the righteous and corrupted justice. In order to escape the defilement that this oppression inevitably leads to, separation is crucial, and it is during this separation (exile) that the new era when truth will triumph is inaugurated. This new era begins with the refinement and purging of a few chosen ones. This is enlightened by the analysis of the underlying allusion to Malachi 3:3. The Malachi text tells of how the purging and refining of Levites shall restore the apostate history of the people, where the law has been violated and the covenant broken. It is clear from the context that this refining refers to the present time of the community. They are now suffering in order to be purged and refined like silver and gold and to regain power (“offer righteous offerings”) on the day that God has decided. The Treatise is summed up with a reconnection to the opening part of the discourse and thereby to Genesis 1–3. God allows evil to exist for didactic reasons: So that each human being may learn about good and evil and so choose what is good and in order to judge humankind.

Following the Treatise on the Two Spirits, when the two irreconcilable powers of truth and falsehood have been outlined, focus is put on the people of the community (1QS V–VII). They are the ones who “turn away from evil and separate from the congregation of the people of falsehood.” It is argued that the opening phrase is a response to the message in the Treatise that truth and falsehood cannot coexist. The current section then picks up on the discourse in the Treatise and presents the community as the place where such separation from falsehood is possible. Instead of following falsehood they shall cling to God’s commandments, which imply the right interpretation of the law in terms of ethical conduct—the concrete implications of what is outlined in the paragraph. The section contains yet another account of entering the covenant. Although there is no reason to doubt that the same covenant entrance is accounted for here as in columns I–III, the implied audience is different. Those who are addressed are already initiated members who during a yearly gathering enter the council of the community. Their inner conversion is presupposed and their assets are already brought into the community. The focus is therefore not on the rite per se (with blessings and curses) but rather on the significance of the covenant. To enter the covenant is a demonstration of loyalty that safeguards their true discourse and just judgments in the procedures that are to be carried out (“trial and verdict”). When they enter the covenant they swear an oath to return to the Law of Moses as it is interpreted in the Yahad, and to separate from anyone who does not recognize these interpretations as the truth. The first command sums up all that is required for a community dedicated to humility and mutual love (Mic 6:8). At the foundation of this lies the annual evaluation of the

729 Newsom 2004: 129.
hierarchical list. The list, serek, in which each member’s rank is inscribed lies at the basis of all those communal activities that are mentioned in 1QS. Due to this, any expressions of disrespect toward a fellow member, especially one higher in rank, is regarded as a serious crime. This violates the very foundation of the community and thereby jeopardizes the covenant. Separation, in turn, is advocated against the antagonists. It was argued that the antagonists are a group akin to the Yahad that does not agree on their particular interpretation of the law. The quote and many allusions to Scripture in this section demonstrate that the relation with this group was a matter of importance that was not yet finally settled in the community. During the yearly reunion, when they enter the covenant, they mutually evaluate the hierarchical standing place of each member (V, 20a–VI, 1a). Each one is evaluated in relation to their understanding (יָשָׁר) and perfect conduct. It was argued that the term הָשָׁר in 1QS corresponds to the three related meanings that Nyberg (1942: 41–42) assigned to the term: namely: (a) To act wisely, with good judgment and loving kindness, and to be capable, to have a good hand with things; (b) to be fostered in these abilities by chastening (c); to become successful by means of these abilities. The term is then closely related to an understanding of the mechanisms of good and evil. It is knowledge of the kinds of behaviors that have the potential of realizing the aims of Micah 6:8 in community life. Such understanding is what makes a member rise in the internal hierarchy. Directly following this account is a prohibition of utmost importance: No one must speak to another with anger, with grumbling or with a stiff neck or in a jealous spirit of wickedness. And no one should hate another because of his own uncircumcised heart but must on the same day reprove his fellow to not bear guilt because of him. These two related prohibitions illustrate what has just been stated about the “understanding,” namely as dealing with right and wrong behaviors. The behaviors that are prohibited here are a potential threat to the unity of the Yahad and must therefore be dealt with immediately. Hatred is a feeling that will spread and contaminate more than the mind of its possessor. It could spread like a disease in a society and destabilize the whole community. It was argued that the practice of reproof shows more concern for the victim of the offence since it is the victim that constitutes the risk of destabilizing the community by his feelings of hatred and need to revenge. I argue that this prohibition summarizes the threat that the serek wishes to diminish, namely, each person following their own mind and thereby harboring feelings of revenge and hatred. By taking on the yoke, that is, the community discipline and hierarchy (the serek), such behaviors and feelings are restrained. This in turn renders it possible to realize the words of Micah 6:8 in the Yahad, which are alluded to also in this passage. The first paragraph of the section is finally summed up by what I have labeled “a word of sending” (VI, 1b–8a). After this outline they are now sent back to their different geographical locations in order to also there practice the same approach toward one another. This part of 1QS is important when it comes to the question of the geographical location of the Yahad. There is nothing in 1QS that explicitly claims that Qumran was used as a permanent place of residence for the Yahad. This is also why the information in the current passage is not contradictory from a text-internal perspective. The implied setting of the text is rather a yearly reunion at a place such as Qumran after which they are sent back to their everyday lives, wherever that may be. In all places must the hierarchy be strictly maintained during shared meals, negotiations, and in the investigations of the law—the same three fields of interaction that are correspondingly forbidden with the rival group.

In VI, 8 a new rule for “the session of the Many” begins. The setting is a “session” during which both form (seating and the order in which they may speak) and content (the allowed subjects to be brought up for discussion) relate to the internal ranking system. The implied setting for the session of the Many is during the (yearly) reunions accounted for in V, 1–VI, 8a. The majority of the fully initiated members of the Yahad then come together to judge, deal with admission of new members, and settle legal cases. The paragraph is divided between procedures and rules for the sessions (VI, 8b–13a) and admission of new members (VI, 13b–23). These topics are interrelated. The first step of admission is consequently to enter the covenant if the initiate “is suitable” for discipline. The next step is to be evaluated in relation to his “understanding” (יָשָׁר) and his behavior, and gradually brought in to the
council while all the time living in the community. The analogy to the Leviticus account
(25:30) of a “house for sale” demonstrates the grand sacrifice that an initiate makes: After a
completed admission he is no longer his own master.

During the annual meeting they also gather as a legal court. What is here called the
penal code is a section that contains casuistic cases that shall guide them in their exercise of
judgment (VI, 24–VII, 25). From the analysis it is demonstrated that all cases in some way
deal with violation of the harmony of the Yahad. A tentative way of grouping the offenses
displays this common core:

1. Lying about property or status and trying to appear as superior.
2. Disrespecting the hierarchy by acting stubbornly, responding impatiently, or
disregarding the position of a superior, and thereby usurping authority.
   Disrespecting God, priests, or fellow members.
3. Keeping a grudge and not following the procedures concerning how to resolve them.
   Taking revenge by oneself.
4. Rules concerning speech. Interrupting a fellow member during the sessions or using
   foolish speech.
5. Disrespectful, exaggerated, or aggressive behavior. Sleeping during a meeting or
   leaving it without permission. To guffaw improperly. To gesture with one’s hand. To
   walk around naked. To spit. To show one’s genitals.
6. Slander, grumbling, and treason against fellow members, the Many, or the authority
   of the community. Deviating from the authority of the community and dealing
   treacherously with the truth. Veterans who backslide and deal treacherously with the
   community, or who continue being involved with such an expelled person.

One disrespectful act against a fellow member has the potential of breaking the
covention with God, which is why behaviors rather than criminal acts are at stake here. The
penal code intends to restrain every such kind of behavior that may lead to social disorder.
This is the case where a member in one way or another intends to usurp authority unjustly or
deals treacherously and so undermines the credence of the community. All the
transgressions that are listed in the code lead to different degrees of separation. The obvious
reason for separation is for the transgressor to repent but it also means that the “pure”
members do not risk being contaminated by the transgressor until his way is perfect again.

