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Emerging Communal Life and Ideology in the S Tradition[*]

Charlotte Hempel
University of Brimingham

Introduction

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

The Evidence of the S Manuscripts[1]

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

In the course of a study on diversity and development in the S tradition[2], I was struck by the way in which council of the community terminology is used in S. On the one hand it is used frequently alongside and apparently synonymously with *harabbim*, whereas at other times the language occurs by itself without references to the many. This has often been noted in discussions of the question whether the council in 1QS 8 refers to an elite group or to the community as a whole.[3] It struck me as worthwhile to have a closer look at those passages in S that speak exclusively of the council of the community in the hope of teasing out characteristics of this exclusive usage that distinguish it from the usage alongside *harabbim*. It seems likely, furthermore, that the exclusive usage of one set of terms is traditio-historically earlier than the merging of the two, a suspicion that is confirmed by the highly developed communal organization reflected in the merged terminology over against the relatively primitive communal set-up reflected in the exclusive use of עצת היחד.[4]

Emerging Communal Life in 1QS 6

In column 6 of 1QS we find a number of miscellaneous pieces of communal rules. This material has been the focus of a number of very recent studies.[5] Thus, John Collins argues that the term יחד, even in passages like 1QS 6:2-4, refers to an "umbrella

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[2] "The Literary Development of the S Tradition - A New Paradigm", to be presented at the SBL Annual Meeting in Philadelphia in Nov. 2005 and to appear in print in the *Journal of Jewish Studies* in due course.

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

[4] For a different assessment of the relationship between both terms see recently E. Regev, "The *Yahad* and the *Damascus Covenant*: Structure, Organization and Relationship", *RQ* 21 (2003) 233-262. On reading his analysis one is left wondering whether the texts that speak of the council of the community and the *rabbim* ostensibly as synonyms (an observations shared by Regev though qualified with "at first glance", p. 239) paint the picture he describes or are made to fit an admittedly neat and ingenious synthesis. Despite our differences of interpretation I greatly appreciate his close and careful readings of the texts at hand.

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

[6] J. J. Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls", in S. M. Shalom *et al*. eds., *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 97-111, esp. p. 99. See also *idem*, "The Yahad and 'The Qumran Community'", in C. Hempel and J. Lieu eds., *Biblical Traditions in Transmission. Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (JSJ Sup; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

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

[8] See also F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumra*n (3rd edn.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp. 70-71.

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

[10] S. Metso, "Whom Does the Term Yahad Identify?", in Hempel and Lieu eds., *Biblical Traditions in Transmission.* See also S. Metso, "Methodological Problems in Reconstructing History from Rule Texts Found at Qumran", *DSD* 11 (2004) 315-335, esp. pp. 322-325.

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

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

What is described here is a very basic level of social interaction between likeminded Jews. I see no need to presuppose that the highly developed communal structure described elsewhere in S co-existed with the primitive scenario outlined here. Instead, it seems more likely to me that some very early and primitive material continued to be handed on and cherished by the tradents of S. The influence of this primitive material on the development of the tradition is indicated by the fact that all of the activities mentioned here are the cornerstones, the seeds, of much of the detailed and elaborate procedures found elsewhere in S such as sharing food and exchanging counsel.[12] Thus, access to the טהרת הרבים is an important step towards full membership according to the protracted admission process laid down in 1QS 6:13b-23 // 4QS^b XI:8,11-13 // 4QS^g 3:1, and making one's counsel (עצה) available to the community is the culmination of the same process (cf. 1QS 6:23 // 4QS^g 3:1).

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

[12] The centrality of the activities mentioned in 1QS 6:2-4 for much of the remainder of S has also been recognized by M. Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft. Soziologie und Liturgie christlicher Mahlfeiern* (Tübingen: Francke, 1996), p. 229. However, his analysis goes much further than I am prepared to go in making the meal and subsequent symposium the focal point of the Communal Rule. His analysis of the Rule as a collection of statutes of one or more religious associations is illuminating, although he seems at times to read too much into the text of S. For instance, there is nothing in the text that

- the exclusive use of council of the community language (without הרבים);

- the small scale setting;

- an interest in the ratio of lay members and priests;

- as well as a lack of concern for the genealogical background of the priestly component (cf. a priest / three priests over against a preference elsewhere for designations such as sons of Zadok or sons of Aaron).

