explaining the relationships between the different forms of the penal code can be accepted, it would support the 'Groningen hypothesis'.

In summary I do not think the Sadducean hypothesis can be maintained in the light of the new evidence, nor do I think that this evidence recommends the revised and augmented 'Essene' hypothesis that has been put forward by H. Stegemann. The question as to whether the teacher-group consisted of Essenes or a break-away group from the Essenes remains the key question for the explanation of the history of the Community. And I think the evidence now available clearly points to the fact that the teacher-group was not formed of Essenes that we know from our classical sources, but was rather a break-away group from this parent Essene movement, as it is understood in the Groningen Hypothesis.

In an article published in 1990 I summarized the understanding of the origins of the Qumran community in this way:[41]

> The study of this material [the writings of the pre-Qumran formation period] allows us to conclude that the fundamental disputes within the Essene movement during the formative period of the sect were centred on the question of the calendar and the subsequent organization of the festive cycle, and on a particular way of understanding the biblical prescriptions relating to the temple, the cult and the purity of persons and things. This particular halakhah is rooted in the Teacher of Righteousness's consciousness of having received by divine revelation the correct interpretation of the biblical text, an interpretation which is thus inspired and prescriptive, and the acceptance by some members of the community of this interpretation as a revelation. The rejection of this interpretation and of the particular halakhah deriving from it by the rest of the members of the Essene movement would end by making it impossible for them to stay together.

It is my conviction that the texts which have been recently made available confirm the understanding of the history of the Qumran community suggested by the 'Groningen Hypothesis' more than by any other of the four hypotheses considered here.

41. García Martínez and van der Woude, 'A "Groningen" Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History', p. 538.

THE USE OF OLD TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS IN THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY RULE[1]

Sarianna Metso

The existence of differences between the twelve copies of the *Community Rule* found in Qumran Caves 1, 4 and 5 is what one would anticipate. After all, the manuscripts 1QS, 4QS[a-j] and 5Q11 were transmitted over a period of more than one hundred years. Somewhat surprising, however, is the fact that some of these differences are related to the use of Old Testament citations. Quite naturally, the citations which appear in the manuscript 1QS were a subject of study long before the material from Cave 4 was available to the vast majority of scholars.[2] These studies, such as those of Fitzmyer in 1961 and Vermes in 1989, include not only 1QS but other Qumranic rule texts (CD, 1QM) as well, and they mainly deal with the technique, that is, the exegetical principles involved in the use of these quotations and the classification of different ways of using the citations in the texts.[3] The availability of the Cave 4 material has opened up a new perspective of particular interest to the

1. This paper is related to my doctoral dissertation which is shortly to be submitted to the University of Helsinki. The work deals with the redaction history of the *Community Rule* and is based on a literary-critical analysis of the complete material of this document found in Qumran Caves 1, 4 and 5.

2. Transcriptions of Cave 4 material of the *Community Rule* presented in this paper are by the author, but it may be noted that the Cave 4 fragments of the *Community Rule* have recently been published by E. Qimron, 'Cave IV Fragments (4Q255–264 = 4QS MSS A–J)', in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. I. *Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), pp. 53-102.

3. J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament', *NTS* 7 (1961), pp. 297-333; G. Vermes, 'Biblical Proof-Texts in Qumran Literature', *JSS* 34.2 (1989), pp. 493-508. See also, e.g., P. Wernberg-Møller, 'Some Reflections on the Biblical Material in the

present writer, namely, that of the role of these citations in the redactional process of the *Community Rule*.

In what follows, I shall focus on three manuscripts in particular: 1QS, 4QS[b] and 4QS[d]. The best-preserved copy of the *Community Rule*, 1QS, is Hasmonean and has been dated to 100–75 BCE. The manuscripts 4QS[b] and 4QS[d], on the other hand, are Herodian and can be dated to 30–1 BCE.[4] Both 4QS[b] and 4QS[d] give a form of the text shorter than that of 1QS. Moreover, the text of 4QS[b] is practically identical with that of 4QS[d]. The manuscripts even look alike: both of them are carefully written on well-prepared skins which have columns of about the same, rather small, size. There is only one clear difference between these two manuscripts from Cave 4: whereas 4QS[b] includes part of the text from all sections of the *Community Rule*, 4QS[d] does not—and did not even in its original form—contain any parallel to columns 1QS 1–4 (liturgical and theological sections). The text beginning with the parallel to 1QS 5.1 (regulations for community life) was most likely also the beginning of the whole manuscript of 4QS[d], since the right margin of column 1 in fragment 4QS[d] 1 is unusually wide and bears no marks of stitching.

