CHARLOTTE HEMPEL

The Community Rules from Qumran

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism

Mohr Siebeck

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A Commentary

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This volume offers the first Commentary on all twelve ancient manuscripts of the Rules of the Community, a series of works which contain accounts of the organisation and values ascribed to a movement associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls. My aim is to make all the texts accessible as transparently as possible. The approach adopted here is to capture the distinctive nature of each of the manuscripts by offering a synoptic translation that presents each passage as represented in all the manuscripts at a glance. Whereas previous research has focused mainly on indicating "variants" between the manuscripts, this volume allots equal attention to the many places where several manuscripts are in close agreement. The latter evidence is as significant as the differences between the manuscripts in informing us about their inter-relationship and the literary development of this complex literary tradition.

Translations are followed by detailed Textual Notes that engage the Hebrew texts.[1] The original manuscripts were consulted alongside digital images, on which more will be said below. The most exciting inter-textual insights arose out of scribal features attested in one manuscript which gained new significance in the light of another manuscript. There is much to be gained from looking at the material synoptically in order to establish the relationships between manuscripts as well as shed light on different parts within manuscripts. I have little doubt that some of the Cave 4 manuscripts preserve a form of the text – and in some cases the very manuscripts – drawn upon by the scribes and compilers of 1QS.

The more I engaged with the riches of the evidence, the more I was struck by the extent to which so much of the scholarly debate has favoured particular selections of material. While it is widely acknowledged – and frequently lamented – that the best-preserved manuscript 1QS has dominated scholarly assessments, even with regard to this manuscript researchers frequently draw on particular segments of the text. This selective approach also extends to our engagement with the manuscripts that came to light in the closing decade of the 20th century. What follows is an attempt at a reading of the material that does justice to the evidence of each passage without losing sight of the significance of its

[1] The most recent edition by Sarianna Metso reached me, alas, too late to be incorporated, see Metso, *The Community Rule: A Critical Edition with Translation*. Early Judaism and Its Literature (Atlanta: SBL, 2019), 2019.

context in the individual manuscripts. What emerges are clusters of material that are shared across several manuscripts. The publication of the Cave 4 manuscripts in 1998 challenged prevalent notions of the Community Rules founded on the quasi-archetypal status of the Cave 1 copy published in 1951. This Commentary embraces the new literary landscape constituted by the Community Rules. At the same time, I relished the opportunity to evaluate the material afresh within the context of current research on the Scrolls where our maps of place and time are also being re-drafted. The etymology of the English verb "to draft" encapsulates a sense of movement ("to pull; draw") alongside precision, especially if we think of maps. This verb also applies to my own work on this book. I drafted and re-drafted to arrive at a text that is as precise as I dare to be. Etymology offers some solace by suggesting that this process implies movement and, hopefully, progress, in our thinking on the texts presented here.

Over the period of writing this Commentary I have benefitted immensely from the support of a number of organizations. First and foremost, I gratefully acknowledge the support of the British Academy for the award of a Mid-Career Fellowship matched by a term of research leave granted by the University of Birmingham's College of Arts and Law in 2013–2014. During that year I was able to spend a vital period of time in Jerusalem that included several visits to the conservation laboratory of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) where I was able to examine the fragments of the Community Rules from Cave 4. I am indebted to the former Curator and Head of the Dead Sea Scrolls Unit at the IAA, Pnina Shor and her team, especially Orit Kuslansky and Lena Liebman. I am also grateful to the Curator of the Shrine of the Book, Dr Adolfo Roitman, Hasia Rimon and Irene Lewitt for their assistance and the opportunity to examine the manuscript of 1QS in the high-security vault of the Shrine as well as important photographs of that scroll in 2014. I hugely profited from the professionalism and expertise of all the staff at both institutions. Since then I have benefitted daily – and often hourly – from the multi-spectral digital images taken by the photographer Shai Halevi available at the IAA's Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library (LLDSSDL; http://deadseascrolls.org.il) as well as the digital images of 1QS hosted by the Shrine of the Book and photographed by Ardon Bar-Hama (http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/community).