The section that began in column VIII has become known in the scholarly world as
the Manifesto. This theory assign parts of the section of 1QS VIII, 1–IX, 12 to a nucleus group
in the history of the Yahad. I claim from a text-internal perspective, that it now has the
reverse function. It is now that the highest ideals and mission of the council of the
community is expressed. All that which has previously been implied is now spelled out, and
all that which has been spelled out is implied. What is communicated here is the community
of those who have attained the highest level of holiness and perfection. Together they
constitute the reconstructed Israel and priesthood. The individual perspective is completely
absent. The inner transformation of each individual member of the community that has been
dealt with up until now is here a fait accompli. The Micah vision (6:8) is now fully
implemented. It was demonstrated how the reproduction of the scriptural passage was
slightly changed in a significant manner (from Micah): “To walk humbly with your God” to
“walk humbly each with his fellow.” By doing so the fundamental importance that
interpersonal relations have in the community are stressed. They can only choose truth and
reject falsehood if they together practice the spirit expressed in Micah 6:8 (see II, 23–25).
The identity and mission of the council of the community is here expressed in terms of
architectural references to the city and the sanctuary. They are the “house of holiness.” Their
integrity is like the walls of the city inside which truth is kept safe. Their perfect conduct is
like the cornerstone by which the whole building (society) is set on trial. In this human
sanctuary atonement is exercised by their mutually blameless behavior (“doing justice”) and
by them suffering affliction. They are “chosen by divine pleasure” to atone for the earth, a
phrase that recalls the suffering servant who is the implied role model here: He who atones
by bringing forth justice and suffering affliction. That the end time is envisioned in this section is obvious—not least in the reference to the Treatise by the expression “falsehood shall cease to exist.” The fully trained and perfected community now takes side with God in the final drama, which will exterminate evil and inaugurate the messianic era (IX, 11). It is claimed in the text that the insights gained from studying the law have led to a separation comparable to moving out in the wilderness. Although a physical relocation may also be intended here, it is argued that it is the case of different interpretations of the law that separate them from society at large. At the same time, the way in the wilderness is also a way back from exile. This is the way they are paving by their study and life, which in turn is what atones for the land and what becomes a judgment over wickedness.

In the new paragraph beginning in VIII, 20 there is a change of scope in the category, namely: “all who enter the council of holiness.” Those targeted in this section not only have access to the doctrine of the community but also set the standards for community life. These standards all deal with the interpersonal, namely how to “walk” together each with his fellow (Mic 6:8). It is therefore the case that anyone who participates in the counseling and repeatedly trespasses the rules of behaviors must be excluded. Such a person does not have the “understanding” that is required in the Yahad. It is argued that the designation the “holy people/council” is a way to label the community/council of the community when there is risk of defilement and profanation. This is in particular a risk when a fellow member falls back into moral sin, such as is the case in this section. Considering the identification with the temple in the section overall (VIII–IX, 12), the designation “holy” is a way to stress that it must never be trespassed by anyone who is morally defiled; from such a person one must stay separated in order not to be contaminated. The existence of more than one penal code in 1QS is by many scholars taken as a token of the redaction process of the text where different rules witness to the development of the community. According to this theory the need for a more elaborate rule that corresponds to a more developed society lies behind the penal code, while the smaller rules such as in VIII, 16b–19 and VIII, 20–IX, 2 witness to an earlier and less elaborated stage in the history of the community. From a text-internal perspective I argue that the relation between these rules must be understood differently. The whole section VIII, 1–IX, 11 is concerned with those who have achieved the highest perfection of their conduct. The important matter here is therefore not to recount the many ways in which a person may break the law, since this knowledge is expected. What the rule communicates is rather that no one who breaks any of the fundamental rules that govern the community wantonly can continue to be part of the council of the community since this person has double standards. The rule allows for one inadvertent mistake, but not for two, since repeated transgressions show that you are not suited for the council of the perfectly holy people. This is enough to state in this context where the highest values and mission of the council of the community are expressed. When it comes to the relation between VIII, 16–19 and VIII, 20–IX, 2 it was suggested that the status of the transgressor is what justifies two different but similar commands. The first deals with those who are not yet full members, which is why less is demanded of them, while the second rule deals with fully initiated members, who by now ought to have comprehended the fuller meaning of the law.

In IX, 3 begins the last paragraph in the section. For the last time is the phrase “when these become” repeated and climaxed: When “these” perfect of behavior speak up for justice and conduct a flawless life they have become a foundation for holy spirit and for truth. When they have given their lives as a ransom for truth, they atone for the rebellious acts that have defiled the land. The community now exercises the role of the temple to atone for the land. It was argued that the terminology for the sins committed echoes I, 24–25 and III, 22, which in turn echo Leviticus 16. These echoes bring in the political conflict that has corrupted society and its members. The community is now, by means of its flawless behavior, a cure for this evil. In order to accomplish atonement they must separate themselves from society and reconstruct the fallen Israel into the two domains: Israel and Aaron. The difference now from earlier is that the priests alone have power. It is suggested that the reason for this is understood in the paragraph’s explicit context of “temple.” During this crucial time they inaugurate a time where the regulations of the community are not necessary anymore. That
will be the time when the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel and the prophet come. In light of the larger discourse of 1QS this was interpreted as the time when a just and righteous leadership rules society again. That will be the time when priestly and royal institutions are upheld by different—legitimate—individuals and the institutions are being scrutinized by the function of prophets. At that time there will be no more need for a corrective community. They will be able to take part in culture and society again. Truth, as manifested in the structure and regulations of the community, will by then have revealed falsehood and be in power again.

In the last major section—1QS XI, 12–XI, 22—focus is finally put on the individual member of the community through the lens of the Maskil, the wisdom teacher. Thematic threads and topics in previous sections are now tied together in the dispositions, actions, and attitudes of the Maskil both as a community official (IX, 12–21a) and as an ideal member of the community (IX, 21b–XI, 22). In a first paragraph the duties of the Maskil are outlined. These imply making discriminations of human character and fate, based on the interpretation of the law in the time being, and from an evaluation of history. The duties of the Maskil imply a mustering of each member’s understanding of the commandments as well as the outcome of this understanding, that is, their behaviors. He is a teacher who guides the individual members (the converts) into the secrets of the community. As a second step he guides them as a group, teaching them the concrete implications of how the law must be lived in community life. This is called “to prepare the Way to the wilderness” and it necessarily implies a separation from those who follow other structures of thought and behavior. The latter are personified by the people of perdition, a designation that defines the destiny that awaits them.

When focusing on the norms that must guide the behavior of the Maskil and his interaction with “outsiders,” the suffering servant is the implied role model. In the same manner as the servant, the Maskil must endure the sufferings that other people cause him in order not to enter their violent logic. As an effect of this, he must not let his personal desires draw him into rivalry. Instead he must act toward his adversaries as a slave would toward his master. His own cravings must be channeled toward God. All of his possessions and all that he craves to possess—whether it be wealth, knowledge, or power—must be submissive to the will of God. In the meantime, when the current era brings him suffering and affliction, he must praise his creator under whatever circumstance that may be. He shall do so with the offering of lips. I argue that this expression, in addition to denoting “prayer,” means speaking up for justice (see IX, 5). It stresses the importance of speech in the community as the very vehicle to recreate the world.

The section here called the Norms for the Maskil moves seamlessly into the first part of what is usually labeled the hymn (IX, 26b–X, 8a). This section recounts the times and occasions for prayer. The first occasion is “during affliction” after which it calls for prayer on two daily occasions (expressed in three ways). The analysis of the allusions has shown that they bring in an eschatological perspective on times of darkness and light. The same goes for the prayers on the new moon festival, holy days and seasons, years, sabbaticals and the jubilees. As an underlying current, the eschatological and messianic times are alluded to at the same time as the calendric times are recounted. The scriptural text that mainly influences this initial part of the hymn is Genesis 1:14–16: “‘Let there be lights in the dome of the sky to separate the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years, and let them be lights in the dome of the sky to give light upon the earth.’ And it was so. God made the two great lights—the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night—and the stars.” In 1QS, in both the Treatise and the hymn, this is understood not only as a description of the physical construction of the universe but also of the metaphysical (III, 13–15). The “signs,” at the same time as indicating times for prayer, also show the spiritual abode of human beings. Therefore, both heavenly bodies and human beings have to be observed and interpreted in order for the pious to stay in tune with God’s will. I suggest that this may be what is meant with the phrase “fulfilling the law of their decree.” It may both be referring to the times of prayer that must be “fulfilled” as well as the “decree of the time,” which has to do with interpersonal relations to insiders and outsiders. This interpretation is strengthened by the occurrence of the term “decree,” which in 1QS
always occurs in relation to the covenant. This term denotes the covenantal contract, which according to 1QS consists in the interpersonal aspects of the law. It has to do with behavior toward insiders and outsiders in the time being.

During the daily recital of the Shema, the Decalogue, and the confession of sins, the significance of the covenant is remembered as a conversion from falsehood to truth. They enter the covenant in their mind both morning and evening. While doing so, they are reminded that this shall be done as long as Belial is in dominion, that is, during the current dark and evil era of distress. By reciting God’s covenantal statutes the hymnist sets his boundaries in order so as not to backslide. He thereby reminds himself of the social boundaries that lie at the basis of the covenantal contract. These boundaries are compared to the deluge, when God put a boundary for the waters not to flood and create chaos again. In the same manner the pious one reminds himself of the social boundaries that prevent chaos and anarchy. The contemporary time of the text is one of want. The community is just like David in the wilderness (Psalm 63) who, although surrounded by enemies, praises the Lord and experiences the soul being satisfied with God’s delicacies. The community is the place where God already inaugurates the messianic time, while evil continues to dominate the surrounding world.