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suggests the communal meeting described in 1QS 6:8b-13a took place after a meal or in 1QS 7:10 that the offence of lying down to sleep during the meeting occurred in the context of a *"Gelagesituation"*, p. 233.

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

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

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

This hypothesis of a close relationship between the earliest layer of 1QS 6 and the earliest layer of 1QS 8 as complimentary pieces of evidence that shed light on the earliest periods of communal life might gain support from the intriguing remains in 4Q265 7:6.[15] There after the Sabbath rules and immediately preceding the council of the community material, we come across the fragmentarily preserved expression אל ימ[ן.   In 1962 Milik tentatively proposed to restore the verb: אל ימ[ש] (?).[16] In his *editio princeps* of this text of 1999, Baumgarten takes up Milik's restoration without the question mark and supplements the text further as follows: אל ימ[ש כהן מבונן בספר ההגי במקום [עשר.[17] In his notes on the restoration Baumgarten refers to CD 13:2, although comparable phrases occur also in 1QS 6:3-4 and 1QS 6:6. If Milik's tentatively proposed restoration were correct, not to mention Baumgarten's much more extensive restoration, this passage would add welcome grist to my mill in as much as it would provide us with an ancient witness that offers an explicit link between the two passages on the council of the community in 1QS 6 and 8. However, despite the obvious attractiveness of Milik's restoration for my hypothesis and its endorsement by Doering in his book on the

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

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

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

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

4Q265 7:5 two thousand cubits

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

[19] So L. H. Schiffman, "Some Laws Pertaining to Animals in Temple Scroll Column 52", in M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez and J. Kampen eds., *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. FS J. M. Baumgarten* (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 167-178, esp. pp. 176-177.

[20] For a full discussion of the textual evidence and the meaning of the prohibition see Doering, *Schabbat*, pp. 190-193. For a different translation of 4QD[f]'s text see J. M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. XIII. The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 180-183, where he translates "do not contend (?) with his slave ..." and suggests that we are dealing with a prohibition of "secular confrontations on the Sabbath".

4Q265 7:6a thirty stades

4Q265 7:6b [ten (members of the community)]

4Q265 7:7 fift[een men]

4Q265 7:11 fir[st] week

4Q265 7:13 [eighty days]

4Q265 7:15a seven days

4Q265 7:15b th[irty three days].

I have marked the restored part of the passage in question in italics above. Thus, although it is wise not to build too much on the fragmentary remains of line 6b, the suggestion that quantities and measures of some kind are the red thread, the associative[22] link, in the bulk of this fragment offers some support for Baumgarten's reconstruction of the reference to the groups of ten.

An Emerging Community Ideology in 1QS 8

A number of features present in the various manuscripts of S that preserve material from 1QS 8 strongly point in the direction of a gradual expansion and reworking:[23] we note particularly the high level of activity by Scribe B especially in lines 8-10 of 1QS 8[24] and the absence of the sizeable chunk of text, i.e. the equivalent of 1QS 8:15-9:11 from

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

[22] The term 'associative' is helpfully applied to the Laws of the Damascus Document by Baumgarten in his introduction to his *editio princeps* where he refers to the 'Topical and Associative Arrangement of Laws', *Qumran Cave 4. XIII,* p. 14.

[23] For a synchronic reading and an analysis of the rhetorical movement of 1QS 8:1-9:11 see now C. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space. Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STJD 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 152-165. See also Collins' recent discussion of this material in "Forms of Community", pp. 105-107.