The Spring of 2014 was also the first time I was privileged to work in the famous library of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem. I was made to feel at home in the same institution for a second time in the autumn of 2019 when I was part of a cohort of Dead Sea Scrolls Scholars in Residence at the École. I will always be grateful to the Director of the École, Jean Jacques Pérennès, O. P. and Professor Michael Langlois for the invitation as well as to my Fellow Scholars in Residence and the in-house Qumran specialist Professor Émile Puech who gave so generously of his time during both of my visits. Finally, I am grateful to the community and the staff at the École for their assis-

tance and generous hospitality. In addition, I would like to mention the following friends and colleagues for conversations and sharing pre-published work or bibliography: Martin G. Abegg, Albert Baumgarten, George Brooke, John Collins, Idan Dershowitz, Esther Eshel, Daniel Falk, Judith Göppinger, Maxine Grossman, Kamilla Skarström Hinojosa, Jutta Jokiranta, Paul Joyce, Menahem Kister, Michael Knibb, Reinhard Kratz, Simone Laqua O'Donnell, Rebekka Luther, Daniel Machiela, Sarianna Metso, Noam Mizrahi, Candida Moss, Hindy Najman, Judith Newman, Carol Newsom, Vered Noam, Mladen Popović, Gary Rendsburg, Jean-Sébastien Rey, Alison Schofield, Annette Steudel, Michael Stone, Eibert Tigchelaar, James Tucker, and Cecilia Wassén. Special thanks goes to Ariel Feldman who generously commented on a draft of the entire manuscript. Closer to home, my immediate scholarly community at the University of Birmingham, including especially our doctoral students and colleagues in the Department of Theology and Religion and beyond, has sustained me. I would like to thank Michael DeVries who skilfully prepared the Indices of this volume with customary efficiency.

I am grateful to the Editors of the Series *Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism*, especially Annette Yoshiko Reed, for accepting this volume into the Series and to the staff at Mohr Siebeck for their skill and professionalism in seeing it through the Press, especially Elena Müller, Katharina Gutekunst, Tobias Stäbler and Jana Trispel.

This book is dedicated to the memory of my husband, Richard Charles Cave, who together with our children – Charles and Imogen Cave – shared so much of this journey with me. The first-person voice we hear in the Final Hymn hints at our fleeting presence on this earth and offers a deep connection between ourselves and those who lived, and died, over two millennia ago when it acknowledges "a human being does not determine its path, nor humankind its steps" (1QS 11:10).

Charlotte Hempel, Birmingham, UK December 2019

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Abbreviations Including Frequently Cited Sources

Excluded are items listed in Billie Jean Collins, Bob Buller and John Kutsko, *SBL Handbook of Style*. Second Edition (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2014).

CDSS	George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel, eds., *The T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: T&T Clark, 2018).
CDSSE	Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Allen Lane, 1997).
DJD 1	Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (Oxford: Clarendon 1955).
DJD 3	Dominique Barthélemy, Józef T. Milik and Roland de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962).
DJD 7	Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.3 (4Q482 – 4Q520)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).
DJD 10	Elisha Qimran and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.5: Miqṣat Maʿaśeh ha-Torah* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).
DJD 11	Esther Eshel et al., *Qumran Cave 4.6: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).
DJD 18	Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.13: The Damascus Document (4Q266 – 4Q273)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).
DJD 23	Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and Adam S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.2: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).
DJD 25	Émile Puech, *Qumran Cave 4.18: Textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).
DJD 26	Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.26: Serekh Ha-Yaḥad and Two Related Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).
DJD 29	Esther G. Chazon et al., *Qumran Cave 4.20: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).
DJD 31	Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.22: Textes Araméens Première Partie* 4Q529–549 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).
DJD 34	John Strugnell, Daniel J. Harrington and Torleif Elgvin, *Qumran Cave 4.24: 4QInstruction (Mûsar leMevîn): 4Q415 ff., with a Re-edition of 1Q26* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).
DJD 35	Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.25: Halakhic Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).
DJD 36	Stephen J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4.26: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part* 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000).
DJD 40	Carol Newsom, Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.3: 1QHodayot^{a}, with Incorporation of 4QHodayot$^{a\text{-}f}$ and 1QHodayot^{b}* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
DSSANT	Michael Wise, Martin Abegg and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (London: HarperCollins, 1996).
DSSHW 1	Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*. 3 Volumes (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010), Volume 1.
DSSSE 1–2	Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition.* 2 Volumes (Leiden: Brill, 1998).
EDEJ	John Collins and Dan Harlow, eds., *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010).
EDSS	Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 Volumes (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000).
HAL 1	Walter Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), Fascicle 1.
HAWTTM 1	Reinhard G. Kratz, Annette Steudel and Ingo Kottsieper, eds., *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zu den Texten vom Toten Meer*: *Einschließlich der Manuskripte aus der Kairoer Geniza.* Volume 1 א – ב (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).
HAWTTM 2	Reinhard G. Kratz, Annette Steudel and Ingo Kottsieper, eds., *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zu den Texten vom Toten Meer*: *Einschließlich der Manuskripte aus der Kairoer Geniza.* Volumd 2 ג – ז (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).
HDSS	Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986).
LLDSSDL	Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library
OHDSS	Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
PFES	Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society
PTSDSSP 1	James H. Charlesworth et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Rule of the Community and Related Documents*. Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project PTSDSSP 1 (Tübingen/Louisville, KY: Mohr Siebeck/Westminster John Knox, 1994).
Pl.	Plate
ThWQ 1	Heinz-Josef Fabry and Ulrich Dahmen, eds., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*. 2 Volumes (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010), Volume 1.
ThWQ 2	Heinz-Josef Fabry and Ulrich Dahmen, eds., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*. 2 Volumes (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2013), Volume 2.