After this account of the times in relation to prayer, focus is put on time in relation to interpersonal behavior. It begins with an outline of the attitude toward humankind in general, followed by the adversaries, after which fellow members are dealt with. The opening part of this passage re-evokes “the norms that shall guide the Maskil” (IX, 21–26) in that the roots of evil are identified as envy and desire. In both sections are the denoted objects of desire property and discussions of the law. The adversaries are depicted as powerful people who are in the service of falsehood and who oppress. They are victims of their own desires (striving for wealth). In order not to be contaminated by their moral iniquity and the violence they spread, the Maskil must stay away from them and from the adjuncts to their activity, such as their property, which is gained from violence (X, 19). His attitude toward the adversaries recalls again that of the suffering servant in Isaiah. He shall endure the suffering that they cause him while he awaits the justice of God. In line with this, the Maskil states that he shall not “keep Belial in his heart.” Belial is in this particular instance related to speech: The Maskil shall never use his speech in the service of falsehood or for the love of gain. All such “knowledge” shall be erased from his mind. This is possible since he has received the knowledge that leads to life. This knowledge he puts into practice in a way that concurs with God’s plan. The current time demands loving kindness toward the humble and humbleness toward the oppressive, a behavior resembling the servant’s in Isaiah.730 The Maskil has been given insight into the “hidden things” so that he can see the truth. This hidden wisdom is hedged inside the community, which in turn is likened to a temple garden that protects its valuable assets from outsiders. It is in this Garden of Eden that a new creation shall take place, beginning in each member of the community. By contrasting the assembly of a holy building with the assembly of deceitful flesh, to which the Maskil also belongs, the impossibility of any human to depart from the mechanisms of violence on his own is stressed. Finally, in the very last part of 1QS (XI, 15b–17a) the identification of the Maskil/community with the suffering servant is spelled out by allusion to Isaiah 40:3: “Here is my servant, whom I uphold, my chosen, in whom my soul delights; I have put my spirit upon him; he will bring forth justice to the nations.” This passage is underlined by a hook to stress its importance.731 The identification with the servant and the many echoes with Job

730 The servant songs in Isaiah 42–53 influence all parts of 1QS and col. VIII, and XI, 15b–17a in particular. Roberts (2006: 275) comments on the large number of citations and allusions from Isaiah in the Qumran writings, that the identity and experience of reality was shaped by Isaiah. A concrete example of this is the use of Isaiah to denote the community and its opponents. It is however noteworthy that from F. Morrow’s list (1973: 205–13) of the four most frequently quoted Isaiah texts (11:1–6, 26:3, 28:14, and 59:20) only one, 26:3, stands out as important in 1QS while instead passages from Isa 40–53 occur frequently when the self-identity of the community is expressed.

731 This identification was made to already in col. VIII, where the role of the community, just as here, is to bring forth justice by doing justice and suffering affliction.
address the question of why the current time implies suffering. The answer is that God has
chosen the community as the locus of His recreation. It is all part of God’s plan.

7.3 Social and Cultural Contexts

In what follows I will draw some conclusions concerning the representation of the immediate
and the wider concrete world in 1QS, namely, the social and cultural context (in SFL called
the context of situation and the context of culture). The social context has to do with the
historical producer and receiver of the message, the time and place of the production, and
the social setting of the communicative event. The question of historical producer is perhaps
the most difficult to answer. It is proved that more than one scribal hand has composed 1QS
and its layers of redaction argue for a textual development that may be due to several
historical producers. When focusing only on the extant text of 1QS, I hold it to be coherent in
the way that contemporary culture and Jewish society as well as the aims and mission of the
Yahad are represented. This suggests a historical producer who belongs to the movement of
the Yahad. The implied producer of the text is the Teacher of Righteousness or someone who
has his mandate. It is someone whose knowledge concurs with God’s. His knowledge exceeds
that which is communicated in 1QS. The implied audience is in all sections the members
(new and old) of the Yahad. In the first major section (cols. I–III) those addressed are
community officials who are to carry out the ritual of the covenant entrance ritual (a
procedural discourse). The overhearing audience is first and foremost new converts who are
transferred to the new idiolect of the community by the biblical language that saturates the
first columns. Beginning in column V focus is put on already initiated members, who during
the yearly reunion come to participate in the council where the interpretations of the law are
contextualized. In the council, lawsuits are settled and decisions concerning admission taken.
The members of the council have to show their absolute loyalty to the ideology of the Yahad
by entering the covenant before carrying out their task. Beginning in column VIII, the
activity of the council is in focus. When the law is fully observed and understood in relation
to the demands of the time being, the community will become like the temple that atones for
the land. They will exercise judgment, exterminate evil, and inaugurate a new era of justice
and peace. Finally, in the last major section beginning in column IX, the wisdom teacher
is addressed with the whole community as the overhearing audience. By hearing about his
duties and listening to his ponderings, the ideology of 1QS is internalized and the individual
covenanter is motivated to carry on life within the Yahad. The implied reader/hearer of 1QS
understands more than what is spelled out in the text. He fills in the gaps, understands the
references, presuppositions, and also the implicature without it having to be spelled out.732
He detects and understands the double reference of the allusions. He is familiar with the
exegesis of the community and its implications in everyday life. But he needs to be motivated
to carry on life within the community. This gives a clue to the purpose of the writing but
before giving my opinion on this I will depict the antagonists. When discussing the
prohibited points of contact with the rival group in column V it becomes clear that the two
groups are akin or even, as Hempel puts it, “extremely close.”733 With this group they used to
share meals, negotiate/work, and authority in relation to the law. These activities are what
constitutes the Yahad (VI, 1b–8a). The antagonism depends on different interpretations of
the law where the rivals do not acknowledge the ways of the Yahad as the true
interpretations of the law. Because of this they must cut all interaction with them. The
passage is clustered with quotes and allusions that indicate that the question concerning the
relationship with the antagonists is not settled. The urge toward separation is for this reason

732 Reference is the author’s way of using an expression to refer to something, for example “he” instead of “my
uncle.” Presupposition is the appreciated knowledge of the reader/hearer, that which does not have to be spelled
out since it is part of the common knowledge of the participants in a discourse. Implicature has to do with what is
suggested in an utterance but for some reason is not spelled out. Inference, finally, denotes the interpretative
process of a discourse. This concerns the conclusions that the hearer/reader draws from previous, or following,
sections of a discourse in order to understand the current (Brown and Yule 1983: 27–35).
enhanced by scriptural support in order to be fully respected. I hold it possible that the communicative event to which 1QS is a witness concerns the separation from this akin group. The entrance into the covenant demonstrates whether you are loyal to the Yahad or to the rivals. When it comes to the place of the communicative event there is nothing that explicitly identifies it as being the Khirbet Qumran or any other place. Although I prefer to think of the references to wilderness/exile as spiritual states rather than geographical, it cannot be ruled out that the yearly reunion may have taken place at Qumran. The existence of the site in close access to the caves is an indication of this. In addition to this, Qumran is relatively close in distance to the Jordan where the “crossing over” into the covenant may have taken place as a manifestation of them carrying out a new exodus. The theological idea that the land was defiled from moral sin also suggests that the community would have chosen a place on the fringes of, or even outside of the borders of the land. From this yearly reunion they are sent back to their towns and villages with the urge to maintain the high standard concerning the mutual relations within the movement (VI, 1b–8a). I concur with those scholars who argue that they Yahad is an umbrella term for different communities in the land and that this may also explain the existence of the different recensions of the Serekh ha-Yahad.734

The wider context of culture in which 1QS is shaped is Jewish. It is concerned with the theological of temple and sacrifice, clean and unclean, sins, purging, and atonement, exile and return, prayer and holy days, and covenant and commandments. It is a multi-language culture where the Hebrew language is challenged by Aramaic and to some extent Greek. The somewhat archaic Hebrew in 1QS gives witness to its losing status as a spoken language. The geographic setting is Second Temple Judah. The time during which 1QS was copied/composed concurs with the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE).735 He is known to posterity for his cruelty. The time of his reign was turbulent partly since the shadow of the Seleucids still prevailed over the Jewish nation and since the Roman Empire began to pose a threat in the region. But also since the nation suffered from domestic problems, at times almost culminating in civil war. Important offices of power were negotiable, which made them an object of rivalry. Against this background the brief references to contemporary culture are enlightened. In 1QS culture is ruled by “Belial,” which implies deception or falsehood. In society “Belial” is incarnated in a corrupt leadership, which leads everyone—even righteous people—into darkness and inevitable transgressions of God’s commandments (II, 20b–23). People who belong to this culture and society will not admit to having any part in producing the evil structures (II, 4b–9). They “consider darkness as ways of life” (III, 3), which is to say they prefer the short-term benefits that they can accrue from a corrupt society. They rely on the vicarious function of cult without any conversion of mind. It is in this context that the mission of the Yahad must be understood. Their particular way of life is an answer to the problem of evil, corruption, political instability, and foreign occupation. A society without internal loyalty between its human beings will create disloyal leaders. The Yahad therefore creates a society constructed on loyalty, from which the just leaders eventually will spring, that is, until there comes a prophet, and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel (IX, 11). This way of understanding the role of Yahad runs counter to the “sectarian” label given by scholars who understand the Yahad as a marginalized group created in despair over the “real” political situation in society. Life within the Yahad is accordingly understood as a replacement of “real” life, which provides meaning to the submissive. Here it is instead argued that they are an active part of the larger discourse of Second Temple Judaism. In order to accomplish the vision of Micah 6:8 they must choose the ways of the Yahad in favor of all other, but this is not to say that they give up neither on the land, the temple or its just rule. What they do instead is to incarnate God’s will in the “covenant of loving friendship” and so become a judgment for culture and society. The means by which they become “a cure” for evil may have been the separating line between them and the close rivals. I hold it possible that the starting point for this new movement

