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THE EARTHLY ESSENE NUCLEUS OF 1QSa*

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The Rule of the Congregation or Messianic Rule (1QSa) is one of the two annexes to the Community Rule from cave 1. 1QSa begins in 1:1 with the title,

μymyh tyrjab larcy td[lwkl °rsh hzw

And this is the rule for all the congregation of Israel in the last days.

This title gave rise to the widely held view that 1QSa is a document containing prescriptions for the life of a community - here frequently referred to as "the congregation of Israel" - in the Messianic age. It is further often argued that these regulations, although explicitly related to the last days, nevertheless reflect the life and organization of an existing community from which the document emerged.

In what follows I would like to focus particularly on 1QSa 1:6-2:11a and its relationship to the Laws of the Damascus Document.

1. 1QSa 1:6-2:11a and Its Present Context

It seems legitimate to isolate 1QSa 1:6-2:11a from its present context for the purposes of this analysis. A new heading, an indentation, and a paragraph sign in the margin in 1:6 introduce this section. This second heading - unlike 1QSa 1:1 - contains no reference to "the last days".

1QSa 1:6 reads,

larcyb jrzah lwkl hd[h twabx lwkl °rsh hzw

And this is the rule for all the hosts of the congregation for all who are native Israelites.

The material that follows deals with the education and offices of community members (1QSa 1:6b-25a) and the admission to community meetings (1QSa 1:25b-2:11a). It is the material in these two sections in 1QSa which most strongly conveys the impression that we are dealing with rules on the organization of an existing community. The remainder of 1QSa, i.e. 1QSa 2:11b-22, describes what appears to be a banquet in the Messianic age and lays down in detail its procedure. This last part of 1QSa will not be our main concern. Its subject matter sets it apart to some degree from what precedes. This final section may also have been introduced by a new heading, although because of the damage to the MS in 2:11 this is hard to tell.

Most commentators on 1QSa would agree that this so-called Messianic Rule reflects the life of an existing earthly community. The prevailing opinion on 1QSa is that we have in front of us a Messianic

or Eschatological Rule which describes the life and conduct of the Qumran community in the Messianic age¹. L. Schiffman's recent monograph is the fullest expression of this view to date.² Compare, for example, the following statement by Schiffman,

The events predicted in this text [i.e. 1QSa] actually constitute a kind of mirror image of the society described in the *Manual of Discipline*.³

An assessment of 1QSa along these lines has gone almost unchallenged in Qumran studies over a considerable period.⁴ In fact, until fairly recently not a great deal of scholarly attention was being devoted to the Rule of the Congregation. This state of affairs is reflected in A. S. van der Woude's recent review of Qumran scholarship between 1974 and 1988 where he introduces the discussion of contributions on 1QSa with the words,

Nur wenige Arbeiten sind in der Berichtsperiode der Gemeinschaftsregel gewidmet worden.⁵

Most recently something of a resurgence of interest in the Rule of the Congregation can be noted. Apart from Schiffman's monograph on 1QSa mentioned above H. Stegemann has proposed a new approach to 1QSa. Stegemann has developed his argument on 1QSa most fully in his paper at the IOQS Paris Meeting in 1992 entitled "Some Remarks on 1QSa, 1QSB, and Qumran Messianism". Furthermore, he summarizes his position on 1QSa again in his monograph *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus*.⁶ According to Stegemann 1QSa does not describe the vision of a community in the messianic age but constitutes the oldest rule book of the yahad for the present time. In Stegemann's view this rule book is older than both 1QS 5-11 and CD. Furthermore, in his view the expression *tyrjab μymyh* in 1QSa 1:1 - often translated as "in the last days" - refers not to the messianic age but to the last period of history in which the community behind this document believed itself to be living which would culminate in God's final visitation.⁷ Finally, Stegemann proposes a new interpretation of 1QSa 1:11b-22 and emphasizes that the meal described in these lines is presided over by the priest of local communities and not, as often thought, by the priestly messiah.

Although I do not agree with a number of aspects of Stegemann's reconstruction, for example his outline of the chronological relationship between 1QSa, 1QS 5-11, and D - space does not permit me to go into any detail here - I think he has reopened the important question of how eschatological this so-called eschatological Rule really is.

It is a central concern of this paper to emphasize that an association of the communal rules contained in 1QSa 1:6-2:11a with the Qumran community as described in 1QS is quite misleading. It is likely that this prevailing view is based on the introductory lines to 1QSa (1:1-3) on the one hand, and the fact that 1QSa is found on the same scroll immediately after the Community Rule (1QS).

It is often argued that the author of the Rule of the Congregation was preoccupied with the Messianic age, and only subconsciously and unwittingly did his account become coloured by his own earthly community background. Although this is admittedly the impression one gains from 1QSa in its present form, it fails to do justice to 1QSa 1:6-2:11a which constitutes well over half of the text of 1QSa (thirty five out of fifty two lines).

Interpretations of 1QSa that have hitherto been proposed have hinged to a great extent on the first three lines.