Symbols

{} Corrections in the manuscripts
( ) Words or letters supplied in the English translation for clarity
[ ] Text that is reconstructed and not present in the manuscripts. The symbol is also used in references, cf. [4Q255 1:5–6].
// Parallel text in overlapping manuscripts of the Community Rules

1. General Introduction

The Community Rules contain descriptions of the organization and values of the movement associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls. The twelve manuscripts that we will be dealing with in this Commentary also offer a rich laboratory preserving first-hand evidence of how ancient Jewish texts were produced and shaped over two thousand years ago. Given the dates of the preserved manuscripts indicate the approximate range for the copying of these witnesses of almost two centuries (150 BCE–50 CE), we need to allow for an even more prolonged and vibrant period for the composition of the various building blocks and the shaping of the Community Rules (S) in several manifestations. This wealth of evidence offers us a great deal of insights into the growth of this particular literary tradition. At the same time these twelve manuscripts preserve one of the richest ancient literary traditions captured mid-flow of editorial and compositional growth. The results of our investigation, therefore, shed light on the way in which ancient Jewish literature of the kind of complexity we find in the Hebrew Bible took shape. What we are looking at is nothing short of a pristine ancient literary eco-system that allows us to access a range of living literary organisms that interact with one other. At the same time the format of a Commentary invites close attention to the final form of the various Community Rules.[1]

The fact that we are not dealing with a single text – and conceivably not even the same work in all cases – makes the task of writing a Commentary both challenging as well as exciting. The first problem that we encounter is one of terminology and conceptualization. What are we to call the material in front of us? It is essential that we avoid privileging the best-preserved manuscript of the Community Rule (1QS) since the state of its preservation is purely fortuitous and accidental.[2] It is also something of a challenge to name the creative

[1] A number of studies have approached the text of 1QS in an explicitly synchronic fashion see, e. g., Pierre Guilbert, "La Règle de la Communauté," in Jean Carmignac and Pierre Guilbert, *Les Textes de Qumran: Traduit et Annotés* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961), 11–80, 11–12 and Kamilla Skarström Hinojosa, "A Synchronic Approach to the Serek ha-Yahad (1QS): From Text to Social and Cultural Context" (PhD diss., Umeå University, Sweden, 2016). A sharply drawn dichotomy between both approaches is unhelpful since the evidence that points to literary development, which should be evaluated on the merits of the detailed argumentation, does not deny the importance of final texts.

[2] See Jutta Jokiranta and Hanna Vanonen, "Multiple Copies of Rule Texts or Multiple Rule Texts? Boundaries of the S and M Documents," in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead*

individuals behind the material in an appropriate manner. As with much ancient literature, including the Hebrew Bible, we have evidence of several levels of literary activity that go back to authors, editors and correctors. Moreover, it is rarely entirely clear whose handiwork we are looking at. Nor is it likely that these kinds of distinctions mattered as much, if at all, to the ancient professionals as they do to us. The approach adopted here draws on the terminology developed by Liv Lied in the course of her work on Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.[3] Lied distinguishes three key categories that enable us to present the complex evidence of the manuscripts dealt with in this Commentary in a nuanced manner. On Lied's definitions

1. *Works* are compositional units that are regarded either by ancient authors or modern scholars as purposeful literary units.
2. *Manuscripts* are "text-bearing objects" which on our reading of the Community Rules manuscripts often overlap with works, though they are not always representatives of the same work.
3. A *Text*, finally, is defined by Lied as the 'words on the page' which can be further divided into textual units.

