The Use of Scripture in the *Community Rule*

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Introduction to the Texts

The category of "Rules" encompasses those compositions that outline the beliefs and behaviors required of members of the *Yahad* Community and that describe processes and rituals of induction and affirmation of commitment. The most prominent and best-preserved of these works is the *Community Rule (Serekh Hayahad),* which will serve as the basis of our current discussion.[1] This composition has survived, in various recensions in about a dozen manuscripts: 1QS; ten copies from Cave 4;[2] 5Q11; and possibly 11Q29.[3] The Cave 1 manuscript tends to be used as the primary text, since it is the most complete and was the first copy discovered in modern times.[4]

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1. For an overview of the composition, see Sarianna Metso, *The Serekh Texts.* CQS 9. LSTS 62 (London: T. & T. Clark, 2007).

2. Philip Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX: 4QSerekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts.* DJD 26 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

3. Cf. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "A Newly Identified 11QSerekh ha-Yahad Fragment (11Q29)?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997,* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Shrine of the Book, 2000), 285-92.

4. This despite the fact that it is not considered the most reliable witness. The scroll containing 1QS was one of the first seven scrolls found in Qumran Cave 1 in 1947 and was initially published in 1951 under the title "Manual of Discipline," in Millar Burrows, John C. Trever, and William H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), 2.2. The current siglum reflects the ancient title, "Serekh

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Related texts include the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QS[a]) and the *Rule of Blessings* (1QS[b]), which are preserved on the same scroll as 1QS, as well as the *Sectarian Rule* (5Q13), which includes parallel material to parts of the *Community Rule.*[5] The *Damascus Document* is a composition of more complex genre than the *Community Rule* but also contains regulatory material with important parallels to 1QS.[6]

The generally accepted outline of the composition is as follows:[7]

1QS I, 1-15 Introduction
- 1QS I, 16–III, 12 Liturgy for the Renewal of the Covenant
- 1QS III, 13–IV, 26 Treatise on the Two Spirits
- 1QS V, 1–VII, 25 Rules for Community Life (with the Penal Code at VI, 24–VII, 25)
- 1QS VIII, 1–IX, 26a "Manifesto" (with the *Maskil* section at IX, 12-26)

1QS IX, 26b–XI, 22 Concluding Psalm

The *Serekh* texts have received much scholarly attention in recent years, mostly from a redaction-critical perspective.[8] Our own focus here will be on the use of the Hebrew Bible in 1QS. It is helpful to discuss biblical interpretation with respect to characteristics of content, motive, and form. As far as con-

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haYahad," which is preserved in the opening lines of the manuscript and which has been translated into English as the "Community Rule."

5. Cf. Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Sectarian Rule (5Q13)," in *Rule of the Community and Related Documents,* ed. James H. Charlesworth. PTSDSSP 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck and Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 132-43. Additional related works are 4Q265 Miscellaneous Rules (formerly *Serekh Dameseq*); 4Q477 Rebukes of the Overseer (formerly *Decrees*); 4Q275 Communal Ceremony; 4Q279 Four Lots; 4Q502 Ritual of Marriage (frg. 16), as well as the compositions classified as "Ordinances": 4Q159 (4QOrd[a]), 4Q513 (4QOrd[b]), and 4Q514 (4QOrd[c]); and the Berakhot texts (4Q286-290).

6. A citation of 1QS col. VII is found in two copies of the *Damascus Document,* 4Q266 frag 10 col. II and 4Q270 frag 7 col. I (J. M. Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4: XIII, The Damascus Document (4Q266-274/3).* DJD 18 [Oxford: Clarenden, 1996], 74, 162-63).

7. With some minor variation; see Pierre Guilbert, "Le plan de la 'Règle de la Communauté'," *RevQ* 1 (1959): 323-44, 327; Jacob Licht, *The Rule Scroll — A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea — 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSb: Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Mosad Biyalik, 1965) [Hebrew], 19; Metso, *The Serekh Texts,* 7-14; and "Constitutional Rules at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment,* ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:186-210.

8. The work of Sarianna Metso has been particularly influential. See esp. *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule.* STDJ 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1997). See also Philip S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh ha-Yahad: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437-56. Charlotte Hempel has employed similar methodology in her analysis of the *Damascus Document;* see, *inter alia, The Damascus Texts.* CQS 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic 2000); and more recently, "The Literary Development of the S-Tradition: A New Paradigm," *RevQ* 22 (2006): 389-401; "Sources and Redaction in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Growth of Ancient Texts," in *Redis-*

tent — unlike exegetical compositions, the *Rules* do not feature systematic halakic, haggadic, or eschatological interpretation, but rather selectively use a range of scriptural texts for the justification of sectarian practices and beliefs and for exhortation towards these.[9] This characteristic is directly related to motive — the author of 1QS recasts biblical language and concepts for his sectarian purposes, especially to present the Community as the righteous remnant of Israel, destined for salvation through proper observance of God's Torah. The current discussion is structured with respect to a particular aspect of form — the use of biblical language in 1QS can be effectively scaled along a spectrum of explicitness, in keeping with recent models for analyzing how nonexegetical works from Qumran reuse the Bible.[10] Thus, in her examination of *Hodayot,* Julie Hughes follows trends in biblical and literary studies to delineate the categories of "quotation," "allusion" and "idiom."[11] Esther Chazon similarly desig-

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covering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods, ed. Maxine Grossman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 162-81.

9. See Sarianna Metso, "The Use of Old Testament Quotations in the Qumran Community Rule," in *Qumran Between the Old and New Testaments,* ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson. JSOTSup 290 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 219.

10. Earlier descriptions tended to distinguish more simply between "explicit" and "implicit" exegesis; see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," *NTS* 7 (1960-61): 297-333; repr. in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Chapman, 1971), 3-58; Geza Vermes, "Biblical Proof-Texts in Qumran Literature," *JSS* 34 (1989) 493-508; Jean Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancien Testament dans 'La Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres,'" *RB* 63 (1956): 234-60, 375-90. Despite his use of binary language in his taxonomic discussions, Vermes was aware of greater complexity in the use of the Bible at Qumran. E.g., he wrote of CD, "The work includes every shade in the spectrum from the pale simplicity of an implicit biblical inference to the variegated intricacies of a multi-level exegetical construct"; "Biblical Proof-texts," 497. Devorah Dimant's comprehensive overviews in the 1980s featured the broad headings "implicit" and "explicit," but also introduced categories and methodologies for more nuanced distinctions. Thus, e.g., Dimant distinguished "reminiscence" alongside allusion and implicit and explicit citation; "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity,* ed. Martin Jan Mulder. CRINT 2.1 (Assen: Van Gorcum and Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 401 n. 84. See also Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus,* ed. Michael E. Stone. CRINT 2.2 (Assen: Van Gorcum and Minneapolis: Fortress, 1984), 483-550, esp. 504.

11. Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot.* STDJ 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 41-55. See Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1-8, 1-20.* BZAW 228 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 11-32. For discussions of this issue in biblical studies, see Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 285-87; Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Stanley E. Porter, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Com-

nates "quotation," "allusion," and "free use" as three "manners of borrowing" in 4Q505-507 (4QWords of the Luminaries).[12]

Adapting these approaches, I will examine some of the ways in which Scripture is employed in 1QS through: (1) explicit citation using a formulaic marker; (2) allusion by means of verbal parallel; (3) "free use" of biblical idiom; and (4) implicit reworking of biblical language. In each of these forms, it may be shown that the author relies upon exegetical traditions associated with the biblical base text. This survey does not aim to provide an exhaustive account of references to the Bible in 1QS but rather to put forth representative examples of the ways in which Scripture is used in the composition.

Explicit Citation

The use of Scripture is easiest to spot when it is introduced by a citation formula.[13] In this section, I discuss the three instances in which full citation formulas appear in 1QS:

- 1QS V, 15, "for thus it is written," preceding a citation of Exod 23:7

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ment on Method and Terminology," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals,* ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders. JSNTSup 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 79-96; Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Richard L. Schultz, *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets.* JSOTSup 180 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999).

12. "Scripture and Prayer in 'The Words of the Luminaries,'" in *Prayers That Cite Scripture,* ed. James L. Kugel (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 25-41. See also "The Use of the Bible as a Key to Meaning in Psalms from Qumran," in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov,* ed. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Weston W. Fields. VTSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 85-96. Chazon (28) further outlines four "modes of composition," scaling relative proportions of direct borrowing and independent expression in a given pericope. These four are: "modeling a new literary unit upon a biblical passage"; "linking a chain of complete biblical quotations into a florilegium"; "patching biblical quotations, allusions, and expressions together with new material into a pastiche"; and "free composition using isolated biblical expressions, motifs, and formulas." Cf. Dimant, "Use, Authority," 409-19; Michael Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in Mulder, *Mikra,* 339-77, esp. 356-60. He examines the use of Mikra as "model for language," "model for composition," and "model for practices or procedures."

13. See the classic treatment by Fitzmyer, cited above, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations"; Vermes, "Biblical Proof-Texts." Now with the availability of the extant corpus in its entirety, we can confirm that explicit citation is rare in the scrolls, appearing mostly in the pesharim and CD, with some occurrences in 1QM and 4QMMT and here in 1QS (see Steven D. Fraade, "Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community of Qumran," *JJS* 144 [1993]: 46-69, esp. 48 n. 6).

- 1QS V, 17, "as it is written," preceding a citation of Isa 2:22
- 1QS VIII, 14, "as it is written," preceding a citation of Isa 40:3. In a related additional case, at 1QS IX, 19, a revised re-citation of Isa 40:3 is flagged by a pronominal identifying formula.

In this discussion it will be necessary to recapitulate much of Sarianna Metso's thorough analysis of these texts in order to build upon her observations.[14] The novum in my presentation is my emphasis upon the exegetical significance of sectarian terminology and of prior traditions for explaining the function of these citations.[15]

1QS col. V. Exod 23:7 and Isa 2:22: Explicit Citation with Introductory Formula

The first two explicit citations in 1QS are both brought as textual supports for communal regulations that restrict association with nonmembers of the Community. 1QS V, 13-18 reads:

13. . . for one is not cleansed 14unless one turns away from one's wickedness, for he is unclean among all the transgressors of his word. No-one should associate with him in his work or in his possessions lest he burden him with 15iniquity [and] guilt; rather he should remain at a distance from him in every "matter" (כיא ירחק ממנו בכול דבר) for thus it is written (כיא כן כתוב) <Exod 23:7>: "You shall remain at a distance from every matter of falsehood"

14. Sarianna Metso, "The Use of Old Testament Quotations"; and "Biblical Quotations in the Community Rule," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries,* ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (London: British Library, 2002), 81-92; *The Serekh Texts,* 41-50 (ch. 5: "The Community Rule and the Bible"); *Textual Development,* 81-86. Metso, in turn, relied heavily upon Fitzmyer's analysis in "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 33-36.