1QSa 1:1-3 reads,

°l?hthl djyl ı̇ μps<a>hb μymyh tyrjab larcy td[lwkl °rsh hzw
 °rd?b tklm w̄rs rva μtyrb yvwnaw μynhwkh qwdx ynb fpvm yp_l[
 8≈?rah d[b r̄pkl h[vr °wtb wtyrb wrmv rva wtx[yvwna hmh μ[h

This is the rule for the whole congregation of Israel in the last days when they assemble [as a community to wa]lk according to the authority of the sons of Zadok the priests and the men of their covenant who have depar[ted from walking in] the way of the people. These are the men of his council who have kept his covenant in the midst of wickedness in order to ato[ne for the la]nd.⁹

These few lines as well as the description of a banquet in the Messianic age in 1QSa 2:11b-22 have dominated and, indeed, overshadowed the interpretation of 1QSa 1:6-2:11a.

In addition to being introduced by a new heading that lacks reference to the last days this section - taken by itself - contains nothing that would associate the material with the Messianic age. I, therefore, suggest that 1QSa 1:6-2:11a comprises traditional Essene communal legislation, with some evidence for a Qumranic recension towards the end of the section, which was later incorporated into its present eschatological setting.¹⁰ What is more, the picture of the community behind this communal legislation corresponds closely to the picture that emerges from the communal rules in the Laws of the Damascus Document. It, therefore, seems likely that both the communal rules of the Damascus Document and 1QSa 1:6-2:11a emerged from a similar - if not identical - social situation.¹¹

The introduction to 1QSa in 1:1-3, by contrast, shows remarkable terminological links with the Community Rule, especially 1QS 5:1-3. We now know from two MSS of the Community Rule from cave 4 that 1QS 5:1-3 represents a particular recension of S that attributes a central role to the sons of Zadok in the authority structure of the community. In the light of this new evidence the place of the sons of Zadok at Qumran will have to be re-evaluated. So far the debate on the leading position of the

sons of Zadok in the light of 4QS has focused on 1QS 5 and 4QS^d and 4QS^b. As I hope to show here, 1QSa 1:1-3 is a further text that is central to that debate.¹²

1QS 5:1-3a reads,

hwx rva lwkb qyzjhlw [r lwkm bwvl μybdntmh djyh yvna °rsh hzw
yp l[μybyvmw ^whbw hrwtb djyl twyhl lw[h yvna td[m ldbhl wnwxrl
tyrb μyqzjmh djyh yvna bwr yp l[w tyrbh yrmwv μynhwkh qwdx ynb

This is the rule for the men of the community who have volunteered to turn back from all evil, to hold fast to all that he has commanded according to his will, to keep separate from the congregation of the men of injustice, and to form a community with regard to Torah and wealth. They shall obey the authority of the sons of Zadok the priests who keep the covenant and the multitude of the men of the community who hold fast to the covenant.

I have underlined the words that are found both in 1QSa 1:1-3 and 1QS 5. Fascinatingly, the words that correspond exactly between 1QSa 1:1-3 and 1QS 5 are not found in two MSS of the Community Rule from cave 4, 4QS^d and 4QS^b. That is to say, the phrase "the sons of Zadok the priests who keep the covenant" is not found in 4QS^d and 4QS^b which have instead "the many" (μybrh) in the position of prominent authority.¹³ Most recently this state of affairs has been noted by G. Vermes in his introduction to the translation of 1QSa in his revised fourth edition of *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*.¹⁴

The situation is similar when we turn to the second occurrence of this phrase in 1QS 5 in lines 8b-10,

bl lwkb hwx rva lwkk hvwm trwt la bwvl rsa t[wbvb wvvn l[μqyw
wnwxr yvrwdw tyrbh yrmwv μynhwkh qwdx ynb hnmm hlgnh lwkl vvn
lwkbw

wnwxrb °lthlw wtmal djy μybdntmh μtyrb yvna bwrlw

And he shall take upon himself a binding oath to return to the law of Moses according to all that he has commanded with all (his) heart and all (his) soul, to all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok the priests who keep the covenant and seek his will and to the multitude of the men of their covenant who have volunteered together for his truth and to walk according to his will.

Apart from the phrase "the sons of Zadok the priests who keep the covenant" the latter passage also mentions "the men of their covenant" of 1QSa 1:2. This designation occurs one more time in 1QS in

6:19 following again a reference to the authority of the priests. The most likely antecedent of the third person masculine plural suffix are the priests.