In order to indicate both the concurrent family resemblance and distinctiveness of the witnesses the plural Community Rules was chosen for the title of the volume and is used throughout where appropriate. It is hoped that the remainder of this Introduction and the Commentary offer an easily accessible point of access to the complex spectrum of available manuscripts alongside nuanced discussion of the relationships between the various works, texts and manuscripts.[4]

1.1 The 'Geology' of the Rule Manuscripts

This Commentary is the first to take into account the twelve manuscripts now available, both each in their own right and as witnesses to the plurality and development of the S tradition. Close attention will be paid to areas where the manuscripts converge and diverge at different points revealing distinctive tectonic plates of various sizes in the tradition. Geologists work with a concept of continental drift to describe the movement of the components of the earth's outer shell, the lithosphere, relative to each other. On our reading of the Community Rules manuscripts scholars have often privileged the best preserved manuscript of the Rule (1QS) as the key to the outer shell of the Community Rules. The

Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism. Edited by Mika S. Pajunen and Hanna Tervanotko. PFES 108 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 2015), 11–60.

[3] Liv Lied, "Text-Work-Manuscript: What is an 'Old Testament Pseudepigraph*on*'?" *JSP* 25 (2015): 150–165.

[4] See further 1.7 below.

approach adopted here is one of capturing the distinctive overall shapes, the figurative lithospheres, of Rule manuscripts. Moreover, these manuscripts share a number of major and minor tectonic plates. At their boundaries these plates reveal convergence, divergence and at times dramatic literary developments. The publication of the Cave 4 manuscripts in 1998 can be conceived as a volcanic eruption that challenged our notion of the Community Rules derived from the quasi-archetypal status of the Cave 1 copy (1QS) first published in 1951. Since then the smoke has lifted, the pieces have begun to settle and we see a fertile field of green shoots emerging in the scholarly debate. In this Commentary I have tried to embrace the post-volcanic landscape of S which I sifted carefully for clues to arrive at a fresh reading of the material. Sometimes this involves the identification of previously unrecognised S material in a manuscript inscribed on the other side of the opisthograph 4Q255 (4QS[a]).[5] At other times the reading of a single word that has previously been marginalised can open up new interpretative horizons with implications not only for our understanding of the Rule but of the movement associated with this text and its place in Second Temple Judaism.[6]

1.2 The Community Rules and the Re-Drawn Map of Second Temple Judaism

1.2.1 A Broader Literary Context Reveals an Apotropaic Safety Net

Alongside the publication and concomitant scholarly discussion of ten additional manuscripts of the Community Rules some 30 other volumes containing editions of hundreds of new compositions from Qumran have appeared in the official series Discoveries in the Judean Desert. Some of these new texts have revealed material that is intimately related to the Community Rules. A parade example is the wealth of new material that is closely related to the Penal Code in a series of documents from Cave 4 such as the Damascus Document,[7] 4QMiscellaneous Rules (*olim* Serekh Damascus)[8] as well as in a fragment from Cave 11 (11Q29 Fragment Related to Serekh ha-Yaḥad).[9]

While scholars have studied texts from Caves 4 and 11 that are variously affiliated[10] with the Community Rules over recent decades, this does not mean that compositions that do not offer immediately apparent convergence with S do not

[5] See 1.5.2 below.

[6] See 4Q261 1a–b: 2 and the Commentary in 6.1.4.2 below.

[7] See CD 14:18b–22 // 4Q266 10 i–ii // 4Q267 9 vi // 4Q269 11 i–ii // 4Q270 7 i.

[8] See 4Q265 4 i 2 – ii 2.

[9] See Chapter 7 below.

[10] For reflections on the notion of a family resemblance between different Rule texts, including S, see Charlotte Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*: *Collected Studies*. TSAJ 154 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 1.

also contribute significantly to our understanding of the worldview, theology, ideology and anthropology of the Community Rules. In particular, the discovery at Qumran of a host of apotropaic texts such as the Songs of the Maskil (4Q510–511), Apocryphal Psalms (11Q11), the Plea for Deliverance (11Q5 [Psalms^{a}] 19:15b–17a), Exorcism (4Q560), Incantation (4Q444) and 4QPhylactère T (4Q147)[11] have brought to light a rich body of evidence that testifies to the place of malevolent beings in the worldview of Second Temple Judaism. Thus, according to 4Q511 48–49+51 4 the elevated speaker – probably the Maskil – refers to wars raging in his body, and quarrelling spirits are referred to as present in the speaker's physical structure according to 4Q444 4 i – 5 2. Equally suggestive are references to the empowerment to be sourced from "the statutes of God" in the war against spirits of wickedness (4Q444 4 i – 5 4).[12] Of particular relevance are a series of "apotropaic prayers" and "incantions" based on a classification proposed by Esther Eshel.[13] The incantations include exorcistic formulae where the speaker directly addresses demonic figures with phrases such as "I adjure you, oh spirit" (4Q560 1 ii 6) which refer to expelling or otherwise controlling an evil spirit through an oath. This important new cache of ancient Jewish apotropaic literature allows us access not only to these texts but also to the beliefs and practices that shaped the thoughts of ancient Jews including the authors of the Community Rules. These texts have received a great deal of attention in recent years.[14] Moreover, Gideon Bohak's ground-breaking volume has offered a powerful critique of the marginalization of ancient Jewish magic.[15] I hope to show that the implications of the apotropaic material from Qumran for our under-