The *Community Rule* alludes to the Old Testament almost constantly. Old Testament phrases and expressions have been worked into the very fabric of the text without being designated as citations. This kind of style, familiar from other Qumranic texts, and from the New Testament as well, involves implicit exegesis and is due to thorough acquaintance with and reverent meditation upon the Old Testament.[5] Isolated explicit Old Testament citations introduced by specific formulas are far less frequent in the *Community Rule*. In 1QS there are only three of them and, quite astonishingly, they are entirely lacking in 4QS[b,d].

Before moving on to consider concrete examples of citations in the *Community Rule*, it needs to be emphasized that when discussing the so-called rule-texts (1QS, CD, 1QM) we are dealing with writings very different from the exegetical texts belonging to the interpretative genre,

Manual of Discipline', *ST* 9 (1956), pp. 40-66; S.D. Fraade, 'Interpretative Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran', *JJS* 144.1, (1993), pp. 46-69.

4. The paleographical datings of 4QS[b,d] first became known to me through personal consultation with H. Stegemann and A. Steudel in Göttingen. These datings have been recently confirmed by F.M. Cross, 'Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts', in Charlesworth (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, I, p. 57.

5. Fitzmyer, 'The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations', pp. 298-99.

which includes such thematic midrashim as 4QMidrEschat (4Q174+177) and 11QMelchizedek, on the one hand, and the pesharim commentaries on complete biblical books, on the other hand. Whereas these writings display a clearly recognizable structure and take the citation as a starting-point for the interpretation, the structure in the rule-texts varies, and citations are used rather to support or illustrate an argument. Very often a citation acts as a kind of proof-text. Within the Qumran writings, the rule-texts (1QS, CD, 1QM), which combine citations into a prose narrative, come closest to the way the citations are used in the New Testament.

1. *Cases of Old Testament Citations in the* Community Rule

Two Old Testament citations are to be found in 1QS column 5, which begins a collection of rules for community life.[6] A passage commencing in line 7 speaks about the oath to be taken by those desiring to become members of the community. They were to bind themselves to the law of Moses (1QS 5.7b-10a) and to separate themselves from the men of injustice (1QS 5.10b-20a). In 1QS 5.7 the passage has a clear title: 'These are their rules of conduct, according to all these statutes, when they are admitted to the community' (ואלה תכון דרכיהם על כול החוקים האלה בהאספם ליחד) while 4QS[b,d] lacks such a title and begins with the words 'Everyone who joins the council of the community' (כול הבא לעצת היחד). A brief glimpse of the two versions of 1QS and 4QS reveals that the text of 1QS is more than twice as long as that of 4QS[b,d].

Quotation of Exodus 23.7

1QS 5.13b-16a:

13b אל יבוא במים לגעת בטהרת אנשי הקודש כיא לוא יטהרו[14] כי אם שבו
מרעתם כיא טמא בכול עוברי דברו ואשר לוא יוחד עמו בעבודתו ובהונו
פן ישיאנו[15] עון אשמה כיא ירחק מכנו בכול דבר כיא כן כתוב מכול
דבר שקר תרחק ואשר לוא ישוב איש מאנשי[16] היחד על פיהם לכול תורה
ומשפט

6. See the translation in the Excursus.

4QS^{b} frag. 5, 8b-10a:

[8b]ואשר לוא יגעו לטהרת אנשי[9] הקודש ואל יוכל אתו ביחד ואשר ל[א
ישיב איש מאנשי היחד על פיהם[10a] לכול תורה ומשפט

4QS^{d} frag. 1 1.7b-9a:

[7b]ואשר לא יגעו לטהרת אנשי [8] [הקוד]ש ואל יוכל אתו בי[גהד ואשר לא
ישיב א]יש מאנשי היחד על פיהם לכל[9a] [תורה] ומשפט