15. Fishbane ostensibly stresses the exegetical nature of the use of proof-texts in Qumran literature. He emphasizes that these explicit citations "can almost never be read according to their plain-sense. Due to their recontextualization, they must each be construed according to the point which precedes them" ("Use, Authority," 348). However, for Fishbane, and more so for subsequent scholars relying on his work, such "recontextualization" tends to be associated with claims that the sectarian author ignores the original context and plain sense of the cited verse, and that the ties between the citation and application are tenuous and superficial. I aim to show that the relationship between the cited text and its sectarian application is tighter than is generally assumed. See my similar arguments regarding the importance of the biblical base text of *pesher* in Shani L. Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169.* STDJ 53 (Leiden: Brill 2004), 12-18.

(מכול דבר שקר תרחק).[16] None of the men [16]of the Community should acquiesce to his authority in any law or regulation. No one should eat of any of their possessions, or drink or accept anything from their hands, [17]unless at its price, as it is written (כאשר כתוב) <*Isa 2:22*> *"Shun the man whose breath is in his nostrils, for how much is he worth?"* (במה נחשב הוא). For [18]all those not numbered in his covenant (כול אשר לוא נחשבו בבריתו) will be segregated, they and all that belongs to them. No holy man should support himself on any deed of [19]futility, for futile are all those who do not know the covenant.

The citation of Exodus serves as a proof-text for the prohibition against business dealings with people outside the community.[17] The basis for the citation is the function of the verb רחק in 1QS as a technical term to denote exclusion from the Community. It is the opposite of קרב, which denotes acceptance and inclusion of members.[18] The word דבר regularly denotes "formal matter" in 1QS and in CD, particularly in the legal cases outlined in CD column IX. See especially the use of the word in the descriptions of the gradual initiation process in 1QS VI, 14-23 and 1QS VII, 21.[19] It is true, as others have observed, that the citation is em-

16. The evidence of LXX παντὸς ῥήματος indicates that this textual variant (כול) was likely to have been found in the author's Vorlage, rather than having been created for 1QS. There may be some resonance here with Deut 23:10, "When you go forth [as] a camp against your enemies, guard yourself against all matter of evil" (כי תצא מחנה על איביך ונשמרת מכל דבר רע). Cf. 1QM VII, 7, which seems to apply this verse to the need for purity and exclusivity among the troops fighting the eschatological war against the sons of darkness.

17. Fishbane views the mandated activity as "separation from persons who can transmit impurity to a covenanter" ("Use, Authority," 349). Similarly, Fitzmyer states, "the member must avoid all contact with the impure, wicked outsider" ("The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 33). However, the specific nature of the "nonrelations" in this portion of the text pertains to "labor and property," not ritual purity. This is significant because it links the sense of the word דבר in the biblical text to the application in 1QS. See n. 20 below. This rule is thus similar to that in 1QS IX, 7-11, ". . . their goods must not be mixed with the goods of the men of deceit" (*pace* Catherine Murphy's contrast between the two passages, in *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community.* STDJ 40 [Leiden: Brill, 2002], 150). See also 1QS VI, 24-25, "if one is found among them who has lied concerning possessions knowingly, he shall be excluded. . . ."

18. See 1QS VI, 16: "Depending on the outcome of the lot he shall be included or excluded (יקרב או ירחק). When he is included in the Council of the Community (ובקורבו לעצת היחד), he shall not touch the pure food of the Many until they test him . . ." (Thus also in VI, 19, 22; VII, 21; VIII, 18; IX, 15).

19. VII, 20-21 reads: "When he has completed two years, the Many shall be asked concerning his affairs (דבריו). If they allow him to draw near, he shall be enlisted in his place, and afterwards he may be asked concerning judgment." At times, the use of דבר in Classical Hebrew seems as though it may be related to the verbal nature of legal proceedings, but this is not always the case. See Werner H. Schmidt, *TDOT,* 3:104, 108, s.v. דָּבָר; *HALOT,* 1:211, def. 2, "matter." See

ployed in a manner that differs from its sense in the original biblical context of jurisprudence.[20] But it is noteworthy that the recontextualization is firmly grounded in sectarian terminology, and that this terminology reflects a technical use of דבר that is within a similar semantic field to that of the biblical context.[21]

The citation of Isa 2:22 in the above passage is similarly grounded in the special sectarian use of the root חשב in 1QS and CD, as indicating membership in the Community.[22] Metso observes that "in Isaiah, this verse counsels the

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Preben Wernberg-Møller on 1QS VI, 1, "Some Reflections on the Biblical Material in the Manual of Discipline," *ST* 9 (1955): 40-66 (here 49).

The technical use of דבר throughout the *Rules* texts offers sufficient explanation for the use of Exod 23:7 as a proof-text for the prohibition against business dealings with outsiders. It does not seem necessary to posit more complex exegetical grounds, such as the suggestion of Moshe J. Bernstein and Shlomo Koyfman that Exod 23:7 was "perhaps interpreted as 'from every speaker (דובר) of falsehood stay away'" ("The Interpretation of Biblical Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Forms and Methods," in Matthias Henze, ed., *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran.* SDSSRL [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 72).

20. As noted already by Vermes, "Biblical Proof-Texts," 503; Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 33-34; Alfred R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary.* NTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 174. Vermes explains that the original sense is a prohibition against "the laying of false charges." See also Metso, *Textual Development,* 82; "Use of Old Testament Quotations," 221. Fitzmyer states that the word דבר "also has the generic meaning of 'thing' and so the Manual of Discipline was able to quote the phrase without any regard for its original judicial context and apply it to the question of contact with wicked outsiders." Where Fitzmyer sees a vague, almost sloppy reapplication of a "generic" term, I propose a specific exegesis that depends upon the technical use of the term, both in its original biblical context and in sectarian terminology, not a "disregarding" of the original verse, but a close, sectarian, re-rereading of it.

21. Vermes picks up on the use of רחק and דבר in our passage; "Biblical Proof-Texts," 503. He considers this citation as an example of a "direct proof" that "is convincing because it contains the correct sounds." Metso also notes the significance of the verbal resonance for 1QS. She observes that "the catchwords here are רחק and דבר." However, whereas she points to the formal significance of the internal lexical echo, noting the occurrence of דבר both before the citation formula here in line 15 and in the previous line, I would like to emphasize the semantic significance of this technical term in the document as a whole. Licht (*The Rule Scroll,* 133 ad loc.) states that the locution "remain at a distance from him in every task" in line 15 was employed in order to enable the use of Exod 23:7. Fishbane seems to suppose a reverse process — that the selection of the verse emerged from the terminology already employed in the text. However, he says of the "transformed reuse" of Exod 23:7 "to serve an entirely new purpose" in 1QS, that it was generated "simply on the basis of similar terms!"; "Use, Authority," 349. Whether the expression in line 15 reinforces the language of the biblical citation or the reverse, the quotation of the verse is surely due to the resonances of דבר and רחק *throughout* 1QS. In turn, the sectarian connotations of these terms will have derived from biblical usage, including that of Exod 23:7.

22. Qimron and Charlesworth point to "the paronomasia with *ḥšb* in 5:11, 5:17, and 5:18"; "Rule of the Community (1QS)," in *Rule of the Community and Related Documents,* 23, n. 114.

people to cease trusting in the proud man, for on the day of God's judgment human pride will be humbled. Isaiah's prophecy has been given a totally different point of reference [in 1QS]."[23] As in the citation of Exod 23:7, this reuse is not arbitrary but reflects a specific, established, sectarian frame of reference. This includes not only the technical connotation of חשב, but also the tradition of identifying nonmembers of the Yahad as arrogant, in contrast to the "humble" members of the Community. Preben Wernberg-Møller points out the wordplay between "breath in his nostrils" in the citation and "futility/futile" (הבל, also meaning "breath") in line 19. Moreover, the broader context of the biblical source is relevant to the process of recontextualization. Although the function of the citation does not explicitly relate to the original biblical context of eschatological humbling, this concept is entirely pertinent to the devaluation of a nonmember, or lapsed member, of a Community that locates itself in the eschaton.

1QS cols VIII-IX. Isa 40:3: Explicit Citation with Introductory Formula; Citation with Pronominal Identifier

Two references to Isa 40:3 — with an explicit citation formula at 1QS VIII, 14 and with a pronominal identification at IX, 19 — are intended to validate an over-arching principle, or principles, of the Community, rather than to support specific rules of conduct as did the earlier citations of Exodus and Isaiah.[24]

The prophetic exhortation to "prepare the way" is cited as proof of the necessity for proper (sectarian) instruction in Torah, in isolation from the wider Jewish population. In VIII, 14 the verse is sandwiched by citation indicators. It

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They focus on the formal isolexism within the pericope, as does Metso (similarly to her discussion of the previous citation of Exod 23:7; cf. nn. 19 and 21 above). We would add, with Licht (*The Rule Scroll,* 134), the semantic significance of the term in 1QS. Similar use of the root in the passive to indicate belonging to the Community is found in III, 1, 4 as well as in CD XIX, 35 לא יחשבו בסוד עם.

23. *Textual Development,* 82-83; see also "Biblical Quotations," 84; "Use of Old Testament Quotations," 223. Again, I accept the main point of Metso's observation but with a significant difference in nuance. She states that "the writer made a word-play on the verb נחשב, 'to be accounted, be esteemed' and twisted its sense so as to make it bear the meaning 'being reckoned in the community' as in 1QS 5:11," adopting Fitzmyer's use of the term "twists" ("The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 34). Exegetically speaking, rather than viewing the author as having "twisted" the sense of the word חשב, it is more helpful to note that he has recast it in accordance with standard sectarian usage.