734 E.g., Schofield: 2009.
735 It has been argued that the historical person of Alexander Janneaus lies behind the sobriquet “the Wicked Priest” in Qumran. See, e.g., Delcor 1951: 521–48 and Nitzan 1986: 132–33.
could have been with the Teacher of righteousness. He may be the real person behind the messenger of truth in III, 24 who guided the community to this new way of life as a response to a corrupt society. Following that line of thought, he understood the deeper meaning of texts such as Micah 6:8. What is communicated in 1QS is that only such a society, which controls rivalry and conflict, is a legitimate covenantal partner with God. The covenant is consequently called the “covenant of friendship” (I, 8), which shall realize the vision of Micah 6:8 on earth, and thereby create a new culture and society. The new culture is one where the law has implications for how humans behave toward each other in everyday life. This will generate a society with a just rule, where priestly and royal functions are separated, and where a prophet safeguards justice for individual members.

When it comes to the question of genre I concur with Stauber that 1QS relates to the prophetic. It unfolds God’s mysteries over time and explains how this involves the Yahad. When read from beginning to end, the text communicates the purpose, identity, and mission of the Yahad as coworkers in God’s end-time narrative. But instead of projecting this into the future, the language has a performative function. The language itself creates the desired society. In line with this, it is argued that the overarching text type in 1QS is procedural. The writing is addressed to whoever dedicates himself to the life of the Yahad, and its procedures are to be carried out during an era when falsehood reigns: They are called and converted (I–III), taught (III–IV) and trained (V–VII) in order to finally exercise judgment over wickedness (VIII) and inaugurate the messianic era (IX). The way the different sections correspond to this development can be seen in their favorite terminology. In columns I–IV terminology pertaining to the metaphor “way” dominates. A convert to the covenant leaves his old ways in favor of the ways of the Yahad. In columns V–VII the key word is “separation.” It is advocated both vertically—between members in a hierarchal ladder, and horizontally—in relation to antagonists. Separation is the means by which the community can fulfill their mission as envisioned by Micah 6:8. All members are tried and tested on their ability to accept difference and separation. In columns VIII–IX, 11 the key terms are “holy” and “perfect.” The perfection aimed at in the previous sections is now fait accompli. The community of the perfect and holy now becomes a judgment against and atonement for the land. They pave the way back from exile and so inaugurate the messianic time of national justice and peace. In a last section an individual pious member reflects on the times and the rules of behavior demanded for the time being. His ponderings reinforces the audience to endure the present time of suffering. By hearing/reading 1QS from beginning to end the hearers/readers then follow a convert from his first steps into the covenant, through the identity forming processes where perfection is aimed, into the final mission of the perfect and holy community, and lastly through his personal reflections on suffering and redemption in the time being.

It has been claimed that the rhetorical strategies that are communicated in 1QS intend to create submissive members who conform their lives under fear of the penalties. I have come to a different understanding. Under the harsh surface of a strong rhetorical language I have discerned a community with a strong longing for justice and affection between human beings. It possesses an understanding of the human inclination in its potential to create or deconstruct human culture and society. It is a community that intends to nip the bud of all such attitudes and behaviors that risk creating conflicts and destabilizing society. Their mission may well be one of the craziest in history. But in their own eyes this community is like the Garden of Eden where a new creation is already taking place by means of the purity of their loving kindness and mutual humble attitude toward each other.

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736 Stauber 2013: 226.
Chapter 8

Reading 1QS in Dialogue with René Girard

As a hermeneutical experiment I now bring my analysis of 1QS into dialogue with the works of René Girard. In order to do so, I will first summarize the main features of his work as it is presented in four books: *La violence et le sacré* (1972), *Des choses cachées depuis la fondation du monde* (1978), *Le bouc émissaire* (1982), and *Je vois Satan tomber comme l’éclair* (1999). After this outline I will bring my previous analysis of 1QS into dialogue with the texts of René Girard. I will follow the same outline of 1QS as in previous chapters, discussing each major section separately. Finally, I will summarize the discussion. In order for this “experiment” to work, I will accept the major premises of the philosophy of René Girard. This does not imply that I personally embrace the totality of his theories but rather that the purpose of this experiment is to investigate the text in a new way, in light of a theory that seems to address problems akin to the ones conceived in 1QS.

8.1 Acquisitive Mimesis and Mimetic Rivalry

According to Girard, every functioning society has built in differences in its social structures. These differences safeguard it from violence. Yet all culture is what Girard calls mimetic. Each member of a society learns by imitating, culture is imitation. When Girard speaks of the mimetic, focus lies on inner motivations such as desire. Most of our cultural features depart from a suppression of what he calls the *acquisitive mimesis*. This is the moment when more than one individual desire the same object. Desire is mimetic. By seeing what others want we learn about value and thereby about what is desirable. According to Girard, desire is a triangular structure always with an opening toward violence and rejection. Far from being autonomous, our desire for a certain object is always provoked by the desire of another person, “the mediator,” for this same object. The mimetic is what develops both society and its members. It is what constitutes culture, since without imitation there is no culture, but it is also where we find the roots of violence. When two individuals share desire for the same object, rivalry appears. This rivalry tends to be contagious, soon more individuals join in and since the desire always concerned “the other” the object of desire soon fades away. What is now being imitated is the antagonism against the same enemy.

(a) The function of the forbidden: Putting a stop to the mimetic

The conflicts that are caused by acquisitive mimesis can shed light on the basic etiological question concerning the forbidden. When studying the prohibition in “primitive cultures,” Girard finds prohibitions against violence. He also finds prohibitions against those situations that could lead to violence, such as too much rivalry or some forms of competition. Concerning the latter, there are prohibitions that seem unintelligible at first glance. Amongst these are prohibitions against imitating behavior and the repetition of speech. The point Girard makes is that all prohibitions/tabooes are to be seen as a unity in order to be intelligible. They all aim to prevent mimetic violence and give witness to an understanding of violence that modern society has forgotten. In modern society it all comes down to the administration of justice done by instances that are raised above all antagonists. If they do not exist or function one comes back to the imitative and repetitive character of violence. But primitive societies will not separate the individual act from its context, since the context in

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738 The word “primitive” is not a derogative but rather the designation for a society without a developed administrative and judicial system.
itself is violent. It is in this light we should regard the taboos, in their entirety, as prevention against acquisitive mimesis.

(b) The function of the rite: Demand for the mimetic

Rites are diametrically opposed to prohibitions. Prohibitions aim to restrain the mimetic desire before it is expressed. The rites on the other hand, reenact the crisis and insult the taboos in order to channel the crisis in the right direction and dissolve it. Rites are a repetition of the mimetic crisis. What is most feared is being staged. It is as if the simulated disintegration could prevent the real. Rites are the hope of a society with a growing conflict. If they are successful they can direct the conflicts toward one target, namely the sacrifice. Girard does not differentiate between different rites. According to him initiation rites follow the same logic. The initiation has to be terrifying in order for the initiated to take part in the saving effect of the sacrifice. It is a transition from one identity to another where the old identity must be dissolved.

(c) Sacrifice and mechanisms of sacrifice

In order to resolve an increasing crisis, the antagonists must unite their enmity toward the same victim. They must choose for themselves a scapegoat. The victim, if the sacrifice is successful, appears as both responsible for the crisis (the illusion of the guilty sacrifice) and holy in that it has magically restored the peace and the differences in society. The sacrifice is then the “good” violence that cures and unites, unlike the “bad” violence that corrupts, divides, dissolves and equalizes. The unity of the community is confirmed in the act of sacrifice and this unity appears when the dissolution reaches its climax. This is the moment where the community regards itself as torn apart by the mimetic conflict and given up to a vindictive retribution in a circle that can’t be dissolved. Instead of a situation where everyone is up against everyone, a situation enters where everyone is standing against one. The community is unified at the cost of a victim for whom it is impossible to arouse feelings of revenge. Since everyone in the community takes part, the crisis cannot be revived again, it is the last word of violence. The community thinks it has found the root of evil and experiences itself as cleansed. The victim is regarded as holy since it restores the peace. After the crisis has been resolved there are two demands according to Girard. One is to avoid repeating the gesture of the crisis. One must stay away from all mimetic contact with the former antagonists as well as from all acts that aim to acquire such objects, which served as reason or pretext for the rivalry. This is the origin of the prohibitions and taboos. The second is to make sure that there is a repetition of the miraculous event that ended the crisis. This is done by offering new sacrifices, which remind the community of the original one as much as possible. This is the imperative of the ritual. According to Girard the religions harbor the memory of an initial sacrifice. This memory takes the form of rules or taboos, rituals, and myths. The taboos and antimimetic rules in societies and religions aim to nip the “acquisitive mimesis,” the imitation that leads to rivalry in its bud. They do so by prohibiting behaviors that once led to conflict and violence before they are expressed. If the crisis would start all over again, the rites serve to channel it in the right direction in order to dissolve it. The rituals then repeat the original event and conclude, as did the original act, with a sacrifice.