A careful analysis of the differences between the cave 4 MSS of the Community Rule and 1QS is one of the tasks that will occupy Qumran scholars in the foreseeable future. One of the scholars entrusted with the official edition of 4QS, G. Vermes, has however already proposed a preliminary interpretation of the divergences between 4QS^d 1 and 1QS 5,

... the most likely hypothesis is that 1QS in its final form is a composite document and that the 'Congregation' tradition of 4Qsd and b corresponds to one of its components, probably the earlier one, and the 'sons of Zadok' tradition to another.¹⁵

Whatever the direction of the development was it seems clear that we find in 1QSa 1:1-3 an expression that goes back to the same tradition - perhaps even the same author - as 1QS 5. If Vermes's tentative suggestion is right, i.e. that 4QS^d represents an earlier tradition than the "sons of Zadok" tradition in 1QS 5, then this could have important implications for the interpretation of 1QSa. It seems likely to me that 1QSa is also a composite work, and that the introduction, especially 1:1-3, promotes a different picture of the community behind 1QSa from the bulk of 1QSa 1:6-2:11a. Now if whoever was responsible for 1QS 5 was reworking the Community Rule in favour of the "sons of Zadok" tradition, it is quite likely that the same person inserted references to that tradition into 1QSa on the same scroll. Furthermore, the same "sons of Zadok" tradition that is attested in the redactional 1QSa 1:1-3 can also be detected in a number of redactional phrases in 1QSa 1:6-2:11a, i.e. 1:24 and 2:3. I will proceed by discussing each passage in its context.

a) 1QSa 1:22b-25a reads,

vya hd[h lwk ta ayxwhlw aybhl ^wrha ynb yp l[wdm[mb vya wdw[m[y ywl
ynbw

µtwabx lwk rpsml ^µyrfwvlw^ µyfpwvlw µyrecl hd[h twb?a; yvar dy l[
wkrsb

¹⁶hd[h twba yva?r lkwk; µynhwkh qwdx ynb yp l[

And the sons of Levi shall serve each in his place under the authority of the sons of Aaron to bring in and lead out the whole congregation, everyone in their position, under the instruction of the heads of the fathers of the congregation, the commanders, the judges and the officers according to the number of all their hosts under the authority of the sons of Zadok [and all the heads of the fathers of the congregation.

The authority structure pronounced by this passage seems clear. The levites are to be responsible for bringing in and leading out the congregation, but they are to obey the ultimate authority of the priests

and the heads of the fathers of the congregation. Two factors lead me to believe that the last phrase in this passage goes back to a recension of 1QSa in favour of the tradition reflected in 1QS 5 - one may call it a 'Zadokite recension'.

1. The last phrase, i.e. 1QSa 1:24b-25a, is clearly redundant. Both the authority of the priests as well as the authority of the heads of the fathers of the congregation have already been mentioned.

2. However, rather than being a straightforward repetition of the expressions used earlier in the passage, "the sons of Zadok" are here used to describe the priests instead of the earlier "the sons of Aaron". Whereas repetition as such may have been understood as a simple literary device, this change in terminology seems to have a different purpose. What is more, I have shown earlier that it is the "sons of Zadok" tradition that has entered 1QSa at a redactional level. It, therefore, seems probable that we have here evidence of a recension which is trying to enhance the authority of the sons of Zadok and which should be seen as related to both, 1QSa 1:1-3 and 1QS 5.

b) 1QSa 1:27b-2:3a reads,

μynwbnhw hd[h ? ymk_zj lwk c[^bm djyh tx[l μyarqnh μyvn<a>h hla
 μhyrfwvw μhyfpwv lwkw μyf?bv_h yrc_z μ[lyjh yvwnaw °rdh ymymt
 μy[dyhw
 wtdwb[tq?l_{jm} °_zwtb μyywlhw twrc[lw μyvmj]w ?twaml _zyrcw μyplah yrcw
qwdx ynb ynpl larcy_b djyh tx[l μyd[w_{nh} d[w_m yaryq μv_h yvwna hla
¹⁷μynhwkh

These are the men called for the council of the community from the age of tw(enty).

All the w[ise] of the congregation and those who have insight and knowledge, the perfect of way and men of valour together with [the commanders of the tri]bes and all their judges and their officers and the commanders of thousands, the commanders [of hundreds] and fifties and tens, and the levites (everyone) in the mid[st of the divi]sion of his service. These are the men of renown who have been called for the assembly of the council of the community in Israel before the sons of Zadok the priests.

As in the preceding passage, here the "sons of Zadok" have again been appended at the end of this regulation. Furthermore, we have another case of a repetition. The phrase "these are the men ..." occurs at the beginning of the passage as well as in 2:1b-2a. Only in the second formulation, which repeats the first, have the "sons of Zadok" been introduced. It, therefore, seems likely that the insertion of the "sons of Zadok" at the end of this passage goes back to the same recension attested in 1:24 above.

2. *1QSa 1:6 - 2:11a and the Laws of the Damascus Document*

In order to support my claim that the community reflected in 1QSa 1:6-2:11a should be associated with the community behind the Laws of the Damascus Document I will focus on a number of aspects shared by both collections.

1. Both, the communal rules in the Laws of the Damascus Document and 1QSa 1:6-2:11a reflect a community that refers to itself using 'all Israel' terminology.¹⁸ The boundaries between insiders and outsiders in both texts correspond to the boundaries between Israel and the nations.

I will begin by referring to a number of prescriptions that reflect an all-Israel ideology in the communal legislation of the Laws of the Damascus Document. Such an ideology is reflected in several passages of the communal rules as preserved in the mediaeval text of the Damascus Document.