[24] Cf. the helpful summary and bibliography in S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 7 and her own analysis *ibidem*, pp. 95-105. Note also

4QS[e].[25] As far as the latter is concerned I am convinced by Metso's case to consider the shorter version of 4QS[e] as the more original.[26]

I share the view of those scholars who have emphasized that because of the usage of the expression council of the community elsewhere in S, it is best taken here to refer to the community in an incipient stage rather than an inner council.[27] On my reading of the evidence, 1QS 8:1-7a constitutes the original core of the council of the community passus in 1QS 8-9.[28] I have arrived at this judgment on the basis of a number of considerations. On a very basic literary level the line of argument made by this text is smooth and comes to a logical climax with the reference to the judgment of the wicked in line 7. What

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the recent remarks by E. J. C. Tigchelaar in "The Scribe of 1QS", in Shalom *et al*. eds., *Emanuel*, pp. 439-452, esp. p. 451.

[25] The evidence of 4QS[e] led C.-H. Hunzinger to speak of a "lockere Verankerung dieses Abschnittes innerhalb der Sektenschrift", "Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung der Disziplinarordnung der Gemeinde von Qumrān", in H. Bardtke ed., *Qumran-Probleme* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), pp. 231-247, p. 244.

[26] See S. Metso, "The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS[e]", *JJS* 44 (1993) 303-308. For details on the views of those who prefer to think of the longer text of 1QS as the more original see *ibidem* p. 304. See also *Textual Development*, p. 72.

[27] For the latter view see, e.g., J.M. Baumgarten, "The Duodecimal Courts of Qumran, Revelation and the Sanhedrin", *JBL* 95 (1976) 59-78 [reprinted in *idem, Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 145-171], J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959), p. 100. The former position was first outlined by E. F. Sutcliffe, "The First Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community: A Note on 1QS 8:1ff.", *JSS* 4 (1959) 134-138, who is followed by many subsequent scholars. See e.g. J. Maier, "Zum Begriff יחד in den Texten von Qumran", *ZAW* 31 (1960) 148-166, esp. p. 149, P. Wernberg Møller, *The Manual of Discipline. Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 1; Leiden: Brill, 1957), pp. 122-123; and A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (NTL; London: SCM, 1966), pp. 211-212. J. Pouilly, slightly differently, takes עצת היחד to mean "le programme de la Communauté", *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumrân. Son évolution littéraire* (Cahiers de la Revue Bibliques 17; Paris: Gabalda, 1976), pp. 20-21.

[28] The classic and most influential examination of the literary growth of the Community Rule by J. Murphy-O'Connor attributed 1QS 8:1-16 and 9:3-8 to the earliest layer or Manifesto of the document, cf. J. Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté", *RB* 76 (1969) 528-549. This was revised by J. Pouilly who argued for the secondary character 8:10-12, cf. Pouilly, *Règle de la Communauté*. In this assessment of 1QS 8:10-12 Pouilly followed A.-M. Denis, "Évolution de structures dans la secte de Qumrân", in J. Giblet *et al*. eds., *Aux origines de l'église* (RechBib 7; Louvain: Desclée de Brouwer, 1965), pp. 23-49. This revised form of Murphy-O'Connor's analysis has been accepted by many. In a detailed study of the earliest layer of the Community Rule, C. Dohmen proposed that the original manifesto comprised 1QS 8:1-7a.12b-15a and 9:16b-21, cf. C. Dohmen, "Zur Gründung der Gemeinde von Qumran (1QS VIII-IX)", *RQ* 11 (1982) 81-96. More recently Metso has argued on the basis of the evidence of 4QS[d] and 4QS[e]: "The earliest form of the introduction of 1QS column VIII thus consisted of 1QS VIII,1-13a+15a." see Metso, *Textual Development*, p. 118. See also Metso, "Primary Results". pp. 304-305.