8.2 René Girard and 1QS

Girard offers this description of the mechanisms of violence:

Truth is extremely rare on this earth. There even arise occasions to think that it may be completely absent. Events of mimetic escalation are indeed, by definition,
unanimous. Each time one occurs it overwhelms all the witnesses without exception. It makes unshakable false witnesses of all the members of the community, for they become incapable of perceiving the truth. Given the power of violent contagion, the secret of Satan should be safe from every revelation.741

The description that Girard gives of the mechanisms of violence, which silence the truth and keep Satan “safe from revelation,” compares almost too well with how contemporary society is depicted in 1QS. It is dominated by falsehood under the sobriquet “Belial.” During its dominion, all people, righteous and sinners alike, are drawn into the sphere of rival desires and unknowingly become the “playthings of mimetic violence.” Such violence they cannot get rid of without condemning a victim for them. Satan/Belial is, according to Girard, the very definition of mimetic contagion. It possesses an inviolable secret power that under normal conditions is “unknowable, undiscoverable.”742 In 1QS, this secret power is communicated with the metaphor of a darkness that leads everyone into corruption, including the righteous ones.

8.2.1 The Ritual (I, 1—III, 12)

1QS begins with a section dealing with true conversion into the covenant. This covenant is called “the covenant of friendship” and by entering it, the individual leaves the evil structures that rule society in favor of the “friendship” of the community. The old way of being, which inevitably leads to transgressions, is represented by a “stumbling block” (מכשול), which makes one stumble (II, 11–18). Girard interprets the corresponding Greek term scandalon in the Gospels (and LXX) as the mimetic rivalry and its consequences.743 According to him it symbolizes the increasing violence that the mimetic rivalry arouses. This violence leads to an infinite circle of vengeance and in the end makes everyone stumble and fall. Girard exemplifies with the passage where Jesus exhorts his audience to cut off the hand or pluck out the eye that “scandalizes.” What he really says, according to Girard, is to nip the bud of the negative effects of mimetic desire such as jealousy, envy, resentment, and hatred (Matt 18:8–9). Girard concludes, “When the first scandal occurs, it gives birth to others, and the result is mimetic crises, which spread without ceasing and become worse and worse.”744 This is the scenario most feared in 1QS. A person, such as the depicted, may by his unruly desires undermine the community by provoking conflicts and violence. This threat is communicated in the last paragraph of the first section (II, 19—III, 12), which depicts a person who cannot submit to discipline. Such a person is someone who cannot see that subordination leads to life. Instead he keeps following his old tracks of thinking (cogitation). Since such a person is the cause of conflict he is always regarded as impure in the community. According to Girard, all concepts of impurity ultimately stem from the communities’ fear of perpetual cycle of violence arising in its midst.745 Transferred to 1QS, this is why such a person and his belongings must be avoided in the same manner as a leper (III, 5).

What instead is demanded is that each individual Israelite take a moral stance in order not to transmit evil anymore. Instead of transferring the guilt of a sinful nation on third party, each individual must now confess their part in the evil structures of society and convert his heart and soul. This is called to make a freewill offering. This conversion shall be performed on a yearly basis in order to remember the initial crisis and not repeat its logic. When they “enter” and “crossover” into the Yahad and the covenant they move from an old status to a new and confess their and their forefathers sins. What is being confessed is a rebellion that is nothing less than a destruction of the order. Girard does not differentiate initiations from other rites. According to him they reflect one side of the staging of a mimetic

742 Ibid.: 40, 187.
744 Ibid.: 18.
745 Girard 1972: 37.
crisis with special purposes. The one being initiated must be reminded of the horrors of the past in order to benefit from the atoning function of the sacrifice. Understood this way, the confession in 1QS I, 24–25 recalls a chaotic past from which the community has separated. The violent history of the past is implied, not the least in the curse over the lot of Belial. It was argued that those targeted follow “old” structures without recognizing their own part in transmitting evil. This is also how the apocalyptically colored punishment that awaits them shall be understood, according to Girard, namely, as a warning about future human violence; that is, a violence that is brought about when humanity no longer has the capacity to resort to the scapegoating mechanism in order to restore peace.746 If human beings turn down the peace that is offered them, a peace that does not come from violence, an even greater violence will be the result. Once victims are revealed as innocent, which according to Girard is an awakening insight in the Hebrew Bible, scapegoating can no longer be relied upon to restore peace. This is why there is now an even greater threat of violence since humanity will not have the traditional violent means to put an end to it. According to Girard this is the violence depicted in the apocalyptic texts. The way to restore peace is rather done through the total withdrawal of violence. In light of this, the confession of sins in I, 24–25 means that the Yahad stops the vicious circle of violence by not transferring their sins to a scapegoat. This is why a member of the community is blessed by his or her knowledge (II, 3) and insights into the deeper structures that rule the social interaction between people. Since there is a skeptical view toward the possibilities for the human being to choose what is good, the only way to salvation is to enter the serek of the community. This is the bond that restrains all mimetic rivalry by the built in differences in the social hierarchy and by the rules of behavior that controls all such interaction that may arouse conflict and enmity.

The remedy for moral sin and defilement is in 1QS the holy spirit (III, 7; IX, 3). This idea lies close to the way Girard interprets the holy spirit in the New Testament, namely as the overturning of the scapegoating practices. It is the opposite of the diabolic (Belial). In 1QS the holy spirit is related both to the community and to the truth of God. It is what influences the community to create their special hierarchal structure by which they become a foundation of holy spirit for eternal truth (IX, 3).

8.2.2 The Myth (III, 13–IV, 26)

In the Treatise, the history of humanity up until the present time of the community is outlined with a mythological imagery. Truth and falsehood represents behaviors that stem from light and darkness. These in turn indicate enlightenment and ignorance. What is “heard” between the lines in this opening part of the discourse is an extremely stressful situation where the society is dominated by a hostile and corrupt rule from which no one can stay clean. The righteous ones slip and fall. They commit sins and are misled. This hostility and falsehood originates from a “source of darkness.” In one instance, when discussing the murder, which is the result of mimetic violence Girard uses words that almost appears to be citing the Treatise, “It is an inexhaustible fund; a transcendent source of falsehood that infiltrates every domain and structures everything in its own image, with such success that truth cannot get in.”747 The idea that corruption and falsehood suffocates the voice of truth is central in 1QS. The only way to save truth is to escape society, an image that is strengthened by allusions to the texts of Habakkuk 1:4 and Malachi 3:3 (IV, 19–22). The message that is communicated is that no one can escape the source of darkness and falsehood. It will corrupt everyone in its surroundings. According to Girard, mimetic conflict in religions is always interpreted as “evil manifestation of the sacred.” On basis of this, one may disguise the messenger of darkness and his army as those representing the logic of violence that never ends.748 It lies close at hand to understand the dark forces as a symbol for contemporary

746 Ibid.: 203.
747 Girard 1978: 162.
748 Ibid.: 14.
society from which the Yahad has separated itself. The ruler of darkness is then someone in power over crucial legal and cultic matters such as the high priests. The evil rule in the Treatise is characterized by "hostility," which according to Girard always is due to rivalry. It is toward this background that the allusion to Hos 9:7 in 1QS III, 14b–15a should be understood. In Hosea, falsehood has permeated society to such as extent that the prophetic voice (the truth) is considered as madness and the relation between fellow Jews, and between God and human beings, is broken. Everything is contaminated by evil. In the last paragraph of the Treatise, these violent structures are being washed away from the chosen ones. They are being purified and cleansed. The community has separated itself by constructing a society with strong ideological and sociological boundaries toward the outside. The starting point of this separation was when God sent them a “messenger of his truth.” Behind this sobriquet one may find the Teacher of Righteousness. He taught them to keep distant from all that reminded them of the original conflict such as objects of violence (discussions of law, cult), behaviors of its progressively violent phases, and individuals who are considered “contagious” (1978: 19), thus explaining what ancient societies try to avoid the mimetic crisis they once experienced.