24. For a view of this passage as a key foundational statement of the Community, see the sources cited by Metso, "Biblical Quotations," 91, n. 11.

is cited as support for a general assertion concerning segregation and then explicated in a manner identifying the separation as pertaining to Torah study.[25]

> When these become the Community in Israel they shall separate themselves from the session of the men of deceit in order to depart into the wilderness to prepare there the Way of the Lord (?);[26] as it is written:[27] "In the wilderness prepare the way of • • • •,[28] make level in the desert a highway for our God." This (alludes to) the study of the Torah wh[ic]h he commanded through Moses to do, according to everything which has been revealed (from) time to time, and according to that which the prophets have revealed by his Holy Spirit.

In IX, 19, the double application of the verse to both Torah instruction and isolation is repeated. A lengthy description of the role of the *Maskil* concludes.

> This is the time *for preparing the path to the wilderness.* And he will teach them about all that has been discovered so that they can carry it out in this moment so they will be detached from anyone who has not withdrawn his path from all injustice.

In this case, the "citation" is actually a paraphrase, which presupposes the full citation in col. VIII. It uses a modified form of the verb, "to prepare," in contrast to the original imperative, as is characteristic of indirect quotation. The citation is flagged by the identifying pronoun, "this." In our spectrum of explicit-

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25. Translation of Qimron and Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community," 35. On the structure of the passage, cf. Vermes, "Biblical Proof-Texts," 497; Fishbane, "Use, Authority," 349; George J. Brooke, "Thematic Commentaries on Prophetic Scriptures," in Henze, *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran,* 136-37. Brooke notes that the author cites only this one verse, rather than gathering a variety of proof-texts, in contrast to the style found in the thematic *pesharim* from Qumran. As we indicate below, the use of the citation nonetheless implies a well-developed exegetical tradition. Fishbane views the twofold application of the verse, for isolation and study, as reflecting biblical justification and reinterpretation respectively ("Use, Authority," 349). These roughly approximate Fitzmyer's categories of "literal/historical" application and "accommodation." Fitzmyer himself categorizes the use of Isa 40:3 in 1QS as "accommodation," i.e., a case "in which the Old Testament text was obviously wrested from its original context, modified or deliberately changed by the new writer in order to adapt it to a new situation or purpose" ("The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 16). His other two categories are "modernization" and "eschatological" adaptation.

26. דרך הואה in 1QS; 4QSᵉ reads דרך האמת.

27. כאשר כתוב, like the formula preceding the citation of Isa 2:22 at 1QS V, 17.

28. I.e., the Lord. Transcription of the Tetragrammaton is avoided, and the divine name is represented by four dots.

ness of citation, this biblical reference is less explicitly identified than the previous examples and is less precisely cited.

It is clear that the author of 1QS interprets Isaiah's preparation of the "way" as representing instruction in Torah. There has been some debate as to whether the advocacy of retreat to the desert to facilitate this instruction is intended literally, referring specifically to residence at the site of Qumran, or signifies a metaphorical withdrawal from society.[29] In either case, once again, the author has removed a biblical verse from its original biblical context for use as a proof-text for a sectarian teaching. Nonetheless, I would again suggest that there is an exegetical connection between the verse and its application, with respect to both context and language. As in our earlier examples in column V, the cited biblical terminology is construed with regard to sectarian exegetical tradition, and reflects isolexism within the pericope, and with key words throughout 1QS, specifically דרך and הלך. The original biblical context of divine eschatological salvation is relevant to the sectarian adaptation of preparing the way for ultimate redemption.[30]

Moreover, this adaptation reflects and reinforces broad sectarian traditions concerning the centrality of proper teaching of Torah for the formation of the Community and for maintaining ongoing right conduct with the aim of meriting salvation. Specifically, the images of "walking," "watering," and "building" recur in Qumran literature in depictions of desirable or undesirable behavior associated with proper vs. distorted or insufficient knowledge of Torah law.

29. On the significance of "the desert" in the self-understanding of the Community, see Shemaryahu Talmon, "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature," in *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations,* ed. Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), 31-66. Most recently, Devorah Dimant has argued for an exclusively metaphorical interpretation, in "Not Exile in the Desert but Exile in Spirit: The Pesher of Isa. 40:3 in the Rule of the Community," *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 21-36 [Hebrew]; see Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (New York: Scribner, 1995), 75. George J. Brooke supports both the literal and figurative reading, in "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992,* ed. Brooke and Florentino García-Martínez. STDJ 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 117-32. The prepositional *lamed* in both passages, "to the wilderness," seems to point to a physical relocation, in addition to the metaphorical message.

30. Metso notes that "in the book of Isaiah this verse belongs to the Deuteroisaianic Book of Consolation of Israel. Yahweh intends to place himself at the head of his people and lead them to freedom from exile across the desert, as he did at the Exodus from Egypt into the Promised Land. But the Qumran writer disregards the historical context, and uses the verse to provide a motive for the community's withdrawal into the desert to live a life of perfection in accordance with the Law" (*Textual Development,* 86). Cf. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 35-36. As stated above, I do not see a disregard for the eschatological biblical context, but an exegetical adaptation of it.

Walking   The "clearing of a path" as a metaphor for the propagation of sectarian teaching is a natural extension of biblical references to walking in the way of the Lord.[31] Instruction in the law establishes the proper "way" along which leaders direct the members of the Community, leading ultimately to salvation.[32] Uwe Glessmer summarizes his insightful explanation of how the citation of Isa 40:3 encapsulates a "complex theological idea," stating that it evokes "already established pictures given in Isaiah[33] and Maleachi[34] concerning an eschatological meaning of 'preparation of the way' as well as the scheme of the 'two ways' and the 'desert situation' in Dtn and the separation from the 'counsel of the wicked' in Ps 1."[35] Glessmer further notes that "time" is a central concern in 1QS IX.[36] In Qumran texts, the "wilderness" is associated with a period of testing at the eve of the eschaton.[37]

Watering   It is significant that the correct path is cleared in the wilderness. The desert is not only a region of unmarked terrain where one can easily get

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31. For the biblical phrases, and Akkadian background, see Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 76-77, 333-34.

32. Cf. Catherine Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 126, esp. n. 9. For the significance of "the Way" in Qumran literature, see Richard Bauckham, "The Early Jerusalem Church, Qumran, and the Essenes," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001,* ed. James R. Davila. STDJ 46 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 63-89 (here 75-78). Menaham Kister has associated the use of Isa 40:3 here in 1QS with CD I, 11, God "raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness, in order to direct them in the path of his heart." He discerns an implicit exegesis of Isa 57:17; "Biblical Phrases and Hidden Biblical Interpretations and Pesharim,"in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research,* ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport. STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 27-39 (here 33-34).

33. "Preparing the way" occurs also at Isa 57:14 and 62:10.

34. Mal 3:1; cf. 3:18, 22-23.

35. Uwe Glessmer, "The Otot-texts (4Q319) and the Problem of Intercalations in the Context of the 364-day Calendar," in Heinz-Josef Fabry, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger, eds., *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature. Münster 1993* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 140-41.

36. Glessmer, The Otot-texts," 134-38.

37. On the forty-year typology in CD, see Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State.* SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2008), 58-59. It has been noted that 4QpPs 37 also reflects a well-developed typological tradition contextualizing the community in the wilderness, in association with Torah and repentance. Thus, שבי המדבר (III 1) and שבים לתורה (II 2-3) and the perishing of the wicked "at the end of forty years." Steven Fraade observes that "the ritualized discipline of study . . . also served to construct a self-conception of that society in continuity with the biblical 'camp', with the heavenly 'sanctuary', and with the eschatological order"; "Interpretive Authority." Cf. Talmon. "The 'Desert Motif.'"

lost and where, historically (and typologically), the generation of the Exodus did indeed go astray on their way to full redemption. It is also a region without water. The "wilderness" represents a time and place in which metaphorical "water," i.e., knowledge, is lacking and must be introduced. The metaphor of water for instruction at Qumran is most evident in the antithetical epithets מורה הצדק (Teacher/Rain of Righteous)[38] and מטיף הכזב (Spouter/Dripper of Lies) and in the extended exegesis of the diggers of the "well" of Num 21:18 in CD VI, 3-11.[39] It may also be evident in the use of Deut 29:18 in 1QS and CD.[40]

Building[41]   Somewhat more tentatively, I would suggest that 1QS may additionally employ Isa 40:3 to present inspired sectarian Torah study as a cornerstone for the foundation of the Community, through paronomasia with פנה. This section of 1QS follows immediately upon a section in which the Community is depicted as a true temple. 1QS 8:7 reads:

> This [the community] is that tried wall, the "precious cornerstone" פנת יקר, whose foundations shall neither rock nor sway in their place.[42]

The collocation פנת יקר points to Isa 28:16,

הִנְנִי יִסַּד בְּצִיּוֹן אָבֶן אֶבֶן בֹּחַן פִּנַּת יִקְרַת מוּסָד מוּסָּד הַמַּאֲמִין לֹא יָחִישׁ

38. See Joel 2:23. On this figure, see Michael A. Knibb, "Teacher of Righteousness," in *EDDS*, 2:918-20.

39. See Yonah Frenkel, *Darkhei ha-Aggadah ve-ha-Midrash* (Masada: Yad la-Talmud, 1991), 2:478-80 [Hebrew].

40. The biblical verse also combines the imagery of walking and watering. See also 1QH XVI, 17-21. The poet thanks God: "you have put (words) in my mouth as showers of rain . . . ," leading to a revelatory emergence of greenery and planting of trees. I am grateful to Deborah Bedolla for bringing the *Hodayot* reference to my attention. For this same image of teaching as water, and conflicting assessments of the wilderness generation, in rabbinic literature, see Daniel Boyarin, "Inner Biblical Ambiguity, Intertextuality and the Dialectic of Midrash: The Waters of Marah," *Proof* 10 (1990): 29-48.

41. For the use of building imagery to depict community formation in Qumran writings, see Bilha Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1986), 45-46 [Hebrew]; Licht, *The Rule Scroll,* 171-72, and his *Megillat ha-Hodayot — The Thankgiving Scroll — A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea: Text, Introduction, Commentary and Glossary* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1957), 117, on the use of Isa 28:16-17 in 1QH XIV, 26-27 (Licht's 6:26). For the significance of "house" in 1QS cols. 8 and 9, see Devorah Dimant, "The Volunteers in the 'Rule of the Community': A Biblical Notion in Sectarian Garb," *RevQ* 23 (2007): 233-45 (here 238-42).