Thus, CD 15:5 refers to new members about to enter the community as "the one who enters the covenant for all Israel" (larcy lkl tyrbb abh). Further on in this same section on the admission of new members we find in CD 15:8-9 a reference to "the covenant which Moses made with Israel" (tyrbh larcy μ[hvm trk rva). Towards the end of the section on the admission of new members CD 16:1 begins, moreover, with the words "with you a covenant and with all Israel" (larcy lk μ[w tyrb μkm[).

Two further important passages that reveal the national self-understanding of the community described in the communal legislation of the CD Laws are found in the section on the meeting of all the camps (CD 14:3-18a). Firstly, the members of the meeting of all the camps are described in 14:3-6a as made up of priests, levites, Israelites and proselytes (rg). Finally, one of the categories of people to be cared for with the money collected and deposited with the overseer and the judges in CD 14:12b-16a is "the one who has been taken captive by a foreign people" (ywgl hbvy rva rkn).

In these passages those addressed are depicted as a national entity. It may well be that this all-Israel terminology is used because the movement addressed thought of itself as the 'true Israel'. Nevertheless, the point I would like to emphasize is that these passages lack the hostility against the majority of Israel that characterizes, for example, the Community Rule, cf. for example 1QS 5:1-3a.

In 1QSa 1:6-2:11a the following two passages clearly illustrate a similar self-understanding of the community behind the text. 1QSa 1:6, the heading that introduces this part of 1QSa reads,

larcyb jrzah lwkl hd[h twabx lwkl °rs^h hzw

This is the rule for all the hosts of the congregation, for all native Israelites.

Moreover, 1QSa 1:19b-22a is a section that provides for simpleminded people and their role in the community. They are to be excluded from a number of communal roles and play a restricted part in the community's life. One of the activities from which these people are to be excluded is the war against the nations in 1:21,

μywg [ynkhl hm]lmb bxythl ...
 (not)to take part in the war to crush
 the nations.

Again, this all-Israel perspective could be caused by a self-understanding of the community behind 1QSa 1:6-2:11a as the 'true Israel'. On the other hand, it seems equally possible that the author(s) of this text addressed - at least in theory - all Israel.

Whatever the case may be, I would like to stress the positive and unpolemical nature of the references to Israel in this text. Furthermore, this portrayal of Israel at large contrasts sharply with the Community Rule and even the first lines of the Rule of the Congregation.

Cf. especially 1QSa 1:2-3,

wrmv rva wtx[yvwna hmh μ[h °rd?b tklm wꞥrs rva μtyrb yvw naw ...
 ... h[vr °wtb wtyrb

... and the men of their covenant who have depar[ted from walking in] the way of the people. These are the men of his council who have kept his covenant in the midst of wickedness...

In 1QSa 1:1-3 the boundaries between the community reflected in this text and those outside are clearly drawn within Israel itself. The distinction that is emphasized in 1QS and in 1QSa 1:1-3 is the distinction between that part of Israel that has renounced wickedness and the great majority that have not.

2. Another important point of similarity between the communal legislation of the Damascus Document and 1QSa is the fact that both works presuppose family life, i.e. marriage and children, in contrast to 1QS.

It has often been pointed out by scholars that both the Damascus Document and 1QSa presuppose family life. 1QSa 1:8b-11 contains sufficient illustration of the fact that family life is presupposed in 1QSa 1:6-2:11a. In this instance my task is less to show that the Damascus Document and 1QSa share

this feature, since no one would dispute this. Disagreement enters, however, when it comes to explaining this communality and the lack of references to women in the communal legislation of IQS 5-9.

References to women and legislation on relations between the sexes are found frequently in the mediaeval text of the Laws of the Damascus Document as well as in the 4QD MSS. It has long been noted that the Damascus Document presupposes family life and the evidence is briefly recapitulated here mainly for the sake of introducing our discussion of this issue.

There are five passages in the mediaeval text of the Laws of the Damascus Document which contain references to women or children.

1. CD 16:10-12 contains a section of halakhah dealing with women's oaths.

2. CD 11:11 forms part of the Sabbath Code and reads,

tbvb awblw taxl qnwyh ta ^mwah acy la

The childminder shall not carry a child (whilst) going and coming on the sabbath.

3. CD 15:5b-6a introduces the legislation on the admission of new members:

μydwqph l[rwb[l w[ygy rva μhynb ta μlw[qwjl larcy lkl tyrbb abhw
μhyl[wmyqy tyrbh t[wbv

And he who enters the covenant for all Israel it shall be an eternal statute, together with their children who reach the age to pass over to the mustered, they shall bind themselves with the oath of the covenant.

4. CD 14:12c-16a legislates on the provision for the needy:

μyfpwvhw rqbmh dy l[wntnw fy[mml vdj lkl μymy ynv rkc
rv?a_z ¹⁹. [l?w_z l?aw_zg hl ^?ya_z rva hlwtblw ? . . . _z wnty wnm
. . . vrwd wl ^ya

The wages of at least two days each month they shall give to the overseer and the judges. From it they shall give to [...] the virgin who [has] no re[la]tives, and the [boy w]ho has no one to take care of him...