A myth, according to Girard, tells us how a religion is born. The genre of the Treatise is not "myth" but rather a theological tractate. But it contains an imbedded mythological account of the problem and solution of evil and it recounts the emergence of the Yahad. According to it, God created by dividing the world into two major domains of light and darkness over which the God with the epithet “knowledge” rules. This epithet implies that the division is placed within the disposition of the human, whether or not he/she is receptive of knowledge or walks in darkness, that is, in ignorance. In the current time, darkness is in dominion and entices people with falsehood. A chosen group has, by the guidance of a messenger of truth (i.e., the Teacher) been given insight into God's primordial secret plans. They have revealed the falsehood that rules society and chosen for themselves a leitmotif that is defined by the antimimetic vision in Micah 6:8. The emergence of the community is therefore due to being a coworker to God in the struggle against evil. By their righteous actions they shall reestablish the created order, judge, and recreate the world.

It is against this background that one may better understand the virtues and vices in the Treatise. What is rejected are behaviors associated with mimetic violence. These are arrogance, short temper, negligence, impatience, uncontrolled speech, haughtiness and pride. And to the contrary, the recounted virtues are those that produce antimimetic behavior. These are humbleness and patience, namely that which constrain the individuals to desire one thing rather than another. The Qumran society thereby represses the mimetic conflict by already repressing certain attitudes and actions. Girard claims that primitive cultures dissipulate the mimetic conflict beneath the major symbols of the sacred and name it "pollution" and "impurity." In light of this, the impure worship of the antagonists (and the pure worship of the community) may be understood as a question of moral behavior. That which is born in violence belongs to violence and will only repeat its vicious logic. A person guided by falsehood belongs to darkness and all his actions will benefit darkness and further reinforce its dominion. Such a person is, as we have seen, someone who will not submit to authorities other than himself. He is sufficient unto his crooked self and this precludes him from taking part in the righteous interpretations of the law. On the contrary, a person guided by truth belongs to light, which is the same as true knowledge of good and evil. He knows to restrain his desires for the benefit of a larger good. He is someone who intends to realize the vision of Micah, namely, to do justice, to love kindness, and to walk humbly with his God. By living this way in communion, such a person creates the world anew and thereby achieves the fallen glory of Adam.

749 Girard 1977: 141.
750 Vattimo and Girard 2010: 46.
751 Ibid.: 60.
752 Girard 1978: 17.
8.2.3 The Rules (V, 1–VII, 25)

In columns V–VII, those who have separated themselves from falsehood and evil are addressed. The practical and ideological implications of living in the community are here outlined. Here the community takes the organizational form of a *taxis* (*serek*) to which it adds an ideological dimension. The purpose of its rules and hierarchal structure is to restrain all behavior that has the potential of arousing such rivalry, which may cause conflicts. The community of the “perfect of way” corresponds to God’s given order (Greek: *cosmos*). The community has been given insight into God’s order/plan (*תַּכְוָן*). The highly hierarchal society of *Yahad* may therefore be understood as a response to the upheaval of differences in its contemporary society. By building in hierarchal differences between the members, a direct comparison is avoided and the risk of chaos diminished. In addition to this, the dichotomy Aaron and Israel signifies the restored differences between lay/royal and priestly, which have been conflated by an unjust rule. The hierarchal placement of each member depends on several factors, of which at least two are known from 1QS. These are the understanding of the law and personal conduct. The first has to do with the “truth” that has been revealed to the community. It is a truth about what leads to violation of the covenant with God, namely reluctance to discipline and following one’s own hard heart and desires. The “behavior,” has to do with the social interaction between fellow members and “outsiders.” The vision in Micah 6:8 gives the guiding lines for all interaction between “insiders.” It shall be based on doing justice, loving kindness (i.e., friendship) and mutual humbleness. To do justice implies to never slander a fellow member, but instead always settle a conflict before witnesses in order not to carry resentment (V, 26f.). Justice is exercised by the Many and demonstrated in the hierarchal ranking. A person who behaves in a perfect way toward fellow members will be elevated and vice versa. The words from Isaiah 2:22 alluded to in 1QS V, 5–6 says that since the *Yahad* knows the hidden truths of old, namely the underlying mechanisms of culture, they do not need to panic but just keep following the decreed (*תַּכְוָן*) path that is assigned to them.

When discussing the revelation of the founding murder in the Gospels, Girard takes the “curses against the Pharisees” into consideration.753 In Matt 23:34–36, where Jesus mentions “all the murders committed on earth, from Abel to Zechariah,” he argues that it is the history of violence of all mankind that is implied. Abel goes back to the origin of humanity and the foundation of the first cultural order, while Zechariah is the last person to be killed in 2 Chronicles. That is, the last in the Bible of Jesus.754 According to Girard, Jesus speaks of the underlying mechanisms of violence in which all people in all generations participate. The corresponding passage in Luke 11:51 (“from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah, who perished between the altar and the sanctuary. Yes, I tell you, it will be charged against this generation”) is preceded by the words: “So you are witnesses and approve of the deeds of your ancestors; for they killed them, and you build their tombs . . . this generation may be charged with the blood of all the prophets shed since the foundation of the world.” Jesus here alludes to Psalms 78:2, which Girard renders: “I will utter things hidden, things of old” (cf. NRS: “I will open my mouth in a parable (*משל*); I will utter dark sayings from of old”). Girard claims:

The sons believe they can express their independence of the fathers by condemning them, that is, by claiming to have no part in the murder. But by virtue of this very fact, they unconsciously imitate and repeat the acts of their fathers. They fail to understand that in the murder of the Prophets, the people refused to acknowledge their own violence and cast it off themselves. The sons are therefore still governed by the mental structures engendered by the founding murder.755

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753 Girard 1978: 158ff.
754 Ibid.: 159.
This is the “hidden” truth according to Girard. The “mental structures,” the founding mechanisms for society, where violence is used to cure violence and no one consider themselves guilty of transmitting it, compares well with the depicted evil situation in 1QS V. What is being circumcised in the community is, in light of this, no less than the violent mechanism in the human heart (יתַרְכֶּס), what Girard would call the mimetic desire. This has an opening toward rivalry and revenge. The community, just as Jesus, claimed to have access to the hidden truth, to that which was created before the world, “things of old.” This is what the members of the community offer their lives for. The prohibition that begins in V, 25b is just in line with this. It says: They shall admonish one another in truth, humility and loving kindness. No one must speak to another with anger, with grumbling or with a stiff neck or in a jealous spirit of wickedness. And no one should hate another because of his own uncircumcised heart but must on the same day reprove his fellow to not bear guilt because of him. Also, no one is to bring a case against his fellow before the Many that is not first reproved before witnesses. This passage in 1QS communicates that all conflicts are potentially dangerous if let loose. Due to this, quarrels have to be settled immediately and no confrontation between the parties is allowed without witnesses. In addition to this, it is put on the responsibility of the offended to resolve the conflict on the same day. The reason for this is the risk of escalating violence. If the offended takes the law into his own hands and avenges, it may provoke serial reactions that escalate the violence. This is why it is strictly forbidden in the penal code (see XII, 9).

It was argued that the relationship with the “people of falsehood” carries a memory of conflict. They are depicted as a powerful group who continues to transmit violence and contaminate their surroundings. All “things” that could remind them of the historical conflict and thereby awaken it are to be avoided: First and foremost are discussions about the law and its praxis forbidden; second are shared meals, work, and property forbidden. In case of trade, the item has to be paid for properly so that the antagonists do not get the upper hand. The original conflict is still active, that is, contagious, which means that all physical contact with the antagonists—entering the same waters—must be avoided (V, 13ff.). The original objects of conflicts are also potential threats to the harmony of the community. Because of this, questions of property and law are placed under the jurisdiction of a court constituted by the priest, sons of Zadok, and the Multitude of the people of the community. The judicial system expressed in column V, with the words of Girard: “builds on the recognition of the sovereignty and independency of the judiciary whose decisions no group not even the collective as a body can challenge.” The move from a preventive to a curative way of dealing with violence and revenge is visible in 1QS. It reflects an intermediary stage between a purely religious orientation to the recognition of a judicial system: by “trial and verdict.”

The procedures of speech (VI, 8bff.) say much about the control of mimetic desire and prevention of rivalry in the activity of the council. A superior person, supposedly someone with more insight and a more perfect conduct, speaks first and sets the standards for all following speakers. In this way, new members will be informed of the true discourse of the community before they are given too much space to express themselves. The term científico was discussed in the analysis, as referring to practical knowledge in the context of making judgments and discriminations about becoming—and trespassing—members. What is necessary is thereby a knowledge that uncovers the mechanisms that threaten society. Girard claims in line with this that “no purely intellectual process and no experience of a purely philosophical nature can secure the individual the slightest victory over mimetic desire and its victimage delusions.” Instead, he argues that a real experience of the founding mechanisms of evil must begin with a collapsing or at least, a shaking to their foundations all the things that are based on our interindividual oppositions. This means everything that we can call our self and our personality. In other words, in order to change the violent logic that rules culture, a deeper experienced knowledge of the scapegoat mechanisms in society must be unveiled. Translated to 1QS, the personal sacrifice of the self that each initiate

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757 Girard 1978: 399.
758 Ibid.: 399–400.
makes when entering the covenant is necessary in order to restore the world. The need to put knowledge into practice is communicated in all parts of 1QS. All knowledge that does not result in the realization of the Micah vision (6:8) is false knowledge and does not adhere to truth. And knowledge that does not result in a deeper acceptance of discipline and the implications of the hierarchal structure of the community is not true knowledge, since it has not understood the logic of evil and what prevents it.