42. Wernberg-Møller discusses the building imagery in 1QS ("Some Reflections," 52-53).

פנה is not common in Qumran literature, either in the sense of "corner" or "turning."[43] The relative rarity of the form indicates that the isolexism of the allusion to Isa 28:16 פנת יקר (VIII, 7) and to Isa 40:3 פנות דרך (VIII, 14) is unlikely to be mere coincidence. The preparation of the way is akin to the laying of a cornerstone.[44]

Lastly, although 1QS omits the words "a voice calls" in its citation, we might consider the possibility that the tradition underlying the association of Torah interpretation and instruction with Isa 40:3 may have been rooted in the word קורא in the prophetic verse. The word קרא in the sense "to read," is associated with the acquisition of proper knowledge of Torah law in 1QS VI, 7 ("to read in the book and expound the regulation") and CD V, 2 ("David did not read in the sealed book") and with revelation in 1QpHab VII, 3.[45] Despite the omission of

43. The noun פנה appears in Qumran literature primarily in a literal physical sense, in the *Copper Scroll* and *Temple Scroll* as well as in 4Q365 and 4Q365a and the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice.* Manfred Oeming, "פָּנָּה," *TDOT,* 11:589, writes that 1QS VIII, 7 is the only "figurative theological usage" of the term in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In fact, there is one additional, and probably related occurrence (besides the restored parallel to 1QS at 4Q259 II, 14). 2Q23 Apocryphal Prophecy is extremely fragmentary, but in addition to the collocation אבן פנת (I, 6) it contains the word מסלה, as in Isa 40:3. פנה occurs in line 21 of 1QH XVI, 17-21 in the "watering" passage noted above, but it is difficult to determine its sense. See Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions,* 142.

44. Further indication of the double significance of פנות may be found in the headings in the "manifesto" section. 1QS VIII, 10b refers to the establishment of a foundation, בהכון אלה ביסוד היחד, and VIII, 20 refers to walking, ואלה המשפטים אשר ילכו בם. See also the echo of Isa 28:13 in CD IV, 19 (צו), within a pericope describing the "building of a sure house" (III, 19) and relocation by founders of the community (שבי ישראל היוצאים מארץ יהודה).

45. See also CD VI, 6; 4QpNah 3-4 I 8 (and Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll,* 176-92). The focus of this pericope is upon the role of the Interpreter in expounding the Torah in order to guide the people toward proper observance. Such practical textual interpretation is precisely the connotation of both reading (קרא) and expounding (דרש) at Qumran. See Paul Heger, "The Development of Qumran Law: Nistarot, Niglot and the Issue of 'Contemporization,'" *RevQ* 23 (2007): 167-206. For the importance of Torah study as a means to acquisition of knowledge with a particular sectarian slant, see, *inter alia,* Fishbane, "Use, Authority, and Interpretation," 345-47; Fraade, "Interpretive Authority," esp. 57; and "Looking for Legal Midrash at Qumran," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May 1996,* ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon. STDJ 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 64; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran.* SJLA 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), though Johann Maier challenges the sense of דרש as expounding, in his "Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Literature," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation,* vol. 1.1: *Antiquity,* ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 108-29. The frequent designation of Scripture as "written" (כתוב) would also emphasize the significance of reading as a means of access to the divine word. Dimant sees *"midrash haTorah"* as a pesher identification of the word "wilderness" in the verse ("Not Exile in the Desert," 28-33). In my understanding, the wilderness functions as the temporal and geo-

these words in the citations here in 1QS cols. VIII-IX, I suggest that they contributed to the origin of the exegetical tradition attested in this pericope.[46] The significance of Torah instruction in 1QS VIII-IX is highlighted by comparison with the superficially similar use of Isa 40:3 in the New Testament with reference to the ministry of John the Baptist. In Isaiah, the Hebrew is best rendered as "a voice cries: 'In the wilderness, prepare the way of the Lord.'" 1QS follows this — the voice directs the addressee to perform the necessary task in the wilderness. In the New Testament, the implied punctuation is "a voice cries in the wilderness: 'prepare the way of the Lord,'" accommodating the identification of John as the one crying out in the wilderness.[47] The sources attest to a shared exegetical tradition, associating Isa 40:3 with community formation, withdrawal from the Jerusalem establishment, and revelatory preaching by a charismatic leader, but the Qumran pericope focuses on textual instruction (perhaps by taking קרא as "reading"), whereas the Synoptic Gospels are interested in baptism and exhortation to repentance and the fourth Gospel applies the verse to the role of John the Baptist as herald (קרא as "calling out").[48] Joseph Fitzmyer assesses the usages of Isa 40:3 in the NT and 1QS as "almost identical."[49] Alfred Leaney correctly points to differences between the scriptural em-

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graphical location for the instruction of Torah — it represents the time of the dominion of Belial, during which the Yahad Community serves as an oasis.

46. For this phenomenon, see, e.g., Kister, "Biblical Phrases and Hidden Biblical Interpretations." He states, "exegesis can be reconstructed, even where the verses are not cited explicitly . . . through analysis of the biblical context" (29).

47. George J. Brooke, "Shared Intertextual Interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in Stone and Chazon, *Biblical Perspectives,* 35-57.

48. Matt 3:3; Mark 1:3; Luke 3:4-6; John 1:23. Although Fraade recognizes the significance of Torah study and biblical interpretation in the 1QS passage, he nonetheless links this with the "teaching ministry" of John the Baptist in the Gospels ("Interpretive Authority," 52). There may be an element of "teaching" in John's preaching as found in the Synoptic Gospels, but in the form in which the traditions have been preserved in the NT, there is no reference to textual study and certainly not to proper instruction in the Law. Cf. Matt 3:1-3: "In those days John the Baptist appeared in the wilderness of Judea, proclaiming, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven has come near.' This is the one of whom the prophet Isaiah spoke when he said, 'The voice of one crying out in the wilderness. . . .'" Mark 1:4-5: "John came, who baptized in the wilderness and preached the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins. And there went out unto him all the country of Judaea, and all they of Jerusalem. And they were baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins." Luke 3:3: "He went into all the country around the Jordan, preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins." John 1:7-8: "The same came for witness, that he might bear witness of the light, that all might believe through him. He was not the light, but came that he might bear witness of the light."

49. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 35. He is followed by Metso, *Textual Development,* 86.

ployment in these sources, but leans too far to the opposite pole, denying any influence or commonality beyond what he perceives as a "disregard" for the original meaning of the verse.[50] A more balanced view is that of Barnabas Lindars. He says of the *Community Rule*'s citation of Isa 40:3, paraphrase of Isa 42:1 (focusing on the term "Elect"), and allusion to Isa 28:16 ("precious cornerstone"): "In all three cases a testimony employed by the Qumran sect with reference to itself is used christologically by the Church; and the link between the two different kinds of interpretation is the common eschatological motive."[51]

In sum, the citation of Isa 40:3, like the other explicit citations in 1QS, is a reuse of a biblical verse, within an exegetical tradition, employing familiar tropes to suit the particular context of the community. In all of the cases of explicit citations in 1QS, we have seen wordplay between the verse and key sectarian terminology, as well as resonance with words in, or close to, the particular passage containing the citation. The main sectarian terms in play were רחק, דבר, דרך, פנות, חשב, and possibly קרא; some of these were technical terms, and some encapsulated common ancient Jewish motifs (such as walking on a path) that appear with a sectarian slant in Qumran writings. For חשב, פנות, דבר, רחק we also noted isolexism within the relevant pericope itself. We observed that in two instances, the original biblical context would have been a significant factor in the shaping of the reapplication of the prophecy — with respect to the rejection of arrogance and preparation for eschatological salvation; in the case of the legal citation, the connection to the biblical context was weaker, but still demonstrable.

Verbal Allusion

Chazon defines "allusion" as "an echoing [of] key expressions and motifs."[52] In this section, I examine allusion in a somewhat more narrow sense. I restrict the discussion to verbal allusion in 1QS, which I identify on the basis of the employment of distinctive biblical terminology. Distinctiveness may be a function of (1) the rarity of an individual word or form in Biblical Hebrew; (2) the rarity of a particular collocation of words in Biblical Hebrew, especially in unusual

50. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran,* 222.

51. Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), 278. Cf. Otto Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1960), 155-58.

52. Cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions,* 41-55. Hughes notes that allusion entails "an indication that the . . . (adoptive text) directs the reader to a particular interpretation of the adopted text" (53).

grammatical forms; or (3) the clustering of a specific root or collocation in a particular passage or pericope of the Hebrew Bible *("Leitworte")*.[53] In each case presented below, the meaning and context of the biblical source text is relevant to the meaning of the passage in 1QS. Full appreciation of the message of the sectarian text requires recognition of the source of the allusion and an understanding of its relevance.[54]

At times, the author of 1QS lifts whole phrases from the Hebrew Bible. These allusions could be viewed as quotations, albeit revised quotations without formulaic citation markers.[55] The adaptation of the biblical priestly blessing in 1QS II, 2-4 is one such example. Our composition also features this sort of quasi-citation of Deut 29:18 and Mic 6:8. In addition, elements from these latter verses recur throughout 1QS as "refrains." I will begin our discussion of allusion with these "unflagged revised citations" and derivative refrains.

Unflagged (Revised) Citation

Numbers 6:24-27   Our first example of an unflagged revised citation is the expansion of the priestly blessing of Num 6:24-27 in the liturgy of the covenant renewal at 1QS II, 2-4. Although there is no technical formulaic marker an-

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53. Our criteria are somewhat looser than those of Hughes. Thus, her first example is "correspondence with a hapax legomenon" (53).

54. That is, the three stages outlined by Ziva Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 1 (1976): 105-28 (here 110-11). As summarized by Sommer (*A Prophet Reads Scripture,* 15), "Ben-Porat identifies at least three and often four stages in the recognition of an allusion: noticing the marker, identifying the source, bringing the marked sign to bear on the interpretation of the sign which includes the marker, and also noting additional aspects of the source text which affect the reading of the alluding text generally."