follows in lines 7b-8a introduces the new metaphor of the fortified city (based on Isa. 28:16[29]) after an identification of the council with the temple in previous lines. This subtle change of metaphors was noted by Klinzing in his fine study of this material from the early 1970ies entitled *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*[30] which we will have cause to mention again below. Finally, as was noted already by Brownlee, the passage employing the metaphor of the fortified city is set apart from its context on either side by a significant amount of empty space in both lines 7 and 8.[31] After 1QS 8:8b we begin of pattern of formally repetitive statements about the council with a significant heightening of the cultic rhetoric as well as a number of widely recognized interpolations that presuppose a rather well-established community.[32] This pattern of repetition and gradual expansion that I suggest on the level of three passages (i.e. 1QS 8:1-7a; 8:8b-10a and 9:3-6[33]) is already apparent in the development of the formula "when these exist in Israel".[34] As clearly illustrated by the synoptic table of the different attestations of the formula in DJD 26 and as argued convincingly by Alexander and Vermes, the original formula was "When these exist in Israel" which was subsequently supplemented to read "When these exist as a community

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

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

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

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

[33] 1QS 8:16b-9:2 is commonly recognized as secondary, see Metso, *Textual Development*, p. 72 and the earlier literature referred to there. With reference to 1QS 9:3-11 Metso has also observed that it "appears to be a duplicate of the beginning of column VIII", *Textual Development*, p. 72 and "Primary Results", pp. 304-305. My own view is that there is a clear difference between the idealistic tenor of 9:3-6 and the more realistic flavour of 9:7-11. For a discussion of 1QS 9:7-11 // 4QS[d] see C. Hempel, "The Community and Its Rivals According to the Community Rule from Caves 1 and 4", *RQ* 21 (2003) 47-81, esp. pp. 61-63.

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

in Israel" or "When these exist *as a community* in Israel **according to** <u>all</u> **these rules**." [35]

The additions do not always occur together, and I have highlighted in various ways the different elements the longer formulae may include. The original form of the formula which presupposes the emergence of a group in Israel with no reference to previous rules is found in the passage here identified as the earliest version of the council of the community statement. Thus, we observe a movement towards expansion in these formulae just as we observe successive elaboration of the passages as a whole. A further new element in a number of later passages in 1QS 8-9 is a repeated emphasis on separation, cf. 1QS 8:11,13; 9:5,9. [36]

Perhaps the strongest support for taking 1QS 8:1-7a as the nucleus of this column is the presence of a formally compatible structure elsewhere in S as well as in 4Q265. One of the chief conclusions of Klinzing's traditio-historical analysis is the identification of a shared tradition in 1QS 8:4-8; 8:8-10; 9:3-6 and 5:4-7. [37] My own argument differs from Klinzing in a number of respects and also includes the evidence of 4Q265 which was not available to him. [38] A key difference in our analyses concerns the close relationship I perceive between 1QS 8:1-4a and 8:4b-8a over against Klinzing's distinction between both passages. He notes that the former contains organizational matters as well as general

[35]Cf. Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, p. 113. The inclusion of ליחד as part of the quotation from 1QS 9:3 is, however, in error.

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

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

ethical admonitions.[39] The evidence of 4Q265 provides further evidence for a close connection of the council of the community issue with the temple imagery and the atoning function. This argument holds only, of course, if we consider the evidence of 4Q265 as that of an independent witness. I believe it is and I will say a little more on this below.

Moreover, the bulk of what Klinzing calls general ethical guidelines is firmly based on Micah 6:8, and a glance at the context of this verse in Micah 6: 6-8 reveals that the verse quoted in 1QS is the culmination of an extended passage dealing with the importance of these ethical guidelines over and above the cult ("With what shall I come before the Lord ... Will the LORD be pleased with thousands of rams, with tens of thousands of rivers of oil? ... What does the LORD require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God.", NRSV).[40] Similarly, the reference to a 'broken spirit' is taken from Ps. 51:19 (Hebrew).[41] Again, it is extremely illuminating to take into account the immediate context of this allusion in vv. 18-19 (Hebrew, English vv. 16-17), which are rendered by the NRSV as follows,

> "For you have no delight in sacrifice; if I were to give a burnt offering, you would
> not be pleased. The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit...".

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[38]For the edition of 4Q265 see Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. XXV*, pp. 57-78. For an introduction with bibliographical references on the debate so far see C. Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 89-104.