In light of the philosophy of Girard, the prohibited behaviors/actions in the penal code all have the common denominator of being potential openings toward rivalry. They all deal with behaviors that undermine the authority of superior fellow members/the Many or of its ideological foundation from different angels. One can ask why the worst-case scenarios, such as murder, are absent from the penal code? When discussing the prohibitions in primitive cultures, Girard concludes: “we tend to focus on the individual act, whereas primitive societies attach only limited importance to it and have essentially pragmatic reasons for refusing such act from its context.” According to Girard, even minor offences that are prohibited in a community can be deduced to the prevention of violence: “There is no culture that does not prohibit violence among those who live together. All occasions or events that might give rise to real violence, even intense rivalries or forms of competition that are often tolerated or even encouraged elsewhere in society, are prohibited.” In light of this, the prohibitions of spitting and gesticulating and laughing loudly do not seem so remote. They are behaviors that run counter to the spirit of truth (IV, 2–10), which is an antimimetic spirit. Someone who expresses himself in this manner recalls the original conflict where the loyalty toward the leadership and the secret teaching were undermined. It is correct, as Shemesh claims, that the holiness code and the holy camp lies behind these provisions, but the interpretation of “holy” in the community must be understood in its quality of being the opposite of falsehood and injustice (see V, 1b–2a and V, 20). If, borrowing words from Girard, all such behavior that threatens the holy status of the community is dissimilated beneath the major symbols of the sacred, such as contamination and defilement. According to Girard, “falsehood” is what reproduces violence since it is to deny the violent mechanisms that constitute culture. It is therefore that a person who withholds property is a liar. He is someone who keeps following the old structures of society. Likewise, a person who wishes to usurp authority by passing himself off as something he is not is also a liar, since he denies the truth of mimetic violence that the community aims to prevent.

It has been argued that a real conflict may underlie provision 26, that there even lies a memory of rebellion in the group where the community authority was undermined. In light of this, all other provisions can be understood. Girard writes about measures that have to be taken after such conflict, “not to repeat any action associated with the crisis, to abstain from all mimicry, from all contact with the former antagonists, from any acquisitive gesture toward objects that have stood as cause or pretexts for rivalry. This is the imperative of the prohibition.” This means that all objects, actions, and behaviors that even remind them of the original conflict must be avoided. These are a potential opening toward violence and therefore regarded as impure. Consequently, anyone who comes into contact with such an object, behavior, or person, is himself defiled and must be separated from the camp for a limited time, or forever.

The fear of rebellion not only lies behind all provisions in the penal code, but in 1QS as a whole. In the penal code the problem is elucidated from the different cases, all of which in one way or another deal with the problem of an unruly spirit unwilling to submit to the required discipline. It may be the wish to elevate oneself at the expense of other fellow members. Such behavior threatens the stability of the community. By stating these cases, without ever spelling out the real threat they pose, the audience is urged to restrain the wrong kind of behavior and become his own controlling instance.

759 Ibid.: 12.
760 Ibid.: 10.
761 Ibid.: 17, 161.
762 Ibid.: 28.
8.2.4 The Vision (VIII, 1–IX, 11)

A new beginning for mankind is depicted in columns VIII–IX. Now that the people of the community are initiated in the special antimimetic way of thinking and behaving they become a foundation for holy spirit and atone for the land. The council of the community is of the highest holiness. They shall adhere to the highest moral perfection. They shall be ruled by a larger legislation and completely adjust their lives to the vision expressed in Micah 6:8, with emphasis on fellow members. This in turn is what makes them chosen to judge and atone for the land. The means by which this shall be done is doing justice and suffering affliction. Just as the suffering servant in Isaiah they atone by experiencing suffering. They judge by manifesting justice. The identification with the cornerstone (wall) in Isaiah 28:16 is understood in light of this. It is the piece that adjusts all other components in the construction of a house. By unveiling the evil structures of culture they reconstruct the whole “building” and thereby become a judgment for society.

The metaphor of the temple, which permeates all sections of 1QS, now comes fully into play. The community is the “Holy of Holies” since by conducting a flawlessly antimimetic way of living it becomes the remedy for moral sin and defilement. The result of their mission compares with the new creation depicted in the Treatise when the fallen glory of Adam will be given to the community and “there will be no more iniquity” (IV, 23 and VIII, 10). The metaphor of the temple concurs with that of the garden. It implies a new creation where wickedness will cease to exist.

In VIII, 14 the famous words from Isaiah 40:3 are alluded to: “A voice cries out: ‘In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.’” When Girard analyses the scapegoating mechanisms in the Hebrew Bible, this passage (40:3–5) takes a prominent position. According to him, that which begins in Isaiah 40 commences a story that ends in chapters 52–53 with the lynching and killing of the Servant.763 Isaiah 40:3–5 speaks of “flattening” but instead of taking this in the meaning of geological erosion (to prepare a physical way for Cyrus) Girard rather understands it as “an image of those mimetic crises whose essential feature is the loss of differences.”764 He explains: “The text assimilates this process to the collapsing of mountains and the filling of valleys in a mountainous region. Just as the rocks are transformed into sand, so the people are transformed into an amorphous mass incapable of understanding ‘the voice crying in the wilderness.’”765 The image of the geological leveling in Isaiah thereby communicates a state of mimetic crisis where all differences are upheaved and anarchy prevails. The “good” message in the Isaiah passage is, according to Girard, therefore not the erosion of nature, but rather that this crisis may reveal the glory of the Lord, “Then the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and all people shall see it together, for the mouth of the LORD has spoken” (Isa 40:5). Girard concludes, “as troubling as this leveling of differences may be, it paradoxically prepares the way, a decisive manifestation of Yahweh.”766 In light of Girard’s reading of the Isaiah passage the exegesis of the community reveals the evil mechanisms of society that begins with crisis and ends with the lynching of a victim. In Isaiah this victim is the servant. In 1QS the community itself takes on the role of the servant, which is to manifest justice by suffering the afflictions that society imposes on them. Afflictions that otherwise are repaid with the same amount of evil are here not repaid. The loss of differences is compensated for in the community in their hierarchal system where each member is assigned a place. It is also compensated for in the reconstitution of Israel and Aaron into two domains, which in the end of the section are represented by two Messiahs. The way in which justice is exercised

763 Girard (2001: 28) considers that chap. 40 in certain respects ought to be linked to the servant songs (in Isa 42–53).
765 Ibid.
766 Ibid.
is by the word, by studying Torah. In this way, the constant exegesis and the perfect behavior in the Yahad is what expiates for the land.

As already is mentioned, Girard interprets the Holy Spirit in the New Testament as the overturning of the scapegoating practices, that is, as the opposite of Belial. In light of this, the phrase in IX, 3b saying that the community shall become a foundation of holy spirit, for eternal truth, may be elucidated. By behaving in an antimimetic way they become a foundation for a life that overturns the evil mechanisms in society, which in turn demands sacrifices of innocent victims. This is the truth to which every member of the community sacrifices their lives. Instead, the community just like the servant becomes an offering for justice and truth. The heavy demands that thereby fall on each member are reflected in the abbreviated regulations of the section, where only one deliberate transgression of the law leads to exclusion from the community. The reason for this harsh rule is that knowledge of the violent mechanisms and the cure for it (serek) by now ought to be internalized in the transgressor and preclude such trespassing. If an initiated person transgresses in his interaction with fellow members, it is a token for his double and uncontrolled inclination.

8.2.5 Dispositions of the Pious Member (IX, 12–XI, 22)

Finally, in the last two and half columns the inner dispositions of the Maskil are revealed and through him every member’s approach toward God, fellow members, and the antagonists. The calendrical part, stating times for daily prayer and holidays also communicates the need of standing firm during the present dark times of “affliction.” The era of darkness shall be succeeded by the messianic when light and truth dominate the world. During the current stressful times the Maskil must not only desire God but even “imitate God only.” All such situations and all such behavior that have the potential of arousing rivalry must be avoided. It is therefore that he must give his possessions without compensation to the people of perdition in order not to be drawn into their pit (IX, 22–23). His attitude toward them must be humble, never to provoke conflict or rivalry. The implicature in the final section is that the Maskil has been excluded from the discourse of power. Instead of fighting his way back in, he cultivates “truth” in the garden of the Yahad and so inaugurates the messianic time and a new creation. The identification with the suffering servant of Isaiah is in this final section made explicit. Taken together with the many echoes and allusions to Job it communicates that the Maskil must endure all oppression and afflictions caused by the present unjust system. By taking side with the innocent victim the Yahad creates a new social system where violence has to be resolved without scapegoats. To leave violence behind in this manner is the only way to stop it according to Girard: “Violence is always perceived as being a legitimate reprisal or even self-defense. So what must be given up is the right to reprisals and even the right to what passes, in a number of cases, for legitimate defense. Since the violence is mimetic, and no one ever feels responsible for triggering it initially, only by an unconditional renunciation can we arrive at the desired result.”