[11] Cf. now Ariel and Faina Feldman, "4Q147: An Amulet?," *DSD* 26 (2019): 1–29; Feldman and Feldman, "4Q148 (4QPhylactère U): Another Amulet from Qumran?," *JSJ* 50 (2019): 197–222 and Ariel Feldman, "On Amulets, Apotropaic Prayers, and Phylacteries: The Contribution of Three New Texts from the Judean Desert" In *Petitioners, Penitents, and Poets: On Prayer and Praying in Second Temple Judaism*. Edited by Ariel Feldman and Timothy Sandoval. BZAW (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

[12] See also 4Q444 4 i – 5 1 and Tupá Guerra, "Encountering Evil: Apotropaic Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls," (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2017), 64 and 5.4.1 below.

[13] Cf. "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Esther Chazon with Ruth Clements and Avital Pinnick. STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69–88.

[14] See, e. g., Philip S. Alexander, "'Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places:' Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After.* Edited by Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans. JSP Supplements 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 318–337; Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years. Volume II: A Comprehensive Assessment*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 331–353; Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger and K. F. Diethard Römheld, eds., *The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of Their Environment* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003) and Farah Mébarki and Émile Puech, *Les manuscrits de la mer Morte* (Arles: Éditions du Rouergue, 2002), 270–272.

[15] *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 2008).

standing of a broader range of literature has not yet been fully recognised. I will argue that the impact of the demonic realm on the community and its member is much more pervasive. This is not the place to rehearse the detailed analyses offered in the body of the Commentary. It will suffice to introduce two pillars of our approach here. The first is to highlight the fact that the emphatically placed first instruction in the communal rules proper is the demand to turn away from all evil.[16] Strikingly, this phrase is shared by two radically different witnesses at 1QS 5:1 // 4Q256 9:1.[17] While this instruction can be read in a number of ways, on our reading it reflects one of several instances where a belief in evil forces is a driver. The argument here functions as a boundary marker through othering not only non-members but also anyone within the Community whose commitment is lacking or waning. As I will argue more fully below, the boundaries with the "other" represented by the people of injustice across three manuscripts in the very next passage coincide with a key moment in the narratives about the movement's formation.[18] As I will show in 6.5.4.3 the restrictions on contact with the people of injustice in 6.1 represent a reversal of the admissions process which suggests the former group comprised members who were temporarily or permanently excluded. Both in Chapter 5 and 6.1 the reasons given for ostracizing this group are disagreements on the interpretation of the law, see also the case of the one who refuses to enter the covenant who is rehabilitated once he obeys the law.[19] In Chapter 5 this disagreement is outlined in the context of community formation. It is clear that a commitment to the emerging community involved a separation from fellowship and influence with an affiliate group.[20] Moreover, establishing boundaries from the same group was also expected at the moment of individual decisions to join the covenant which required the cutting of ties with the same group. The intimate connection of commitment to the covenant with separation and othering is a major theme across the Community Rules, and it is likely that the inclusion of the Teaching on the Two Spirits in a small number of manuscripts just after the case of the one who initially refuses to enter the covenant illustrates how an appeal to the influence of malevolent forces goes to the core of the community's strife to establish and preserve its identity and boundaries.[21] Carol Newsom has offered a close reading of 1QS as a skilfully

[16] See 1QS 5:1 // 4Q256 9:1 and 1QS 1:4 // [4Q255 1:5–6].

[17] Further, 5.4.2 below.

[18] See Chapter 5 and 6.1 below.

[19] Cf. 3.4.4 below.

[20] See Chapter 5 below.