What is more, if we accept the restoration suggested recently by E. Qimron for CD 13:16 the mediaeval text of the Laws might include yet another reference to the presence of women, i.e. ?h_zva j?qw_zl l?k_zl ?^kw "for everyone who takes a wife".²⁰

Finally, CD 12:1b-2a prohibits sexual relations in the city of Jerusalem:

μtdnb vdqmh ry[ta amfl vdqmh ry[b hva μ[vya bkvy la

No one shall lie with a woman in the city of the sanctuary so as to defile the city of the sanctuary with their uncleanness.

Thus, references to women and family life occur widely in the mediaeval text of the Laws. This impression is further reinforced by the evidence from the 4Q fragments of the Laws of the Damascus Document.

From J. M. Baumgarten's preliminary description of the contents of the 4QD MSS it emerges that a number of additional pieces of legislation dealing with the subject of women and marriage are found in 4QD that are not preserved in CD.²¹ In particular Baumgarten mentions a passage that deals with the case of a wife accused of unfaithfulness (cf. Num. 5)²² and a passage that lays down rules to be followed when marriages are arranged within the community.²³

Finally, the 4QD Penal Code preserves two offences exclusive to 4QD^c that mention women.

In contrast to this, women and family life are not mentioned in 1QS, nor does it include any regulations on relations between the sexes.²⁴ Yet, this silence in 1QS cannot be used as conclusive evidence to maintain either that the members of the 1QS community were celibate or to maintain that they practised marriage. Both the internal literary evidence of the scrolls as well as the archaeological evidence are open to several interpretations, and scholars are divided on the question whether or not 1QS 5-9 contains the regulations for a celibate community. A whole host of scholars have discussed this issue from the time soon after the discovery of the scrolls until very recently when the celibacy debate has been revived.²⁵ It would be unnecessarily repetitive to outline again all the arguments that have been put forward for or against the view that 1QS reflects a celibate community. Rather, I will limit myself to stating the key arguments that have led me to believe that 1QS 5-9 in its final form seems to describe a community in which women played no role in contrast to the Laws of the Damascus Document and 1QSa 1:6-2:11a.

Whether or not the members of the community described in 1QS 5-9 in its present form were married cannot, as we saw, be decided on the basis of the literary evidence. However, what can be said with confidence - and what has been emphasized frequently by those scholars who fall into the pro-celibacy camp of Qumran studies - is that women are not mentioned in the communal legislation of 1QS. Thus, even if the members of the community behind 1QS 5-9 were married it seems that the role of women was marginal indeed in that community.

A passage that seems to suggest that some Jews in the Essene milieu did refrain from marriage is CD 7:6b-9a. Whether or not this passage has been inserted into its present context at a secondary stage²⁶, the protasis of this statement clearly presupposes that an alternative lifestyle from the one in camps with wives and children did exist. Thus, compare especially CD 7:6b-7a: "And if they live in camps according to the rule of the land and take wives and beget children ..." (μy nb w dylwhw μyv n wjqlw ≈rah²⁷ rsk w bvy tw njm μaw).

As far as the reasoning behind a celibate lifestyle among pious Jews of the Second Temple period is concerned it has been noted frequently that such a position is taking the rigid requirements for ritual purity echoed in many texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls one step further, cf. esp. CD 12:1b-2a and the laws on the purity of Jerusalem in columns 45-47 of the Temple Scroll. Furthermore, A. Guillaumont has demonstrated that traditions on sexual abstinence in particular situations are reflected in non-Essene Jewish sources as well as in the Hebrew Bible itself, cf. Ex. 19, 14-15. (REB: "Moses came down from the mountain to the people. He hallowed them and they washed their clothes. He said, 'Be ready by the third day; do not go near a woman.'").

To sum up, it seems likely to me in the light of the considerations outlined above that the community reflected in IQS 5-9 either lacked women altogether or attributes an extremely peripheral place to women and family life in relation to the *djy*.

The main implication for the purposes of the present argument is to note that the presupposition of family life constitutes a further aspect shared between the community behind IQSa 1:6-2:11a and the communal legislation of the Damascus Document. The position of women was by no means equal to that of the male members of the community, but they certainly constitute a visible presence in the community behind both texts.