In 1QS 5.13b-15a there is a section that is entirely lacking in 4QS^{b,d}. If we follow the end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8 in 4QS^{d}, which is better preserved than 4QS^{b}, we shall see that the words 'They shall not touch the purity of the men of holiness' (ואשר לא יגעו לטהרת אנשי [הקודש]) here provide a loose parallel to 1QS 5.13: 'He shall not enter the waters in order to touch the purity of the men of holiness' (אל יבוא במים לגעת לטהרת אנשי הקודש). The sentences begin somewhat differently, but apart from the preposition the words לטהרת אנשי הקודש (4QS^{b,d}) and בטהותרה אנשי הקודש are identical. These words occur in 4QS^{b,d}, followed by the sentence, 'He shall not eat with him within the community' (ואל יוכל אתו ביחד), which has nothing corresponding to it in 1QS. To be quite accurate, a similar kind of sentence does occur a little later in 1QS 5.16, but it appears in 4QS^{b,d} also. Thus, the prohibition against eating with a man of injustice occurs twice in 4QS^{b,d}, which makes one wonder whether the first occurrence is the result of an error (יוכל—יוחד; however, the verb יוכל appears in both 4QS^{b} and 4QS^{d}). Instead of the sentence ואל יוכל אתו ביחד, 1QS has a long passage which includes a biblical citation: 'No-one shall join with him (i.e. with a man of injustice) with regard to his work or his wealth lest he burden him with iniquity and guilt. But he shall keep away from him in everything, for thus it is written, "You shall keep away from everything false".' The sentence following the citation in 1QS, 'No one of the men of the community shall answer...' (ואשר לוא ישוב איש מאנשי היחד), is also attested in 4QS^{b,d}.

In this passage the basic statement of the oath to separate oneself from outsiders is clarified and confirmed with biblical proof-texts—Lev. 22.16 and Exod. 23.7. The former is an allusion (cf. Lev. 22.(15-)16 ולא...והשיאו אותם עון אשמה), but the latter is a direct quotation. There is an introductory formula, כי כן כתוב, which is followed by the citation, מכול דבר שקר תרחק. Interestingly, the citation is in a form that corresponds with the Septuagint rather than with the Masoretic text. The indefinite pronoun כול is missing in the Masoretic

text (מדבר־שקר תרחק), but has an equivalent in the Septuagint (ἀπὸ παντὸς ῥήματος ἀδίκου). It is likely that the biblical manuscript used by the author contained this short word as a variant reading. Actually, Exod. 23.7 has to do with justice in lawsuits, but here—typically for Qumranic exegesis—it has been disconnected from its original context and applied to an entirely different matter. The catchwords here are רחק and דבר. The latter occurs not only immediately before the citation formula, but also earlier in line 14, in the third of the sentences starting with the conjunction כיא (note that there are five such sentences beginning with the conjunction כיא following one another).

Quotation of Isaiah 2.22

1QS 5.16b-19a:

[16b] ואשר לוא יוכל מהונם כול ולוא ישתה ולוא יקח מידם כול מאומה [17] אשר
לוא במחיר כאשר כתוב חדלו לכם מן האדם אשר נשמה באפו כיא במה נחשב
הואה כיא [18] כול אשר לוא נחשבו בבריתו להבדיל אותם ואת כול אשר להם
ולוא ישען איש הקודש על כול מעשי [19a] הבל כי הבל כול אשר לוא ידעו את
בריתו

4QS^{b} frag. 5, 10b-12a:

[10b] ואל יואכל [11] איש מא[נשי הקודש] ולא ישענו על כול [12a] מעשי
ההבל כי הבל כו[ל אשר לוא י]דעו את בריתו

4QS^{d} frag. 1, col 1. 9b-11a:

[9b] ואל יואכל איש מאנשי הקדש [10] [ ]ל[ ] ולא*ישנעו על [כל מע]שי
ההבל כי הבל כל אשר[לא ידעו [11a] את בריתו

(*Scribal error, corr. ישענו.)

The next direct quotation occurring in 1QS is in lines 16b-18, and again it is lacking in 4QS^{b,d}. In line 9 of 4QS^{d} the words ואל יואכל correspond to the words ואשר לוא יוכל in 1QS 5.16. In 4QS^{d} they are followed by the phrase איש מאנשי הקדש, which is lacking in 1QS. Then there is a gap of about three words in 4QS^{d}, followed by the words ולא ישנעו על ('They shall not rely on'; note the scribal error in the verb, corr. ישענו) which correspond to the words ולוא ישען איש הקודש על ('No man of holiness shall rely on') in line 18 of 1QS. No matter what the missing words in the gap were, it is clear that the whole of the passage 1QS 5.16b-18b, with the citation from Isa. 2.22, was not included

in the text of 4QS[b,d].[7] The missing passage, beginning with ואשר לוא יוכל, reads in full: 'No one shall eat or drink anything of their property, or take anything at all from their hand except for payment, as it is written, "Have no more to do with man in whose nostrils is breath, for what is he worth?" For all those who are not counted in his covenant, they and everything that belongs to them are to be kept separate.'