55. Cf. Vermes: "The least structured of these lines of reasoning utilizes a whole verse or part of it without an introductory formula indicating the presence of a quotation. The biblical words become integral parts of the author's account, possibly in a retouched version, in order to fit their new context" ("Biblical Proof-Texts," 497). Dimant terms this sort of scriptural employment "implicit quotation" and employs quantity of verbal parallel as her criterion: "a phrase of at least three words, which stems from a specific recognizable biblical context" ("Use, Authority," 401). She distinguishes this from "allusion," defined as "a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts, using a special signal referring to the independent external text. These signals may consist of isolated terms, patterns and motifs taken from the text alluded to" (409-10, with reference to Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," 105-7). For our purposes, my criterion for classifying a verbal allusion is that there is an element of explicit reference, such that the allusion is flagged by the use of words from the original, but there is a lack of formal external marker.

nouncing the citation, it is flagged in a way by the identification of the text as a priestly blessing:

> Then the priests shall bless[56] all the men of God's lot who walk perfectly in all his ways, and say, *"May he bless you* with all good and *may he keep you* from all evil; may he *enlighten your* heart with insight for living, *may he favor you* with eternal knowledge. *May he lift up his* merciful *countenance toward you* for eternal *peace."*

The italicized portions of the text are the words taken from Num 6:24-27. In the continuation of this liturgy, the levitical curses, the dependence upon this biblical passage is more subtle, as discussed below. Here in the formula to be recited by the priests, the biblical base text remains mostly intact; this is a revised quotation,[57] supplemented by sectarian expansion. The brief expansion incorporates key sectarian concepts — walking in the ways of God, dualism, knowledge, eternity — which are also central motifs in the Treatise of Two Spirits in 1QS III, 13-IV, 26.[58] An examination of the liturgical settings for the priestly blessing in ancient Judaism is beyond the scope of this discussion, but there is cogent evidence that 1QS II, 2-4 is a sectarian adaptation of widespread exegetical interpretation and liturgical use of Num 6:24-27. As Bilha Nitzan observes, the passage shows "a fairly well-crystallized literary practice of composing poetic and ceremonial works around the priestly blessing found in the Torah."[59]

Deuteronomy 29:18 Deuteronomy 29:18 (Eng. 19) describes a situation in which an individual publicly commits to the national covenant with God, but

56. Cf. the divine command to Moses in Num 6:23: "Speak to Aaron and his sons, saying: 'thus shall you bless the children of Israel. Say to them. . . .'"

57. The omission of the Tetragrammaton is typical of Qumran writings, due to reverence for the divine name; the word "countenance" is omitted in one phrase, though its second occurrence is retained. On additional variants, see Bilha Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry.* STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 148-53.

58. For a thorough treatment of the sectarian expansion of the biblical priestly blessing in 1QS, see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer.* See also Shani L. Berrin, "Lemma/Pesher Correspondence in Pesher Nahum," in Schiffman, Tov, and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery,* 342-43.

59. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 170. On exegetical and liturgical traditions pertaining to Num 6:24-27, see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 145-71, and Appendix I, "The Priestly Blessing in the Tradition of Jewish Worship," 357-58. George J. Brooke emphasizes the importance of Scripture in these reworkings, noting "the support (ʾasmaktâ) given [to the priestly blessing] by its expansion with texts or allusions to biblical texts"; *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context.* JSOTSup 29 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 295-301. See also Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls.* STDJ 27 (Leiden Brill, 1998), 224-25.

inwardly determines not to accept divine authority. It reads "when he hears the words of this sworn covenant, he blesses himself in his heart, saying, 'I shall be safe, though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart.'"[60] This is cited nearly verbatim in 1QS 2:14.[61] Although there is no formula announcing the citation, there is no doubt of the biblical origin of the words.[62] The author of 1QS recontextualizes the verse, generalizing from the one-time covenant ceremony in Deuteronomy 29 to the annual sectarian covenant renewal of his own experience.[63] In his own time, as in the historical wilderness period, a particular warning must be articulated against those who would commit superficially to the covenant while remaining unfaithful in their hearts. The broad original biblical context is fully relevant, as is the general Deuteronomistic "flavor" of the phrase, but the locution has also begun to take on a (sectarian) life of its own.[64] Elements of this verse, particularly "stubbornness of the heart," are sprinkled

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60. והיה בשמעו את־דברי האלה הזאת והתברך בלבבו לאמר שלום יהיה־לי כי בשררות
לבי אלך למען ספות הרוה את־הצמאה.

61. "When he hears the words of this covenant, he blesses himself in his heart, saying "I shall be safe, though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart."

והיה בשומעו את דברי הברית הזות יתברך בלבבו לאמור שלום יהי לי כיא
בשרירות לבי אלך ונספתה רוחו הצמאה עם הרווה לאין סליחה

The sectarian author adopts the language of the Deuteronomist with minor variations, including synonymous substitution (ברית rather than אלה, עם instead of את; this is also explicative — disambiguating the biblical particle, which may be taken as either preposition or object marker); grammatical adaptation (יתברך for והתברך; ונספתה rather than למען ספות); rearrangement of word order (רוה and צמאה), and the addition of the word "spirit," which is a key term in 1QS. The concluding phrase "without forgiveness" summarizes the subsequent verse in Deuteronomy: "and the Lord will never forgive him."

62. The word שרירות occurs in the Pentateuch only at Deut 29:18; the remaining biblical occurrences are derivative of the usage in Deuteronomy. The idiom "to walk in the stubbornness of one's heart" appears several times in Jeremiah (3:17; 7:24; 9:13; 11:8; 13:10; 16:12; 18:12; 23:17), and once in Ps 81:13.

63. It is likely that Fitzmyer would have considered this as an example of "modernization," "in which the Old Testament text, which originally had a reference to some event in the contemporary scene at the time it was written, nevertheless was vague enough to be applied to some new event in the history of the Qumran sect" ("The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 16). This would be in contrast to the class of "accommodation" to which he relegated the explicitly marked proof-texts we examined above.

64. Jan Joosten argues that both 1QS and 1QpHab V, 7 rely upon an exegetical tradition shared with LXX; "ונספתה רוחו הצמאה עם הרויה': על פירוש דברים כט 18 במגילות קומראן [The Interpretation of Deut. 29:18 in the Qumran Scrolls]," *Meghillot* 3 (2005): 231-38. If this is the case, this would be another example of sectarian adoption and adaptation of a broad interpretive tradition.

throughout 1QS and also in CD.[65] Jacob Licht describes this as a sort of "slogan" — insiders' jargon that is used regularly, with minor variations.[66] Licht also points out that a number of the allusions to Deut 29:18 in the Qumran writings incorporate Num 15:39 as well.[67]

וְלֹא תָתֻרוּ אַחֲרֵי לְבַבְכֶם וְאַחֲרֵי עֵינֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר־אַתֶּם זֹנִים אַחֲרֵיהֶם

1QH XII, 15

וְעם שרירות לבם יתורו

1QS I, 6-7

ולוא ללכת עוד בשרירות לב אשמה ועיני זנות לעשות כול רע

1QS III, 3

ולא יצדק במתור שרירות לבו

1QS V, 4

אשר לוא ילך איש בשרירות לבו לתעות אחר לבבו ועיניהו ומחשבת יצרו[68]

CD II, 15-18

להתהלך תמים בכל דרכיו ולא לתור במחשבות יצר אשמה וע(י)ני זנות

... בלכתם בשרירות לבם

CD III, 11-12

ויתורו אחרי שרירות לבם

See also לבו בשרירות יתר] in the fragmentary 4Q487 1 II 3 Sapiential work B.

The multiple allusions to Deut 29:18 throughout 1QS and in CD, as well as in 1QH and 1QpHab, and the combination of elements from this verse with those from Num 15:39 point to a pervasive exegetical tradition. שרירות לב has become a meme for expressing concern about sincerity of commitment and au-

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65. 1QS I, 6; II, 26; III, 3; V, 4; VII, 19, 24; IX, 10. CD II, 17; III, 5, and in more modified form, CD III, 11; VII, 8, 19; XIX, 20, 33; XX, 9, as well as 1QH XII, 15. See also 11QpHab XI, 14; 4Q390 1 12; 4Q393 3 5.

66. See Licht, *The Rule Scroll,* 26-27, and Appendix A. Not all of the "slogans" he notes are biblical in origin.

67. Licht, *The Rule Scroll,* p. 60, points out that *Targum Onqelos* renders Num 15:39 as ולא תטעון בתר הרהור לבכון, inserting the word *hirhur* which serves as the Aramaic equivalent of שרירות throughout biblical targum. Note that in CD VIII, 8 and IX, 21, although שרירות לב occurs without reference to Num 15:39, the phrase יד רמה is employed, a term indicating willful sin, derived from Num 15:30. Aharon Shemesh discusses the significance of Deuteronomy 29-30 and Num 15:30 as paradigms of exile and excision, respectively, which underlie the penal code of the Qumran Community ("Expulsion and Exclusion in the Community Rule and The Damascus Document," *DSD* 9 [2002]: 52-63). The linguistic overlap in these allusions supports his analysis.

68. On the use of the term יצר here as indicative of an exegetical tradition, see Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran,* 167.

thenticity of declared righteousness, employed in sectarian Qumran writings with respect to dedication to the Community.

Micah 6:8 Like Deut 29:18, Mic 6:8 is reflected in 1QS in both extensive and partial quotations. The biblical verse reads: "O mortal, what is good; and what does the LORD require of you but to do justice, to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?"[69] Substantial "unflagged revised quotations" appear at 1QS V, 3-4[70] and VIII, 2.[71] The abbreviated allusions to the verse feature the collocations אהבת חסד (at II, 24 and V, 24-25)[72] or הצנע לכת (IV, 5), both of which occur in the Hebrew Bible only in Mic 6:8.

Although the biblical source is readily identifiable, the revisions in the citations of Micah are substantial and are of a strongly sectarian nature.[73] The added words "truth" (II, 24; V, 3; V, 24; VIII, 2) and "righteousness" (II, 24; V, 3; VIII, 2), as well as "humility" (II, 24; V, 3; V, 24) and "*yahad*" (II, 24; V, 3) are significant terms in the writings of the Community. The substitution of "in all their ways" (V, 4) and "with one another" (II, 8) for biblical "with God" are exegetical modifications, emphasizing community.

In the use of Micah, as in the use of Deut 29:18, the context of the biblical source text is essential to its selection. Chapter 6 of Micah is a "covenant lawsuit." Its emphasis on proper behavior over sacrifice, in a covenantal context, is particularly well-suited to the message of 1QS. The author of 1QS combines biblical allusion with self-referential linguistic modifications in order to recontextualize the verses from a specific historical setting concerning Israel as a whole, to a more general ongoing situation pertaining to his Community.