3. It has been pointed out by Barthélemy that the term *hd[* ("congregation") occurs nineteen times in IQSa and this terminological characteristic led Barthélemy to designate the document "Règle de la Congrégation".²⁸

It seems noteworthy that over against one occurrence of *hd[* in IQS (IQS 5:20) in a context where it designates the community behind the document, the term occurs no less than seven times in the Laws of the Damascus Document as they have come down to us in the Genizah text, cf. CD 10:4,5,8; 13:10-11,13; 14:10. The situation is much the same when we take the cave 4 evidence into account. With the help of the *Preliminary Concordance*²⁹ I surveyed all the occurrences of *hd[* in the cave 4 MSS of both, the Community Rule and the Damascus Document. The term occurs once in 4QS^b and 4QS^d respectively and in both instances parallels IQS 5:1-2 where it designates not the community behind the text but "the congregation of the men of injustice" (*lw[h yvna td[*). As far as the cave 4 MSS of the Damascus Document are concerned *hd[* occurs fourteen times altogether. Two occurrences are

from the Admonition and they need not concern us here. Nine occurrences of **hd[** in the cave 4 MSS parallel the mediaeval text of the Laws in which, as we saw, the term is used frequently to designate the community behind the text. Apart from these eleven occurrences of **hd[** that cover text that is paralleled in the mediaeval text of the Damascus Document, 4QD^f, 4QD^b, and 4QD^e contain one further mention of **hd[** respectively which have no parallel in the Genizah text. From this brief survey of the cave 4 evidence, it becomes clear that the situation I described on the basis of the already published material is confirmed by the unpublished material.³⁰

4. The enigmatic Book of Hagu **wghh rps** which occurs twice in the Laws of the Damascus Document (CD 10:6; 13:2) is mentioned only in 1QSa 1:7 outside of CD. Furthermore, the book seems to have the same function in both documents. It appears to have been a book that was used for the instruction of community members, officials, and priests.

According to the CD Laws the judges of the congregation (10:4 - note the use of "congregation," Hebrew **hd[**) and the priest presiding over any gathering of ten community members (13:2) are required to be well versed (**^nwbm**) in the **wghh rps**. On the other hand, every native Israelite is to be taught (**dml**) in the Book of Hagu according to 1QSa 1:7. It seems likely to me that these regulations on the Book of Hagu in the Laws of the Damascus Document and 1QSa are compatible, and that the use of **^yb** and **dml** respectively indicates that different members of the community were expected to show different degrees of familiarity with and knowledge of the Book of Hagu, and that every new member had to acquire some knowledge of its contents.

5. Finally, the regulations of 1QSa 2:5b-9a on the exclusion of physically disabled people from the congregation are paralleled in 4QD^a.³¹ The text of 4QD^a continues that of column 15 of the Genizah text and rules that mentally and physically disabled people are to be excluded from the congregation because of the presence of the **vwdqh ykalm**, "the holy angels". The relevant passage from 4QD^a has already been published and translated by Baumgarten³² as follows,

r[n wa çrj wa jsp wa rgjw twar ytlbl µyny[hkw hgwçw ytp lwkw
µkwtb vwdqh ykalm yk hd[h °wt la hlam vya ? wby la ç fwf[z

Any demented fool, any simple-minded or errant man, and one with dimmed eyes who cannot see, one who limps or is lame, the deaf, any young boy, none of these shall come into the midst of the congregation, for the holy angels are in their midst.³³

1QSa 2:5b-9a reads,

µla wa çrj wa rw[wa jsp µydy wa µylgr hakn wrccb [gwnm lwkw

qzjth ytlbl lvwk ^qz vya wa μyny[twarl wrcbb [gwnm μwm wa
 ykalm ayk μvh yvw?nζa td[°wt?b ζ bxythl hla ? wawζby la hd[h °wtb
³⁴μt?d[b ζ vdwq

No one physically afflicted, either struck with deformed feet or hands, lame, or blind, or deaf, or dumb, or physically afflicted with any defect that can be seen, or an old man who is tottering and unable to keep still in the midst of the congregation, none of these shall enter to stand in the midst of the congregation of the m[e]n of renown, for holy angels are [in] their [congrega]tion.³⁵

In the recent new edition of the text and translation of 1QSa by J. H. Charlesworth and L. T. Stuckenbruck the restoration μt?x[bζ vdwq ykalm yk has been suggested for 1QSa 2:8-9.³⁶ Such a reconstruction seems less likely to me because of the occurrence of hd[in 1QSa 2:4b-5a which reads,

hd[h °wtb dm[m qyzjh ytlbl hlab [gwnm vya lwkw

No one afflicted by any of these shall be authorized to take up his position in the midst of the congregation.

Conclusion

It seems likely to me in the light of these comparative observations that the core of the Rule of the Congregation consists of a piece of communal legislation that goes back to the Essene parent movement of the Qumran community. This material is found in 1QSa 1:6-2:11a and may originally have existed independently as the presence of a second heading in 1QSa 1:6 suggests. In terms of its size the section in 1QSa 1:6-2:11a is the largest in 1QSa and our results are, therefore, of crucial importance for one's perception of the whole document. This communal legislation shows, furthermore, a number of important common features with the communal legislation in the Laws of the Damascus Document which point to a similar social setting.³⁷ Apart from having been embedded into its present Messianic setting 1QSa 1:6-2:11a underwent a 'Zadokite recension' which resulted in the addition of a number of redactional passages that reflect the social background of 1QS 5.