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

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

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

And it is this intrinsic link between the quotation from Micah 6:8 and the allusion to Psalm 51:19 and the subsequent attribution of an atoning function to the council that would explain why both the quotation from Micah 6:8 and a variation of the atonement motif are found again in close proximity to one another in 1QS 5, and in even closer proximity in the shorter and probably more original version attested by 4QS[b/d]. On my reading of the evidence the main elements of this evolving tradition on the emerging community may be summed up in the following table.

Table: Glimpses of an Evolving Tradition[42]

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

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

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

[43] On this imagery see P. Tiller, "The Eternal Planting in the Dead Sea Scrolls", *DSD* 4 (1997) 312-335 and G. J. Brooke, "Miqdash Adam, Eden, and the Qumran Community" in B. Ego, A. Lange, and P. Pilhofer eds., *Gemeinde ohne Tempel* (WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), pp. 291-293 esp. his apposite closing statement: "The cultic connection is part of the very woop and warf of the tapestry of images which are held together around the metaphor of planting.", p. 293.

[44] 4QS^e reads "eternal [j]udgment". Alexander and Vermes draw attention to the superlinear correction of the same word in 1QS 8:5 and plausibly suggest the possibility of a misreading caused by an attempt to copy an imperfect manuscript, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, p. 143.

[45] The editor restores a reference to the eternal plant in line 8, cf. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. XXV*, p. 70. Though not much can be built on the restoration, except perhaps to note that the presence of a number of shared elements of the council tradition with 1QS 8:1-7 makes it appear plausible.

[46] 1QS and 4QS^d refer to 'a most holy dwelling for Aaron', whereas 4QS^e has 'a m[o]st holy refuge', cf. Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XXV*, p. 144.

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

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

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

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

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

[51] On the theological character of the description of the community in 1QS 8:1-10 see A.-M. Denis, "Évolution de structures dans la secte de Qumrân", in J. Giblet et al. (eds.), *Aux orinines de l'église* (Rech Bib 7; Louvain: Desclée de Brouwer), pp. 23-49, esp. p. 41 and S. Metso, "Whom Does the Term Yahad Identify?", in Hempel and Lieu, *Biblical Traditions in Transmission*. Regev's doubts about the feasibility of restricting the numbers of an emerging community in such a way are laid to rest if one recognizes the theological character of this account, cf. "*Yahad* and the *Damascus Covenant*", p. 237 n. 10.

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

[53] Cf., for instance, 1QS 5:2-3, 9 and 1QS 5:21; 9:7. On the significance of the textual differences between 1QS and 4QS^b/4QS^d on this issue see P. S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal", *RQ* 17 (1996) 437-453; A. I. Baumgarten, "The Zadokite Priests at Qumran: A Reconsideration", *DSD* 4 (1997) 137-156; M. Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community (1QS/4QS)", *RQ* 18 (1998) 541-560; J. H. Charlesworth and B. A. Strawn, "Reflections on the Text of Serek ha-Yahad Found in Cave IV", *RQ* 17 (1996) 403-435; P. Garnet, "Cave 4 MS Parallels to 1QS 5:1-7: Towards a *Serek* Text History", *JSP* 15 (1997) 67-78; C. Hempel, "Comments on the Translation of 4QSd I,1", *JJS* 44 (1993)127-128; *eadem*, "The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa", *DSD* 3 (1996) 253-269; *eadem*, "Interpretative Authority"; M. A. Knibb, "Rule of the Community", in L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) II.793-797; R. Kugler, "A Note on 1QS 9:14: the Sons of Righteousness or the Sons of Zadok?", *DSD* 3 (1996) 315-320; Metso, *Textual Development*, 74-90, 143-149; G. Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4', *JJS* 42 (1991) 250-255; *idem*, "The Leadership of the Qumran Community: Sons of Zadok-Priests-Congregation", in H.