Our final illustrations of unflagged citations in 1QS are not pervasive refrains, but single cases of legal exegesis, again reflecting more widespread interpretive traditions. These are the law requiring rebuke in 1QS V, 26-VI, 1, paraphrasing Lev 19:17, and the law prohibiting grudges and revenge in 1QS VII, 8-9, employing Lev 19:18. The phrase in 1QS V, 26–6:1 is conventionally reconstructed as ואל ישנאהו [בעור]ל[ת] לבבו כיא ביומ( ) יוכיחנו ולוא ישא עליו עוון 1QS[74]

69. הַגִּיד לְךָ אָדָם מַה־טּוֹב וּמָה־יְהוָה דּוֹרֵשׁ מִמְּךָ כִּי אִם־עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט וְאַהֲבַת חֶסֶד וְהַצְנֵעַ לֶכֶת עִם־אֱלֹהֶיךָ

70. "According to their order shall go forth the determination of the lot about everything concerning Torah, property, and judgment, to do truth (in) unity, humility, righteousness, justice, merciful love, circumspectly walking in all their ways."

71. ". . . to perform truth, righteousness, justice, merciful love, and circumspect walking, each one with his fellow."

72. See Licht, *The Rule Scroll,* Appendix A, 293.

73. Licht, *The Rule Scroll,* 293, calls the echoes in V, 3-4 "distant forms."

74. The biblical verse reads לֹא־תִשְׂנָא אֶת־אָחִיךָ בִּלְבָבֶךָ הוֹכֵחַ תּוֹכִיחַ אֶת־עֲמִיתֶךָ וְלֹא־תִשָּׂא עָלָיו חֵטְא; cf. Metso, *Textual Development,* 83-84.

VII, 8-9 reads **משפט ונענש ששה חדשים שנה ²לוא אשר לרעהו ⸢יטו⸣ ואשר** לנפשו **לנוקם וכן אחת**.⁷⁵ The application of these verses in sectarian regulations is found also in CD. There is an explicit citation of Lev 19:17 in CD IX, 6-8 and an allusion in VII, 2. Leviticus 19:18 is cited explicitly in CD IX, 2, and partially repeated, with an identification, in line 4.⁷⁶ Licht and Leaney note similar applications of these verses elsewhere in Second Temple writings.⁷⁷ I will address these cases further below, in the context of the variant formulation of these laws in Cave 4 parallels, with language less close to the biblical source texts.

At this juncture, let us turn to examples of verbal allusion that contain fewer words in common with the source text, but which are identified by the distinctiveness of particular words. We proceed according to the subcategories outlined above in the introduction to this section: rare words, rare collocations, and *Leitworte.*

A Distinctive, Infrequent Word   The word *nigleh/niglot* appears in 1QS I, 9; V, 9, 12; VIII, 1, 15; IX, 13, 19. The noun form of the *niphal* of גלה appears in the Hebrew Bible only at Deut 29:28: "The hidden things *(nistarot)* are to the Lᴏʀᴅ and the revealed things *(niglot)* are to us and to our sons, to do all the words of this Torah." The use of *nigleh* in 1QS reflects an exegetical tradition that has been incorporated into the language of the community.⁷⁸

A Distinctive, Infrequent, Collocation   The combination יד רמה, indicating a deliberate transgression, occurs at 1QS V, 12; VIII, 17, 22; IX, 1.⁷⁹ This term de-

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75. "Whoever bears a grudge against his fellow unjustly, shall be punished (for) one year, and the same for one who takes any revenge for himself." Lev 19:18 reads לֹא תִקֹּם וְלֹא־תִטֹּר אֶת־בְּנֵי עַמֶּךָ וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֲךָ כָּמוֹךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה

76. Cf. the collocation of the roots נקם and נטר in CD VIII, 5, and the use of לנטור in CD VII, 2, **לא לנטור מיום ליום**, along with the requirement for rebuke, **להוכיח איש את אחיהו** כמצוה (with כמצוה probably functioning as a flag to the biblical allusion.)

77. Licht, *The Rule Scroll,* 136; Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran,* 178. Cf. Sir 19:12-16; *T. Gad* 6:4-7; Heb 3:13; and also Matt 18:15-17. Rabbinic parallels are discussed by Aharon Shemesh, "Rebuke, Warning, and the Obligation to Testify in the Judean Desert Writings and Rabbinic Halakha," *Tarbiz* 66 (1997): 149-68 [Hebrew].

78. See "*nistar/ot*" in 1QS V, 11; VIII, 11-12; XI, 6; CD III, 13-16. Cf. See S. Berrin Tzoref, "The 'Hidden' and the 'Revealed': Progressive Revelation of Law and Esoterica," *Meghillot* 7 (2009): 157-90; Heger, "The Development of Qumran Law"; Aharon Shemesh and Cana Werman, "Hidden Things and Their Revelation," *RevQ* 18 (1998): 409-27; Alex Jassen, "The Presentation of the Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran," *JBL* 127 (2008): 329-32; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Halakha at Qumran,* 22-32.

79. Cf. CD VIII, 8 = XIX, 21; X, 3; XX, 30.

rives from Num 15:30.[80] The usage in the *Community Rule,* with respect to a deliberate offense punishable by expulsion from the Community, reflects a sectarian exegetical tradition adapting the sense of being "cut off from the midst of one's people" to indicate this severe sanction.[81]

The expression לעבור בברית occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible, at Deut 29:11, a chapter that is very influential in 1QS.[82] The collocation recurs at 1QS I, 16, 18, 20, 24; II, 10, and a shortened form with עבר alone occurs at II, 19, 20, 21. The biblical phrase is addressed inclusively to the nation of Israel; the *Rule* adopts this covenantal language for the Community's ceremony of induction and affirmation, emphasizing the literal sense of "passing before."[83]

The usage of the collocation ילך רכיל in 1QS VII, 17 and VII, 18 reflects exegetical traditions concerning Lev 19:16 לא תלך רכיל בעמיך. The passage in the *Community Rule* distinguishes between slander against an individual fellow member of the Community, which is punished by a year of exclusion from the pure communal food, and slander against the Community as a whole, for which the punishment is expulsion. The expression for the former case, והאיש אשר ילך רכיל ברעהו, reflects Jer 9:3 וכל־רע רכיל יהלך, which itself plays off the pentateuchal verse. The more serious latter violation resonates with the *Temple Scroll*'s regulation on the capital offense of treason.[84]

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80. וְהַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשֶׂה בְּיָד רָמָה מִן הָאֶזְרָח־מִן וּמִן־הַגֵּר אֶת־יְהוָה הוּא מְגַדֵּף וְנִכְרְתָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהִוא מִקֶּרֶב עַמָּהּ.

81. Cf. Aharon Shemesh, "Expulsion and Exclusion in the Community Rule and the Damascus Document," *DSD* 9 (2002): 44-74 (here 59-61); Gary A. Anderson, "Intentional and Unintentional Sin in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom,* ed. David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 49-64.

82. See our discussion of 29:18 above; Cf. Metso, *Textual Development,* 141; Hans F. Fuhs, "עָבַר," *TDOT* 10:424-25. On the theological significance of Deut 29:9–30:11 for the *Damascus Document,* see Shemesh and Werman, "Hidden Things and Their Revelation," 409-27.

83. See Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 127.

84. 11QT 64:6-8. Cf. Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1:420-21; 2:373. Shemesh discusses the relevance of the *Temple Scroll* passage for CD IX, 1-8, which, as noted above, reuses Lev 19:17-18 in formulating regulations concerning rebukes and grudges; "Scriptural Interpretations in the Damascus Document and Their Parallels in Rabbinic Midrash," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February 1998,* ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon, and Avital Pinnock. STDJ 34 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 161-75. Wernberg-Møller posits a creative exegetical basis for the tradition, such that the author of 1QS took the prepositional *bet* of the biblical בעמך, "do not walk round as a talebearer *in* thy people," to mean "*about* thy people"; "Some Reflections," 54.

A Distinctive Collocation Typical of a Specific Group of Texts   The centrality of Deuteronomistic covenant language is evident in the use of a number of "Deuteronomistic phrases" in 1QS. In addition to some of the examples noted above, featuring unusual words, there are a number of occurrences in which stock Deuteronomistic phrases are employed in the composition.[85]

Thus, the phrase "to do what is good and right" in 1QS I, 2 calls to mind Deut 12:28, as well as 2 Chr 14:1; 31:20, and Deut 6:18 ("to do that which is right and good in the eyes of the LORD"). This may not be a precise intertextual "hyperlink" to a specific biblical passage, but it is allusive, rather than simply "free use" of biblical idiom; the specific covenantal and Deuteronomistic contexts of the biblical occurrences of the phrase are significant for the context of 1QS.[86]

The collocation "with all [one's] heart and all [one's] soul," found in 1QS V, 9, reflects Deuteronomistic language rooted in ancient Near Eastern covenant formulas, as demonstrated by Moshe Weinfeld.[87] Whether or not the author of 1QS was aware of the more universal usage of this collocation, his own access to the phrase will have been filtered through the usage in Deuteronomy (especially in the Shema at 6:5, but also 4:29; 10:12; 11:13; 13:4; 26:16; 30:2, 6, 10) and perhaps other Deuteronomistic contexts, such as Solomon's prayer at 1 Kgs 8:48 and Josiah's covenant in 2 Kgs 23:3, 25.

Devorah Dimant has demonstrated that the use of the *hitpa'el* of נדב in 1QS reflects an exegetical process that originated in the use of this form of the root in Chronicles and Ezra. In these contexts, התנדב ,מתנדב designate donors of free-will offerings to the temple. The *Community Rule* "employs the same construction to describe the voluntary sacrifice of their own lives, brought by the members of the community to their temple-like congregation."[88]

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85. Cf. Murphy's discussion of "the Deuteronomic flavor of 1QS 1:1–4:26"; *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 125-30; Wernberg-Møller, "Some Reflections," 41. In these cases, 1QS does not allude to a specific biblical text but reflects broad Deuteronomistic influence. We consider this "allusion" in the sense that in order to fully appreciate the passage in which the Deuteronomistic language is employed, the reader must recognize the source text(s) and bring an understanding of the original context and meaning to bear upon the passage in 1QS. See n. 55 above.

86. See Jassen, "The Presentation of the Ancient Prophets," 314; Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11.* AB 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 347.

87. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11,* 338, 351-52; *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 81, 334; "The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East," in *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period.* LSTS 54 (London: T. & T. Clark, 2005), 2-44. See also CD XV, 10, 12.

88. Dimant, "The Volunteers in the 'Rule of the Community,'" 245.

Free Use: Idioms

There are occasions in which 1QS uses biblical expressions that do not seem to allude to any particular biblical context. For example, the term תשיג ידו in VII, 10 echoes biblical language about financial constraints, but does not seem intended to take the reader back to any biblical occurrences of the phrase. It is best understood either as an everyday sort of expression still in regular use in the author's own time or as an archaism intended to give a general biblical feel to the text. Similarly, ריח ניחוח in 1QS VIII, 9 is not an allusion to a particular biblical verse, but evokes general biblical usage of the phrase to describe a pleasing offering to the Lord, enhancing the depiction of the Community as the embodiment of the temple.[89]

The expression פן ישיאנו עוון אשמה in 1QS V, 14 echoes Lev 22:16 והשיאו אותם עוון אשמה. Metso terms this "a proof-text," along with Exod 23:7, and states that it is "cited implicitly."[90] It is unclear whether this motive clause for separation from nonmembers of the Community indeed functions as textual support for the sectarian regulation. It may instead be simple "free use" of biblical language.[91]

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89. Cf. Licht, *The Rule Scroll,* 171-74; for a discussion of the development of the term ניחוח in Second Temple writings, see Noam Mizrahi, "The Lexicon and Phraseology of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*" (Diss., Hebrew University, 2008) [Hebrew].

90. Metso, *Textual Development,* 81.

91. If Lev 22:16 is in fact being invoked, the verse would be understood differently than in its original context. The biblical verse may be plausibly explained as expressing concern (a) that priestly negligence in guarding the sanctity of priestly food would cause the Israelites to bear sin or (b) that priestly negligence would cause the priests themselves to bear sin (as in 11QT 35:13-15). See Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22.* AB 3A (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 1868-69. The allusive phrase here seems to indicate that the impure individual would cause the community member to bear sin. If there is an intentional reference to Leviticus 22, then the interpretive grounds would be the shared concern about mingling sacred foods and nonsacred individuals. Murphy supports the supposed dependence upon Leviticus 22 on the basis of the relatively uncommon form of ישיאנו (she notes that the only other *hiphil* of נשא is at 2 Sam 17:13; *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 143). Murphy sees this purported intertextuality as ironic, presumably because the biblical context sets boundaries between priests and laymen, whereas 1QS is concerned with determining which laity is permitted access to the Community's pure food. If textual dependence could be demonstrated, this would not be so much an ironic coincidence, as a deliberate extension of priestly attributes to the Yahad Community at large. On the "democratization of the priesthood" in the Second Temple era, see Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

Implicit Exegetical Paraphrase

The most difficult type of scriptural dependence to recognize involves paraphrastic exegetical adaptation of biblical language, without the external flag of citation formulas or the internal evidence of lexical distinctiveness.[92] Examples of such implicit, and mediated, exegetical expression in 1QS are the levitical curses in II, 4b-10 and two exegetical reflections of the Shema, in I, 11 and X, 10-14.

    1. In the covenant ceremony, the priestly blessing of 1QS II, 1-4a, is followed by levitical curses against the men of the lot of Belial. As an antithetical expansion of the priestly blessing, the levitical curse is also a reworking of Num 6:24-26. Although this might not have been noticeable without the intermediary step of the sectarian priestly blessing, the biblical basis for the curse is clear.[93]

Priestly Blessing Num 6:24-26	Levitical Curse 1QS II, 5-9
May the LORD bless you	Cursed be you . . .
and keep you;	May he visit upon you
	destruction . . .
May the LORD shine (יאר) his face	Cursed be you (ארור) . . .
upon you,	darkness . . .
and be gracious to you;	May God not be gracious to you . . .
May the LORD lift up his countenance	May he lift up his angry
upon you,	countenance . . .
and give you peace	May there be no peace for you

The exegetical tradition of inversion of the priestly blessing is already attested in the Bible itself. Michael Fishbane describes Mal 1:6-2:9 as a "veritable contrapuntal inversion of the sound and sense of the priestly blessing."[94] The liturgical levitical curse in 1QS is a sectarian extension of this tradition. The actual lexical overlaps with Num 6:24-26 in this formula are not very impressive — "peace" and "lifting one's face" are hardly rare words or collocations; but these

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    92. It is conventional to use the term "implicit" to describe unflagged citations; these examples are "more implicit" in that they lack internal as well as formulaic markers. These are similar to what Kister has called "hidden interpretations"; see above, n. 46.

    93. The table indicates the most straightforward antitheses. For a detailed discussion of the exegetical techniques employed in the full text of the reversal and expansion of the blessing, see Berrin, "Lemma/Pesher Correspondence," 343; J. A. Loader, "The Model of the Priestly Blessing in 1QS," *JSJ* 14 (1983): 11-17; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 125-39.

    94. *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel,* 332-34.

direct allusions supplement the additional factors of wordplay and context that point to the biblical origins of the formula employed for the sectarian curse.[95]

2. Above, I noted that the requirement to dedicate "all one's heart and all one's soul" is an allusion to the Shema, Deut 6:4-7, which itself derives from ancient Near Eastern covenantal language and came to be the quintessential affirmation of covenantal commitment in Judaism. Further employment of the Shema in the *Community Rule* has been identified in the stipulation that members of the Community must commit all their knowledge, energy, and wealth. 1QS I, 11-13 states:

> all those devoting themselves to his truth shall bring all their *knowledge,* and their *strength,* and their *property* into the Community of God in order to strengthen their *knowledge* by the truth of God's statutes, and discipline their *strength* according to the perfection of his ways, and all their *property* according to his righteous counsel.

1QS III, 3 says of the one who is to be excluded from the Community: "his *knowledge, strength,* and *property* shall not come into the Council of the Community." These paraphrases do not reuse the familiar biblical language, but the context and the combination of elements point to Deut 6:5, and particularly to exegetical traditions for this verse. "Knowledge" is a natural representation of the element "heart" in the biblical formula, in that the heart is the seat of the intellect in the Hebrew Bible. Weinfeld points to ancient exegesis of מאד as wealth and strength to account for these terms in the formula in 1QS.[96] It may be preferable to align the elements more symmetrically and to identify strength as an interpretation of נפש and wealth as an interpretation of מאד.[97] In either case,

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95. On a structural, rather than lexical level, this liturgical ceremony derives from the blessings and curses in the biblical covenant ceremony of Deuteronomy 27-28.

96. Moshe Weinfeld, "The Covenant in Qumran," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins,* ed. James H. Charlesworth (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 59-69; "'They Should Bring All of Their Mind, All of Their Strength and All of Their Wealth into the Community of God' (1QS 1:12)," in *Bible Studies: Y. M Grinz in Memoriam,* ed. Benjamin Uffenheimer. Te'uda 2 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1982) 37-41 [Hebrew]. See Menahem Kister, "Some Observations on Vocabulary and Style in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira,* ed. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde. STDJ 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 137-59; Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 120-25. The dependence upon the Shema here was already observed by Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament.* BJS 48 (Chico: Scholars, 1983 [1961]), 123.

97. The attempt at precise alignment is complicated by overlaps in the semantic ranges for some of the terms. Hebrew כח as well as חיל and Greek δύναμις, can denote either physical prowess or wealth, and similar confusion is possible for הון/און. נפש is at times associated with

1QS I, 11-13 is an exegetical paraphrase of a key biblical verse that is identifiable despite the absence of a verbal echo.

An additional allusion to the Shema can be detected in the prayer in col. X, in lines 10, 13-14. The roots שכב and קום are common ones, and their appearance together is quite natural. It is the context of 1QS col. X that allows us to identify the dependence upon Deuteronomy, even in line 10, which does not use any words from the biblical source text.

3. We noted above that Mic 6:8 serves as a refrain in 1QS: "O mortal, what is good; and what does the Lᴏʀᴅ require of you but to do justice, to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?"[98] The allusive phrases that we noted above derive from the second half of the verse, itemizing the desirable behavior of a member of the Community. I would suggest, though, that the prominence of this verse in our composition is actually rooted in the portion that is not cited in the composition, "what does the Lᴏʀᴅ require of you but." This phrase echoes Deut 10:12-13: "And now Israel, what *does the LORD your God ask of you but* to fear the Lᴏʀᴅ your God, to walk in all of his paths, and to love him and to serve the Lᴏʀᴅ your God with all your heart and all your soul? To observe the commandments of God and his statutes which I command you today for your good."[99] This verse from Deuteronomy includes the elements that we have seen recurring in 1QS — walking in the paths of God and covenantal devotion with

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knowledge, like לב, or with emotions, but can also more generally indicate life force, which would suit the reference in 1QS to walking in paths of perfection, whether this is intended as an indication of moral or physical fortitude. See CD XIII, 11, "And everyone who joins his congregation, he should examine concerning his actions, his intelligence, his strength, his courage, and his wealth" (יפקדהו למעשיו, ושוכלו וכוחו וגבורתו והונו).

An exegetical tradition that may also be at play in the use of Deut 6:5 in 1QS is the interpretation of whole-heartedness as requiring commitment with both of one's "inclinations" (יצר), the good and the evil, especially in light of the significance of Deut 29:18 noted above, and the treatise of the Two Spirits, if the latter is taken in the sense of "psychological dualism." See John R. Levison, "The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls,* vol. 2: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community,* ed. James H. Charlesworth (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 169-94.

98. הִגִּיד לְךָ אָדָם מַה־טּוֹב וּמָה־יְהוָה דּוֹרֵשׁ מִמְּךָ כִּי אִם־עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט וְאַהֲבַת חֶסֶד וְהַצְנֵעַ לֶכֶת עִם־אֱלֹהֶיךָ.

99. Licht also sees 1QpHab VII, 10-12 "men of truth doers of Torah . . ." as echoing a "slogan" that he associates with the allusions to Micah; *The Rule Scroll,* Appendix 1, 293. If he is correct, then this would reflect an evolutionary process whereby the phrase "to do truth" originated in traditions associated with Mic 6:8. These traditions would have continued to leave a mark even upon texts that do not preserve explicit traces of the biblical source. Similarly, Licht describes 1QS I, 5 "to do truth, righteousness, and justice in the land" as "patterned on the biblical model" of Mic 6:8 (*The Rule Scroll,* 122), even though only the words "to do" and "justice" overlap.

all one's heart and soul. This is the response to the rhetorical question — what does God ask of the true devotee.