For Girard, this giving up on violence is what is being communicated in the Gospels. But it can already be seen in 1QS: The Maskil does not repay violence with violence but rather “pursue” mankind with good. He endures both oppression and sufferings without paying back. The reason he can do so is since he knows that he is part of the mimetic structures of society (XI, 9–10a). He is nothing but dust and the only escape from the vicious circle is to stop imitating human beings in favor of God (IX, 24–25).

The idea that uncontrolled desire is the root of evil is present in all sections of 1QS, but in this last section it is accentuated. The truth that has been revealed to the Maskil is the “hidden” wisdom that has been given to him and the community as an inheritance from God. According to Girard, the “hidden things” are the revelation of the evil mechanisms of society, namely the mimetic crisis, which demands a sacrifice in order to resolve the escalating violence. The truth is, however, that sacrificing a third party will never restore peace in the

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767 Girard 1978: 198.
longer run, new sacrifices are always required. Girard detects an awaking awareness for these evil structures among the prophets and in particular in the suffering servant who is the innocent sacrifice for the evil structures. The recognition of his innocence implies a deconstruction of the whole system. For Girard, Jesus is the ultimate erosion of the sacrificial system, but when read with the eyes of Girard, the same awareness of the problem and a solution to it is communicated already in 1QS. They are sacrificed by society (shut out of the dominant discourse of power) in order to restore peace, but they are innocent and God has taken their party in the conflict. Meanwhile, they must keep out of mimetic rivalry and the only way to do so is by only desiring God. If God is the hero, as in this section, it is He that they must imitate and not any human being. This is the reason for elevating God to such extent that the human appears in his nothingness, namely so that God will be desired and imitated. Only by desiring God can the human escape from the evil structures.

They now wait for the day when truth shall shine forth, when it shall become obvious that they adhere to truth and the adversaries to injustice and falsehood. The book of Job is echoed mainly in the last part of the hymn. The resolution of the problem of evil in Job by contrasting the limited nature of the human being with God’s eternal nature is echoed here. But it may also be, as Girard argues, that Job “wrests the deity out of the process of persecution to envision him as the God of victims, not of persecutors” (2001: 117). Girard reads the book of Job as a confrontation of two conceptions of God, one where God is part of the crowd’s unanimous hostility, which claims that Job is guilty, and the other where God is the “defender” (Job 19:25). It is this defense for the truth of the “victimage mechanisms” that the community awaits.

### 8.3 1QS, Between Old and New Testaments

According to Girard, the prophets in the Hebrew Bible respond to a crisis in Hebraic society, which is made worse by the great empires that threatened the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. But what is remarkable, according to Girard is that “these political developments are invariably interpreted by the prophets as an exclusively religious and cultural crisis, in which the sacrificial system is exhausted and the traditional order of society dissolves into conflict.”

Girard detects in the Hebrew Bible a work of exegesis that runs counter to the usual dynamics of mythology and culture. This comes to fore in the Servant Songs where the innocent victim (scapegoat) who suffers violence without repaying it, is depicted. The controversial conclusion of Girard’s theories is that the Gospels bring the problem that is highlighted by the prophets to a closure in their account of the antimimetic mission of Jesus. This process begins with “great moments” in the first books, goes through the Law and the Prophets, to be completed in the Gospels. This “scheme” may be, and has been, understood as a higher evaluation of the New Testament than the Old Testament or even as replacement theology, from all such theologies I dissociate. What he does say though, is that the writings in the Hebrew Bible are impressive witness to an awareness of mimetic violence that, contrary to contemporary societies, is a strong recognition. In this clearly simplified scheme, however, one can tentatively place 1QS in the intermediate stage, in what Girard calls “the revelatory process.” As a collective, the community takes on the role of the innocent victim that atones for the land, and also constructs a society that in both form and content shapes an antimimetic society, the covenant of friendship (1, 8). This community shall realize the vision of Micah 6:8 in the land and thereby inaugurate a new creation. While they do so, truth is oppressed, wild and evil forces rule the world, and the just ones suffer. During this last era they must keep faith and truth inside their boundaries and keep the law in every

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768 “The crowd takes itself for God, and its agents are the three ‘friends’ . . . the sacred and the crowd are the same thing as in mythic cults” (Girard 2001: 117).

769 By the term “mechanisms” Girard (2001: 28) signifies “the automatic nature of the process and its results, as well as the incomprehension and even the unconscious obedience of the participants.” This process can be seen in the life and death of the servant in Isaiah, but also in the story of Job.

770 Girard 1978: 155.

aspect, until the messianic era breaks in. Then they will be ruled by “the first rules” since at that time, a just leadership will rule society.

Girard’s account of the course of events during a crisis in society as being one of a lesser degree of difference, disintegration, and a weakening of institutions resembles the time when 1QS was composed. It was a time of political instability, at times almost culminating in civil war. Important offices of power were negotiable, which made them an object of rivalry. The most important of Jewish institutions, the temple and the office of high priest, traditionally inherited through genealogy, could be acquired through negotiations with powerful “friends.” This seems to have been the case during the Hasmonean rule, which coincides with the early days of the Qumran community. The widely assumed idea that the formation of the Yahad was due to the usurpation of the high priesthood by the Maccabees is being challenged today. Instead different interpretations of the Mosaic Law are brought forth as a reason for its formation. Still, some Qumran writings give witness of a conflict over the high priest office, set out as a conflict between the Wicked Priest and the Teacher (see 1QpHab and 4QpPs¹). While the teacher is considered to be a founding figure of the Yahad, the Wicked Priest is generally identified with one (or several) of the Hasmonean rulers such as Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE) or Hyrcanus II (76-67 BCE). Jannaeus, who was in power when 1QS was copied/created took power over both the royal throne and the high priest office and was not considered to be suited for the office by at least some Jews of the time. The reasons for opposing Jannaeus may have been both the conflation of offices, his cruelty, and that he did not meet the priestly standards of Levitical law. Since the High priest was challenged, this ought also to have been the case with the cult with the result that the institutions could not carry out their function. The Yahad waits for the time when they again will bring forth the sacrifices in the temple (Mal 3:3) and set the legal standards for the land, which in the current time suffers from corruption (Hab 1:4).

Although many gaps remains to be filled in a historical reconstruction of the Qumran group, some of the important writings such as the Damascus document, the Pesharim bear witness to a conflict over power that lies in the memory of the group and has shaped the self-image of the group (see, e.g., 1QpHab). According to these writings, the historical founder of the Qumran movement, the Teacher of Righteousness, was a victim to rivalry. But since he was not regarded as guilty by all Jews, the sacrifice of him (symbolic or real) corresponds to what Girard calls an “unsuccessful sacrifice.” This led to further violence and disintegration in society and in the end to the physical and/or psychological exile of a group of pious people who constructed their own ideal society, the Yahad. In this way the sacrifice (real or symbolic) of the Teacher united them and gave birth to the community of unity (Yahad). The hierarchal society of Yahad, as mirrored in 1QS may then be regarded as a response to or compensation for the loss of differences in its contemporary society. In this way the mentioning of the double Messiahs (IX, 11) communicates the need to reestablish the original division between the high priestly and royal offices. The community that identified themselves with the temple must adhere to the highest level of purity and moral stance in order to compensate the loss of these values among contemporary leadership. In memory of the crisis that dissolved society, they created rules that restrict interaction with the former antagonists and kept its members far from objects that once lay at the core of the conflict. Read in light of the philosophy of Girard, the exegesis of the community reveals the secret power of Belial. By doing so, they become a foundation of holy spirit, that is, the community of loving friendship where the scapegoat practices are overturned. They are the community where the vision of Micah 6:8, so crucial for the Yahad, is realized: “He has told you, O

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779 Collins 2010: 95–121.
777 The historical person(s) behind the “Wicked Priest” has usually been identified as one of four potential candidates, all Hasmoneans: Jonathan the Maccabee, 161–143/2; Simon Maccabee 143/2–103, Alexander Jannaeus 103–76, and Hyrcanus II, 76–67. See Van der Woude (1982), who identified six potential candidates as Wicked Priests among the Hasmoneans.
774 According to Josephus (J.W. 1.85–106; Ant. 13.320–406), the Pharisees led a revolt against in order to remove him from the high priest’s office, which led to the killing of 6,000 Pharisees. See Schürer 1979: 219–28.
775 Since he married his brother’s widow; see Lev 21.
mortal, what is good; and what does the LORD require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly each with (your God) his fellow?”
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