[21] See Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer, "Evil at Qumran," in *Evil in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity*. Edited by Chris Keith and Loren T. Stuckenbruck. WUNT 2.317 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 17–33. Note also the study by Noam Mizrahi who has identified a technical magical loanward from Aramaic in the final part of the Teaching that refers to the invasion of the body by malevolent spirits, see Mizrahi, "תכמי בשר 'Body Parts:' The Semantic History of a Qumran Hebrew Lexeme," in *The Reconfiguration of Hebrew in the Hellenistic*

composed work that gradually draws in new members with the aim of shaping their character.[22] It emerges from our reading that threats from the world outside remain a serious permanent concern for individual members as expressed in the powerful language of a wavering or shaking (זוע) spirit in the penal code.[23] Such an offence might display in the form of physical symptoms which would allow offenders to be identified.[24] Moreover, the same terminology is used to describe the emerging community in terms of a cornerstone whose foundation shall not shake[25] in Chapter 8. The nominal form of the same root זוע "terror" occurs in Isa 28:19. Whereas it is the Temple that offers safety and stability in the face of the power of a recurring scourge in Isa 28, the Community Rules present the emerging community in comparable terms as a safe haven.[26]

Secondly, the Hymn of Praise of the Maskil[27] includes plentiful accounts of timely blessing and praise but also refers to the human vulnerability of falling victim to mysterious sudden attacks such as the onset of fear and dread,[28] to which the psalmist responds with blessing and recounting God's mighty deeds.[29] The apotropaic sub-text at work here becomes clear in the description of the Maskil as confronting a range of demonic beings by recounting God's majesty according to 4Q510 1:4–6 where we read,

> And I, the Maskil, (ואני משכיל) pronounce the splendour of His glory to frighten and to te[rrify] (5) all the spirits of the destroying angels and the spirits of the bastards, the demons, Lilith, desert howlers and […] (6) and those who strike suddenly to lead astray the spirit of understanding ….30

Against this context the placement of the Hymn of the Maskil at the end of a number of manuscripts of the Community Rules is suggestive.[31] Whereas the

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Period: Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira at Strasbourg University, June 2014. Edited by Jan Joosten, Daniel Machiela and Jean-Sébastien Rey. STDJ 124 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 123–157 and 1QS 4:21 as well as the Commentary in 4.4.6 below.

[22] Cf. *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*. STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 110–111.

[23] Cf. 1QS 7:18b.

[24] See "זוע I," in HAWTTM, 2:214–215 and 7.2.6.3 below.

[25] See Isa 28:16.

[26] Further, 8.2.3 and 8.4.3 below.

[27] See Chapter 15.

[28] See 1QS 10:15 // 4Q256 20:4 // 4Q258 10:3 // 4Q260 4:1; see also 1QS 10:21 // 4Q260 5:1.

[29] See also Jutta Jokiranta, "Towards a Cognitive Theory of Blessing: Dead Sea Scrolls as Test Case," in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*. Edited by Mika S. Pajunen and Jeremy Penner. BZAW 486 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 25–47.

[30] See Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 79–80 and Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*. Trans. Jonathan Chipman. STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 174–200; also David Flusser, "Qumrân and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 194–205.

[31] See 15.1.2 below.

protective force of curses has been recognised widely,[32] we now know more about the prominent role that blessing also serves in that capacity.[33]

An extraordinary archaeological discovery in a very different environment suggests such beliefs and associated protective practices were rather more widespread. The discovery of two small incised silver amulets in a 7th century BCE burial chamber in Ketef Hinnom revealed a form of the Priestly Blessing (Num 6:24–26) in an apotropaic context.[34] These amulets offer proof that the use of protective blessing was practiced over a period of centuries.[35] The archaeological context from Ketef Hinnom – rock hewn burial benches – would only have been available to well-to-do, elite families. It seems unlikely that more modestly produced protective amulets worn by the less advantaged would have survived, and we ought to allow for a wider practice.[36]

Moreover, counterbalanced by the Covenant Ceremony (in 1QS and 4Q256) as well as the Teaching on the Two Spirits (in 1QS) the Hymn (in 1QS, 4Q256, 4Q258, 4Q260 and 4Q264) creates a framework that addresses a struggle with the forces of evil. The same is true on a larger scale of the Scroll of 1QS-1QSa-1QSb which, like Deuteronomy, also ends with blessings, though a fuller treatment of that Scroll is beyond the scope of this Commentary.[37]

In short, on our reading of the S manuscripts those responsible for the Community Rules and their readers or hearers were immersed in the demonic belief system that the apotropaic texts from Qumran as well as the silver amulets from Ketef Hinnom, a site located to the south west of the Old City of Jerusalem, have laid bare for us. In an audacious move those behind a number of Rule manuscripts put those apotropaic fears in the service of maintaining communal discipline and boundaries while also offering an explanation for apostasy from within which recurs as a concern in this material.