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

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

This is followed by the quotation from Micah 6:8. As I have argued above, the context of this quotation in Micah 6:6-8 already contains a strong cult critical statement. This is elaborated upon with a number of comparable ethical statements partly derived from Isa. 26:3 and Ps. 51:19. As noted above, the latter allusion also refers to a cult-critical passus of Ps. 51. Finally, the reference in 1QS 8:3b // 4QS[e] to "making up for trespasses by practicing justice" (ולרצת עוון בעושי משפט) adds an explicitly cult-critical note to the implicit allusions that already set a similar tone in previous lines. The notion of the council of the community replacing the cult is developed further in 1QS 8:4b-7a // 4QS[d/e].[56] However, the language used is rather mild and inclusive. Note, for instance, the reference to remaining faithful in the land (1QS 8:3a) and the council's function of making expiation for the land (1QS 8:6). These statements do not reflect a group that had

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Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer eds., *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996) I.375-384.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[61] So, e.g. already Sutcliffe, "First Fifteen Members", p. 138. See also Murphy-O'Connor, "Genèse littéraire", p. 531. The Teacher is mentioned in connection with the council of the community in some of

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

In essence 1QS 8:1-7a testifies to an emerging ideology, a vision of a community characterized by strong idealism and cultic concerns. It seems unlikely that it ever matched a historical reality that just happened to consist of the theologically conducive number of twelve plus three. A much more realistic scenario of a small-scale council of the community as it may have started to emerge in practice is described in 1QS 6:2-4. As far as 1QS 8:1-7a is concerned, the cultic frame of reference, which has often been noted,[64] and the cult-critical tenor of the passus point in the direction of a dissident priestly movement although there is no indication of any political rivalries or competing claims to high priestly office. This dissident priestly movement perceived itself as representing the land and its people. This group probably constituted the forebears of the group that is more narrowly defined and segregated elsewhere in S. The former position is not that far removed from some of the strongest criticism of the wrong kind of cult in the Bible, cf. esp. Isaiah 1:10ff., Amos 5:21-24, and Micah 6:6-8. An important new

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the *pesharim* where we also find a strong element of polemic and threats against the council. The situation described in the *pesharim* seems, therefore, quite removed from the optimism and idealistic tone in the present passage.

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

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

development attested here is the association of this elevation of ethical virtues over and against cultic obedience with a particular group within the land. This development is taken even further in 1QS 5 where the atonement is made possible by a particular group within the land on behalf of a particular community within the land which leads me to my next section.

The Effects of Expiation Restricted to the Community (1QS 5 // 4QS$^{d/b}$)

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

The Evidence of 4Q265

The presence in 4Q265 of a self-contained passage on the council of the community indicates that we are dealing with an independent floating tradition. Questions of the

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

[65] Cf. Murphy-O'Connor, "Genèse littéraire", p. 535. See also Dohmen, "Gründung der Gemeinde", p. 83, M. A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 300 2; Cambridge: CUP, 1987), p. 131. B. Gärtner notes the difference (p. 27), but subsequently focuses exclusively on the resemblances between both passages, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: CUP, 1965), p. 30.

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

Secondly, as far as scope is concerned, the material on the council of the community in 4Q265 resembles the section in 1QS 8:1-7a that I identified above as the earliest representation of the council of the community tradition. Both passages start off with a description of the make up of the council consisting of fifteen members and end with a

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

reference to judgment. However, because of its fragmentary nature we cannot be certain whether 4Q265 included either the plant imagery or the Aaron and Israel motif or something altogether different in the missing part of 4Q265 7:8. Given the constancy of the Aaron and Israel motif across the board, see the Table "Glimpses of an Evolving Tradition" above, a restoration along these lines seems reasonable.[67]

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

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

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[67]See also n. 45 above.

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

[69] Cf. the notes on the readings of this line in Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, p. 145. On the superlinear additions in 1QS 8:10 and 1QS 8:12-13 as "additions-gloses" over against smaller corrections that may have followed a manuscript, possibly 4QS^e, see E. Puech, "Remarques sur l'écriture de 1QS VII-VIII", *RQ* 10 (1979) 35-43, esp. pp. 42-43.