Notes

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also to my teacher, Prof. Michael Knibb, for his judicious comments and generous support. Finally, I would like to thank my new colleagues in the Department of Theology of the University of Birmingham for their support.

¹With the term 'Qumran community' I refer to the social organization that is reflected in 1QS in its final form. The relationship of this community to the forms of social organization reflected in the Laws of the Damascus Document is best perceived as that of a sect to its parent movement. Here my views are influenced by a number of elements of the Groningen Hypothesis, cf. F. García Martínez, "Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis," *Folia Orientalia* 25 (1988) 113-36 and F. García Martínez and A. S. van der Woude, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RQ* 56 (1990) 521-41. See also note 10 below.

²*The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SBL Monograph Series 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).

³*Eschatological Community*, 9.

⁴Something of an exception is the following judgement of A.-M. Denis on 1QSa 1:1, "L'expression du titre: <<aux derniers jours>> ne doit pas faire illusion. Il n'y a rien d'eschatologique dans ce document, c'est une simple clause de style.", "Évolution de structures dans la secte de Qumrân" *Aux origines de l'Église* (ed. J. Giblet *et al.*; RechBib 7; Louvain: Desclée, De Brouwer, 1965) 23-49, 47.

⁵"Fünfzehn Jahre Qumranforschung (1974-1988): III. Studien zu früher veröffentlichten Handschriften," *ThR* 57 (1992) 1-57, 11.

⁶(Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, ⁴1994).

⁷ On this expression in the Qumran literature cf. also A. Steudel, "μϋμϋh tyrja in the Texts from Qumran," *RQ* 16 (1993) 225-246. As far as 1QSa in particular is concerned Steudel follows Stegemann, cf. especially p. 230.

⁸Text and reconstructions are taken from Barthélemy, cf. D. Barthélemy O.P. and J. T. Milik (ed.), *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 109.

⁹The underlined words occur also in 1QS 5 to be discussed below.

¹⁰On the distinction between the Qumran community and the Essene movement cf. F. García Martínez, "Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis." This element of the Groningen Hypothesis seems convincing to me. However, in the light of the new material now available our conceptions of the literary and communal developments reflected in the scrolls will need to be revised and up-dated.

¹¹In the course of the discussion of her New York paper entitled "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls" Eileen Schuller expresses a similar view, cf. E. Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls" *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. Wise *et al.*; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994) especially p. 129. S. does not elaborate on the relationship between the Damascus Document and 1QSa however.

¹²It is important to distinguish between the material in the scrolls that attributes particular authority to a group labelled "the sons of Zadok" (1QS 5 and 1QSa 1:1-3) and the Ezekiel Midrash in CD 3:20-4:4. In the latter passage "the sons of Zadok" is used to refer to the whole community. In the material at issue here, by contrast, the label "sons of Zadok" refers to a particular group of leading priests within the community. For a critical assessment of the sons of Zadok in the scrolls cf. P. R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes. History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta GA: Scholars Press, 1987) 51-72, especially 52-55. D's discussion was written before the evidence of 4QSD^d and 4QSB^b was widely available to scholars and deserves renewed attention in the light of the new evidence.

¹³Cf. G. Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 42 (1991) 250-55; see also by the same author "Qumran Forum Miscellanea I," *JJS* 43 (1992) 299-305.

¹⁴*The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. Revised and Extended Fourth Edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995), 119.

¹⁵"Preliminary Remarks," 255. By "'Congregation' tradition" Vermes refers to μybrh of 4QSD^d which he rather curiously translates with 'the Congregation'.

¹⁶Text and reconstructions are taken from Barthélemy, *Qumran Cave I*, 110.

¹⁷Text and reconstructions are taken from Barthélemy, *Qumran Cave I*, 110.

¹⁸There are a few exceptions within the Laws of the Damascus Document, and this incoherence is due to the composite nature of the Laws. It seems to me that the polemical stratum in this corpus is restricted to a small part of the collection and this is a subject to which I hope to return in a future study.

¹⁹4QD^a 18 III:9 reads $r[n]w$, cf. E. Qimron, "The Text of CDC" *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. M. Broshi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1991) 9-49, 36 n. 21 and my translation follows this reading. Rabin reads $vrwd hl \hat{y}a rv?a hmlj[lw$ and translates "and for the virgin who has no one to seek her *in marriage*", cf. C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents: I. The Admonition, II. The Laws* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954) 70-71. However, the photograph given in Qimron's edition clearly supports the reading wl rather than hl . The reading $r[n]w$ in 4QD^a 18 in conjunction with the masculine suffix make a good case for reconstructing $r[n]w$ in CD as well.

²⁰"Text of CDC," 35.

²¹"The Laws of the *Damascus Document* in Current Research" *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. M. Broshi; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1992) 53-54.

²²Cf. D^e 8 1-19.

²³Cf. D^e 5 14-21; D^f 1 I 4-15 (lines 1-3 are very fragmentary); and D^d 9 1-7.

²⁴For the sake of completeness it is worth mentioning that 1QS 11:21 makes use of the Hebrew idiom 'one born of a woman' which cannot, however, be taken as a reference to women in the description of the community in 1QS.