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[32] See, e. g., Robert Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran," *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131–152 and Leonhardt-Balzer, "Evil at Qumran," 25.

[33] See also Daniel K. Falk, "Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran," in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in the Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity*. Edited by Clemens Leonhard and Helmut Löhr. WUNT 2.363 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 33–87, 7 and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Demonic World of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Evil and the Devil*. Edited by Ida Fröhlich and Erkki Koskenniemi (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 51–70.

[34] See Gabriel Barkay et al., "The Amulets from Ketef Hinnom: A New Edition and Evaluation," *BASOR* 334 (2004): 41–71.

[35] Cf. also Feldman and Feldman, "4Q417: An Amulet?"

[36] On the prominence of blessings in inscriptions of the biblical and post-biblical period, see James K. Aitken, *The Semantics of Blessing and Cursing in Ancient Hebrew* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 4.

[37] See 1.5.1.1 below and Deut 33. On the possibility of the use of writing as a magical tool in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which may be one of the factors behind the production of these texts, see George Brooke, "4Q341: An Exercise for Spelling and for Spells?," in *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society: Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski, Christopher Mee and Elizabeth Slater (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 271–282.

1.2.2 A Broader Geographical Context

At the same time as the influx of a wealth of new manuscripts from Cave 4 was felt, the dating assigned to the earliest settlement by a Jewish religious movement at Khirbet Qumran has been revised. The excavator Roland de Vaux had dated the move to Qumran to around 150 BCE.[38] A reassessment of the archaeological evidence for such a date, particularly the coins, has resulted in a significantly later dating for the communal occupation of the site beginning ca. 90–70 BCE.[39] This revised time line for the communal occupation of Qumran challenges our reading of the Community Rules as reflecting a group firmly associated with the site of Qumran.[40]

Morevover, two early copies of the Community Rules – 1QS (100–75 BCE) and 4Q259 (150–100 BCE) – presuppose a community that has been established for some time by referring to the permanent expulsion of someone who has been a member for ten years.[41] This suggests that several manuscripts of the Community Rules – not to speak of their earlier building blocks – were drafted elsewhere.[42] Moreover, Joan Taylor has challenged the view of the Essenes as a marginalized, local group.[43] While it is impossible at the moment to pinpoint the range of locations where the scribes behind the composition of this complex tradition and their communities were based, the manuscripts (including 1QS)

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[38] *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Schweich Lectures 1959* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; The British Academy, 1973).

[39] See Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 47–72; Bruno Callegher, "The Coins of Khirbet Qumran from the Digs of Roland de Vaux: Returning to Henri Seyrig and Augustus Spijkermann," in *The Caves of Qumran: Proceedings of the International Conference, Lugano 2014*. Edited by Marcello Fidanzio. STDJ 118 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 221–235; Ernest-Marie Laperrousaz, "Le cadre chronologique de l'existence à Qoumrân de la communauté essénienne du maître de justice," in *Qoumrân et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte: Un Cinquantenaire*. Edited by Ernest-Marie Laperrousaz (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 71–97 and Dennis Mizzi, "Qumran Period I Reconsidered: An Evaluation of Several Competing Theories," *DSD* 22 (2015): 1–42.

[40] See also John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 166–180. For a very early proposal that the scrolls from Qumran were inscribed in a plurality of locations, see Malachi Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Two Volumes (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1958), 1:392–393 and 2:715 who bases his conclusion on an analysis of scribal features.

[41] See 7.2.6.4.

[42] See Torleif Elgvin, "The Yahad is More than Qumran," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 273–279; James Nati, "The *Community Rule* or *Rules* for the Community," in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*. Edited by Joel Baden, Hindy Najman and Eibert Tigchelaar. JSJSup 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 2:916–939 and Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule*. STDJ 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 223–224.

[43] Joan E. Taylor, *The Essenes, the Scrolls and the Dead Sea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

offer accounts of diverse forms of communal life at a range of locations.[44] What we can say with some confidence, however, is that wherever the fledgling phases of the movement occurred, and an account of it was committed to writing, it was not at Qumran.