The Evidence of the Damascus Document

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

- the early period of an emerging movement

- plant imagery

- Israel and Aaron motif[70]

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

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

These shared linguistic features point to a common milieu. I have argued elsewhere that the first stage of community origins in CD 1 goes back to and describes the emergence of the pre-Teacher group.[72] An interesting difference between both passages is the lack of reference to expiation in this part of the Damascus Document. This lack of references to atonement in CD 1 is more than made up for in CD 3-4 where we find an intriguing series of references to atonement by God in the context of the community's origins or founding

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[70] Two separate studies of the poetry of CD 1 have, however, both argued that the original text lacked the reference to Aaron in CD 1:7, cf. M. Boyce, "The Poetry of the *Damascus Document* and Its Bearing on the Origin of the Qumran Sect", *RQ* 14 (1990) 615-628 and P. R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant. An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1983), pp. 232-233. For a discussion of this material see also Grossman, *History in the Damascus Document*, pp. 146-147. If the reconstruction of the original text by Boyce and Davies is correct, then the overlapping motif of Israel and Aaron would be present only in the final stage of this text. The Israel and Aaron motif occurs again in a context of community foundation in CD 6:2-3.

[71] The term recurs again in the context of community origins in CD 3:18.

[72] See C. Hempel, "Community Origins in the Damascus Document in the Light of Recent Scholarship", in D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich eds., *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 316-329.

members. The relevance of CD 3-4 in discussions of 1QS 8 was again already picked up by Klinzing.[73] Especially revealing in its relationship to 1QS 8 is CD 4:6-7 "<the fir>st holy <ones> for whom God made expiation, who declared the righteous righteous and the wicked wicked".[74] An obvious and fascinating difference between what is said about atonement in CD 3-4 and 1QS 5 and 8 is the named responsible party: God in the former versus the council of the community in the latter. Even if God would have been considered the ultimate source of atonement even in 1QS 5 and 8, theologically speaking, the difference in expressing things is noteworthy.

Conclusions and Outlook

Some of the primitive and small scale communal scenarios described in 1QS 6 deserve to be read without presuppositions derived from the overwhelming majority of communal rules in S that describe a much more evolved and complex level of organization. On my reading of these isolated statements they originated independently of S and reflect the life of the forebears of the *yachad*. Those forebears were, furthermore, not concerned with separation and the establishment of rigid boundaries between themselves and Israel at large. The only visible element of separation was the small-scale gathering of some like-minded people to eat, pray and take council. It is quite possible that this was the kind of thing one did in middle class Second Temple Judaism, and this scenario might, therefore, describe only one group of many that engaged in these kinds of gatherings.[75] To some

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[73] See *Umdeutung des Kultus*, pp. 75-80.

[74] See also CD 3:18 and 4:9-10. I am inclined to agree with Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, p. 99, that the first are here "the founder members of the community covenant".

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

degree my position overlaps with the views expressed recently by Collins, Metso, and Regev.[76] A big difference is that all three, admittedly in very different ways, presuppose the existence of a framework, a central organization to have existed alongside these small groups.

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

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

For many Americans, confusion about religious law, political ideology and sharia may reflect a distinctly Christian, and especially Protestant, way of thinking about the nature of religion. "It's hard to talk about this sometimes because there is no equivalent of sharia in the Christian tradition," said Shadi Hamid, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and the author of "Islamic Exceptionalism: How the Struggle Over Islam Is Reshaping the World." "Even when you're talking to well-intentioned, well-meaning people who really want to understand, explaining sharia is very challenging becau An ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs, or stance that determines a perspective with which to interpret social and political realities. The term is used either in a pejorative or neutral sense, but it contains political connotations. The word ideology was coined by Count Antoine Destutt de Tracy, a French materialist in the late eighteenth century, to define a "science of ideas." The current usage of the term was, however, originated from Karl Marx. Marx defined "ideology" as a "false consciousness" of a ruling class in a society who falsely presents their ideas a