²⁵The following bibliographical list does not purport to be complete: J. M. Baumgarten, "The Essene-Qumran Restraints on Marriage" *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls : The New York*

University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin (ed. L. H. Schiffman; JSPESup 8; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990) 13-24; H. Braun, *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus: Jesus von Nazareth und die essenische Qumransekte* (BHTh 24; Tübingen: Mohr, 1957) 40; *idem*, *Qumran und das Neue Testament*, Vol. I (Tübingen: Mohr, 1966) 40-41 and 192-193; J. Coppens, "Le célibat essénien" *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor *et al.*; BEThL 56; Paris: Gembloux, Leuven: University Press, 1978) 295-303; A. Guillaumont, "A propos du célibat des esséniens" *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* (ed. A. Caquot and M. Philonenko; Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1971) 395-404; H. Hübner, "Zölibat in Qumran?," *NTS* 17 (1970-71) 153-67; A. Isaakson, *Marriage and Ministry in the New Temple* (ASNU 24; Lund: Gleerup, 1965) especially pp. 45-65; E. Qimron, Review of P. R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT, 1983), *JQR* 77 (1986-7) 84-7; *idem*, "Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Two Kinds of Sectarrians" *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March 1991* (Vol. I; ed. J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11,1; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992) 287-94; L. H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (Brown Judaic Studies 33; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) 214-15; *idem*, *Eschatological Community*, 69; E. M. Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls"; H. Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes - Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times" *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March 1991* (Vol. I; ed. J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11,1; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992) 83-166; J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, London: SPCK, 1994), 90-91.

²⁶Cf. P. R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT, 1983) 142 for a brief outline of the position that this passage is secondary. D. himself disagrees although he does not disregard the latter position as a possibility. Both Baumgarten, "Essene-Qumran Restraints," especially pp. 18-19 and Qimron, "Celibacy," especially pp. 289-92 have recently offered an interpretation of CD 7:6b-9a as an integral part of its present context. One may wonder whether the blessing that precedes this passage in CD 7:4b-6a especially line 6a (רַוְדַּ πְלַ μְטַוְיַל) should necessarily be taken as literally as both scholars suggest. It may, alternatively, be a traditional concept associated with the language of a blessing and perhaps one should not read too much into it. Similarly, I would understand the much debated expression τῶρ [rZ in IQS 4:7 as a traditional concept associated with a blessed existence, cf. M. A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 100 for an interpretation of IQS 4:6b-8 along such lines.

²⁷The MS actually reads °dsk which should be emended to °rsk, cf. Qimron, "Text of CDC," 23 n. 5.

²⁸*Qumran Cave I*, 108.

²⁹J. Strugnell *et al.* (ed.), *A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Caves II-X*, Printed from a card index prepared by R. E. Brown *et al.*, Prepared and arranged for printing by H.-P. Richter (Volumes I-V; Göttingen: Privately published, 1988).

³⁰The expression *djy(h) tx[* ("council of the community") occurs three times in 1QSa 1:6-2:11a and a variant form *vdwqh tx[* ("the council of holiness") is found once in this material. The term is familiar from the Community Rule where it frequently occurs, cf. 1QS 3:2; 5:7; 6:3,10,12-13,14,16; 7:2,22,24; 8:1,5,22; 11:8. In 1QS the term is used to refer to the body of full community members and it is used interchangeably with *mybrh* ("the many") in column 6. It seems to me that the occurrences of the expression *djyh tx[* in 1QSa warrant further study. Moreover, an examination of all these cases would have to go hand in hand with an examination of the use and meaning of the expression in the different S MSS.

³¹For a detailed discussion of the different categories of people that are excluded in 1QSa 2 cf. recently L. H. Schiffman, "Purity and Perfection: Exclusion from the Council of the Community in the *Serekh Ha-C'Edah*" *Biblical Archaeology Today : Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology Jerusalem, April 1984* (ed. J. Amitai; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985) 373-89.

³²"Laws of the *Damascus Document* in Current Research," 58.

³³"Laws of the *Damascus Document* in Current Research," 58.

³⁴Text and reconstructions are taken from Barthélemy, *Qumran Cave I*, 110.

³⁵ Cf. also 1QM 7:4; 4QFlor 1:3b-5a and 4QMMT B 39-54 of the composite text in E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 50-53. The belief that the angels are in the midst of the congregation in 1QSa and 1QM has frequently been attributed to the messianic contents of those writings. This interpretation will have to be re-examined in the light of 4QD^a.

³⁶J. H. Charlesworth with F. M. Cross *et al.* (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 1 Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994) 116-117. Curiously in 1QSa 2:10 they restore *hd[*.

³⁷I have restricted myself to a discussion of the relationship between the Laws of the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Congregation in this paper. It seems likely to me that an investigation of the relationship of the Rule of the Congregation to other works from the Qumran corpus such as 1QM/4QM would further our knowledge of the complexity of the literary developments reflected in the scrolls.