1.3 Curated Communities

Careful readers may detect that I refer to the contents of the Community Rules as descriptions or accounts of scenarios rather than actual events. This reflects an attempt to acknowledge the complex relationship between what the texts portray and social realities on the ground comparable to what scholars allow for when reading other ancient literature including the Hebrew Bible.[45] The terminology "curated communities" is meant to signal the literary nature of our sources which were selectively shaped. While it is important to guard against reading these works as "reality literature," some kind of relationship to various realities may be presumed even though it is difficult to established this with certainty.[46] The rather nuanced discussion of the emergence of Christian identity is illuminating in this regard. Thus, William Horbury's judgment, that "Jews and Christians shared a common sub-culture, the literary focus of which was the Jewish Scriptures" may be adapted to the picture offered by the Community Rules.[47] We have evidence that some "Christians-to-be" and the people behind the Scrolls shared strands of that sub-culture.[48]

There is little doubt that the scribes behind these manuscripts carefully shaped an overarching narrative that invites us – alongside those described or addressed – to perceive this idealised community as a viable reality. Despite these efforts the texts also lay bare a great many rough edges that quantitatively if not rhetorically dominate the narrative of the extensively preserved manuscripts

[44] See especially section 6.3 and 6.4 below; cf. also Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community* and Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad*.

[45] See Benjamin G. Wright III, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Study of the Ancient World," in CDSS, 216–227, 220–221.

[46] See further Charlotte Hempel, "Curated Communities: Refracted Realities on Social Media and at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Ancient Media Culture*. Edited by Travis Williams, Chris Keith and Loren Stuckenbruck. STDJ (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

[47] William Horbury, "Jews and Christians on the Bible: Demarcation and Convergence" in *Christliche Exegese zwischen Nicaea und Chalkedon*. Edited by Johannes van Oort and Ulrich Wickert (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 72–103, 102; also Judith M. Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and Annette Reed and Adam Becker, eds., *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2007).

[48] See George J. Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2005), 27–51; also Charlotte Hempel, "The Dead Sea Scrolls: Challenging the Particularist Paradigm," in *Torah, Temple, Land: Ancient Judaism(s) in Context*. Edited by Bernd Schröter. TSAJ (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming).

(1QS, 4Q256, 4Q258 and 4Q259) and challenge the rather rosy picture of communal life. On our reading this reflects much more than a skilful attempt at sugar coating the accounts of communal life, but a sophisticated attempt to address and explain – both individually and collectively – a plethora of imperfections and shortcomings.

1.4 Beyond a Sanitized Reading of the Community Rules

Our close reading of the preserved manuscripts exposes a number of prevalent readings of the Community Rules as telling only part of the story. It is important to stress, however, that several passages in the manuscripts themselves point us to rather idealised portrayals of the group described in the texts. I will introduce some of those texts below while also noting evidence, often in one and the same work, that points in a different direction.

1.4.1 Perfect Holiness with Ups and Downs

A prime example is the description of members of the community as "the people of holiness" (1QS 5:13 // 4Q256 9:8–9, 11 // 4Q258 1:7–8; 1QS 8:17, 23) and "people of perfect holiness" (1QS 8:20–9:2 // 4Q258 6:12; 7:1–3). Though even in this latter account what is said about the people of perfect holiness concerns matters of discipline laid down for this group after deliberate or inadvertent wrongdoing.[49] Further references to the aspiration to conduct themselves with perfection are found in 1QS 1:8; 1QS 2:1–2; 1QS 3:9–10 // 4Q255 2:5–6 // 4Q257 3:13–14; 1QS 8:21; 1QS 11:2; 1QS 11:17 [4Q264 4–5]. Even here the third example bears closer scrutiny. 1QS 3:9–10 // 4Q255 2:5–6 // 4Q257 3:13–14 forms part of the final section of the Covenant Ceremony that deals with the case of someone who, at least initially, refuses to enter the covenant. It is important to acknowledge that the status of such an individual is described just a little earlier as "not belonging to the fount of the perfect."[50] Moreover, the elevated language outlined above should be read alongside the multiple and at times extensive accounts of situations that deal with shortcomings.[51]

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[49] See Chapter 10 below and Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 154–165. On the aspiration to perfection in ancient Judaism see also Hindy Najman, *Past Renewals: Interpretative Authority, Renewed Revelation and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity*. JSJSup 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), esp. 219–234.

[50] Cf. 1QS 3:3–4 // 4Q257 3:5 and 3.4.4 below.

[51] See 3.4.4 and Chapters 7 and 10 below. Cf. also the idealised discourse on masculinity that has been problematized recently by Jessica M. Keady, *Vulnerability and Valour: A Gendered Analysis of Everyday Life in the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities*. LSTS 91 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017) and the notion of "imagined perfection" developed by Maxine Grossman,

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References to the Community Rules manuscripts are given only where the passage in question is not part of the primary text treated in the relevant chapter of the Commentary.

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Apocrypha and Septuagint

Pseudepigrapha

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