Micah repeats this rhetorical question, but with the term דרש, which is a significant term in Qumran texts; and the answer given in Micah is thus woven into the *Community Rule,* with sectarian embellishment.[100]

Conclusion

Our examination of the use of Scripture in 1QS highlights the following points:

1. 1QS features pervasive evidence not only of the use of Scripture itself, but also of the influence of exegetical traditions. There is particular overlap with interpretations preserved in CD, but there are also parallels to exegesis found in other compositions from Qumran and adaptations of traditions attested in other ancient Jewish and early Christian sources. The author of the *Community Rule* rereads his biblical source texts to accommodate his own message, but he does not wreak havoc on the original sense of the text in its biblical context. He recontextualizes the scriptural terms and concepts within his own sectarian system, reworking inherited conceptions and interpretations within his interpretive framework.

2. Deuteronomy is the most significant source for biblical allusions in the *Community Rule.* This is in keeping with the significance of this book throughout the Qumran corpus. Moreover, one area that was beyond the scope of this study is the influence of the Hebrew Bible on the *Serakhim* at the macrolevel; here too Deuteronomy is key. The very concept of a covenant ceremony and of a liturgy of curses and blessings involving priests and Levites derives from the final chapters of Deuteronomy.[101]

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100. Note also that the root *drš* is employed to denote the seeking of God, and specifically the attempt to determine proper desirable conduct (see n. 45 above). In 2 Chr 14:3, 6 seeking God is paired with observance of the Torah and commandments, and with reward: "to seek (לדרוש) the Lord, the God of their fathers, and to do (לעשות) the Torah and commandment . . . 'for we sought the Lord our God. We sought him and he gave us respite on all sides.' They were successful in their building."

Cf. also 2 Chr 31:21: "in the Torah and command, to seek God with all his heart." If God seeks appropriate obedience, those who would be obedient must seek proper knowledge of God's laws and then act accordingly, in order to merit reward.

101. See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers,* 219-26, on the covenant ceremony and esp. on the biblical basis and models for confession with blessings and curses. Cf. Friedrich Baumgärtel, "Zur Liturgie in der 'Sektenrolle' vom Toten Meer," *ZAW* 65 (1953): 263-65. Again, Deuteronomy 27-30 is the most prominent source, but additional textual and practical tradi-

3. Although identifying explicit lexical overlap is the easiest tool to use to detect dependence upon Scripture, it can sometimes be misleading, and should not be the only criterion for determining biblical influence. On the one hand, the occurrence of even a rare biblical term may simply reflect "free use" of biblical language without any connection to the context in which the term appears in the Hebrew Bible. On the other hand, we observed that the levitical curses that so clearly derive from Scripture feature only minimal distinctive lexical flagging to Num 6:24-27, and that there is no verbal overlap at all between the threefold expression of commitment derived from the Shema and that biblical source text. Again, macrolevel analysis strengthens this observation, as has most recently been shown by Aharon Shemesh.[102]

In light of this third point, there may be reason to reconsider the significance attributed to the presence or absence of explicit biblical allusion for the purpose of redaction criticism. Among Metso's arguments for dating 4QS earlier than 1QS is her observation that biblical citations appearing in 1QS are lacking in the parallel passages in manuscripts 4QS[b] and 4QS[d] from Cave 4.[103] Metso argues that the scriptural proof-texts of 1QS are later additions intended "to provide a theological justification of the regulations already in force in the community." Nitzan uses the same reasoning in dating 4Q280 prior to 1QS.[104]

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tions are relevant as well. Metso, *Textual Development,* 113, mentions Ps 106:6; 1 Kgs 8:47; Jer 3:25; Dan 9:5; Num 6:24-26; Neh 8:6, and the similar ritual in 1QM XIII, 1-6.

102. Aharon Shemesh, "The Scriptural Background of the Penal Code in the Rule of the Community and Damascus Document," *DSD* 15 (2008): 191-224. It is not that lexical clues are irrelevant in his analysis. Rather, Shemesh's work demonstrates that when a text employs a source (or sources) by means of paraphrase, then the reader must be sensitive to such additional factors as structural parallels and context in order to discern the intertextuality. This point also emerges in his "4Q265 and the Status of the Book of Jubilees in the Yahad Community," *Zion* 73 (2008): 5-20 [Hebrew]; Eng. in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah,* ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 247-60.

Similarly, though on a different scale, Metso observes concerning the presentation of the list of 26 cases in the penal code in 1QS VI, 24–VII, 25 that "the literary *Gattung* of the list is that of casuistic law which has its prototype in the Old Testament, especially in the Book of the Covenant (Exod 20:22-23:33)." She also points to the introductory formula ואלה המשפטים in Exod 21:1 and 1QS VI, 24 and notes that the use of אשר in 1QS to introduce each case differs from אם ...ואם in Exodus, but is similar to usage of the relative particle at Deut 15:2, and notes that the use of וכן to link regulations, is similar to Deut 15:17; 20:15; 22:3, 26; *Textual Development,* 125.

103. Thus, *inter alia, Textual Development,* 144; and "Biblical Quotations," 86-91. Similarly, see now Alec J. Lucas, "Scripture Citations as an Internal Redactional Control: 1QS 5:1-20a and Its 4Q Parallels," *DSD* 17 (2010): 30-52.

104. Nitzan in *Qumran Cave 4: XX, Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2,* ed. Esther Chazon

The claim is that later authors would insert biblical citations and more explicit allusions in order to bolster the authority of sectarian texts. This argument would make sense if a sectarian text developed independently of biblical tradition and was then later deemed to require a more authoritative imprimatur. The hypothesis would be less logical, however, if it can be shown that even those texts lacking explicit markers nonetheless derived from Scripture in the first place.[105] In many of the cases we have examined in this study, there is evidence in all versions of the *Community Rule* that biblical sources are being employed. It is not a question of whether the Bible is being used, but of how this use is packaged.[106] The claim that an "appeal to the Bible" reflects a bid for increased authority would have to be reformulated as an argument that more ex-

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et al. DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 2-3, notes the parallel between 4Q280 and 1QS col. 2 and the partial parallel to 4QBerakhot[a] (4Q286; *Qumran Cave 4: VI, Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1,* ed. Esther Chazon et al. DJD 11 [Oxford: Clarendon, 1998]; cf. 4QBer 1-2; 4Q285 8 [= 11Q14 1]), and discusses the relationship between the texts. Her rationale for suggesting that 4Q280 is the earliest version is that it is "the least developed of the three" with regard to liturgical, literary, and stylistic factors. Although it may not be necessary to view 4Q280 as posterior to 1QS, I disagree that it is "less developed" simply because it is shorter. 1QS seems to me to provide a necessary intermediate step between the biblical base text and the form of the expulsion curse found in 4Q280. Cf. the use of the biblical priestly blessing in 1QS b, where the use of biblical language is much more subtle than in 1QS itself and yet clearly a more highly developed "free use of the expanded pattern" of the biblical text; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 155-58.

105. Unfortunately, evaluation of this "chicken-and-egg" question tends to be subjective, and there is no definitive methodology for determining when proof-texts provide the biblical sources for a sectarian regulation and when they are offered as support for preexisting rules. E.g., Fishbane has argued that "rules or directives to the community are sometimes justified by nonlegal citations. These are clearly of a *post hoc* nature"; *Biblical Interpretation,* 349. It is possible, however, that a conception of the multivalence of Scripture would have enabled a Qumran sectarian to derive law from a biblical text, even by reading the text in a manner foreign to its original context. A related question is the relationship between sectarian rules and Torah law in the Qumran legal conception. Fraade maintains that the study of Bible and "mišpāt" were distinctive elements in a two-part curriculum at Qumran; "Interpretive Authority," 21-22. In contrast, Metso states that "the hypothesis that the Community would have made distinction between its own rules and the regulations of the Torah does not seem plausible"; "Biblical Quotations," 89. Regarding the citations of Exod 23:7 and Isa 2:22 in 1QS 5, Bernstein and Koyfman write: "On occasion, biblical verses are employed explicitly, with citation formulas, to justify regulations which we would probably describe as sectarian rules" (rather than Torah law); "The Interpretation of Biblical Law," 72 n. 28.

106. Of the three instances of explicit citation in 1QS, the references to Exod 23:7 and Isa 2:22 are absent in the parallel passages in 4QS[b] and 4QS[d]. The use of Isa 40:3 is found in both 4QS[b] and 4QS[d] (though only the second occurrence is preserved in the 4QS[b]; the parallel section to col. VIII is not extant). The explicit citation formula is lacking, but the pronominal identifier remains: "[in order to depart into the wilderness to prepare there the Way of truth. This is the study of the Tora]h." The allusion to Isa 28:16 פנת יקר also is found in the Cave 4 parallel.

plicit flagging reflects a bid for greater authority. Alternatively, the opposite hypothesis might be more plausible — that traces of a source text would be more likely to fade over time than to be artificially introduced.[107] If 1QS "connects the dots" that are discernible in 4QS[b] and 4QS[d], then it might be simpler to suppose that 1QS was the initial template from which the connecting lines were erased, rather than to propose that the scribe producing 1QS connected the dots. As we noted at the outset, questions of redaction have occupied a significant position in recent scholarship on the *Serakhim.* It is hoped that the foregoing analysis will be able to provide some contribution to that ongoing discussion, as well as to illuminate the phenomenon of the use of Scripture in the *Community Rule.*

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107. Thus, although the close paraphrase of Lev 19:17 found in 1QS V, 26–VI, 1 is lacking in the parallel passage in frag. 1 col. II of 4QS[d], the phrase להוכיח איש את רעהו does appear in line 4 of 4QS[d] frag. 1 col. II, parallel 1QS V, 25. Similarly, we have identified adaptations of Mic 6:8 in 1QS II, 24; V, 3-4, 24-25; IV, 5, and VIII, 2. In the parallel passage to 1QS V, 3-4, 4QS[d] frag. 1 I, 3 retains the allusion and the subsequent allusion to Deut 29:18, though it lacks the additions of the sectarian terms "truth" and יחד found in 1QS. In the parallel to 1QS V, 24-25, in frag. 1 II, 4, the words "truth" and "humility" are omitted in 4QS[d].

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