The passage continues the prohibition on contact with the men of injustice, apparently with a concern to preserve the ritual purity of the community. The formula preceding the citation is here different from the one in the previous passage. Instead of כיא כן כתוב, the text reads כאשר כתוב. The citation is in a form identical with the Masoretic text except for the form of the personal pronoun הואה. 1QIsa[a] uses the shorter form הוא, but chooses the longer form לכמה, which, however, in 1QS occurs as לכם. The quotation is followed by an interpretative comment. Note that in the context of the previous citation such an expository element is completely lacking. Obviously, the writer played with the verb נחשב, 'be accounted, be esteemed' and twisted its sense to bear the meaning 'being reckoned in the community' (cf. the occurrence of the same verb in 1QS 5.11). In the text of Isaiah, this verse counsels the people to cease trusting in the proud person, for in the day of God's judgment, human pride will be humbled. Isaiah's prophecy has been given a totally different point of reference.

Quotation of Isaiah 40.3

1QS 8.12b-16a:

12b ובהיות אלה ליחד בישראל 13 בתכונים האלה יבדלו מתוך מושב *הנשי העול
ללכת למדבר לפנות שם את דרך הואהא 14 כאשר כתוב במדבר פנו
דרך ---- ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו 15 היאה מדרש התורה [אשר] צוה
ביד מושה לעשות ככול הנגלה עת בעת 16a וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו

4QSd frag. 2, 1.6b-8a:

6b ובהיות אלה[ ]יבדלו מ[תוך מושב 7 אנשי העול ללכת למדבר
לפנות שם את דרך האמת (?) היאה מדרש התור[ה אשר צוה בי[ד מושה לע[שות
כל[הנגלה 8a עת בעת וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו

(*Scribal error, corr. אנשי.)

7. This verse is in 1QIsa[a] and in the MT, but that verse is a later addition, not yet in the Septuagint tradition.

The third of the biblical quotations occurring in the *Community Rule* is to be found in 1QS column 8, in a section which contains a threefold occurrence of the words בהיות אלה בישראל ('When these exist in Israel'). The passage has been highly debated among scholars. Some commentators suppose sectizn 1QS 8-9 to refer to the time of the founding of the community and consider that it represents a sort of 'Manifesto' or 'programme of the community'.[8] Professor Stegemann, on the other hand, argues that the whole of the section of columns 8 and 9 consists of secondary additions.[9] My view of the matter is largely based on the evidence of manuscript 4QS[e].[10] This manuscript lacks a long

8. E.g. E.F. Sutcliffe, 'The First Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community: A Note on 1QS 8:1 ff.', *JSS* 4 (1959), pp. 134-38; A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning* (The New Testament Library; London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), pp. 112, 115, 211; J. Murphy-O'Connor, 'La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté', *RB* 76 (1969), pp. 528-49 (529); J. Pouilly, *La Règle de la Communauté: Son evolution littéraire* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique, 17; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1976), p. 15; C. Dohmen, 'Zur Gründung der Gemeinde von Qumran (1QS VIII–IX)', *RevQ* 11 (1982), pp. 81-86; M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200, 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 129. For recent discussion on the passage, see G.J. Brooke, 'Isaiah 40,3 and the Wilderness Community', in G.J. Brooke and F. García Martínez (eds.), *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies* (STDJ, 15; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp. 117-32; U. Glessmer, *The Otot-Texts (4Q319) and the Problem of Intercalations in the Context of the 364-Day Calendar* (Qumran-Studien: Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum, 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), pp. 125-164.

9. H. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus: Ein Sachbuch* (Spektrum, 4249; Freiburg: Herder, 1994), pp. 158-59.

10. J.T. Milik ('Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumran', *RB* 63 [1956], pp. 60-62) dates the manuscript to the second half of the second century, but F.M. Cross states in his recent list of the dates of the 4QS manuscripts that 4QS[e] was written about 50–52 BCE. In his Haskell lectures (*The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies: The Haskell Lectures* [London: Gerald Duckworth, 1958], p. 58) Cross stated that 4QS[e] was written at the beginning of the first century BCE, but apparently he was not talking about the same manuscript. P.S. Alexander overlooked my comment '...it remains unclear whether he [Cross] is actually talking about the same manuscript, for he refers to 4QS[e] as being a papyrus', when he referred to my article 'The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS[e]', *JJS* 44 (1993), pp. 303-308, esp. p. 303 n. 1. Alexander writes: 'Metso, *JJS* 44 (1993), p. 303 n. 1 has been misled by a change of siglum into claiming also

passage providing a parallel to 1QS 8.15b–9.11, and indeed, there are good grounds to presume that the passage is a secondary insertion.[11] But there still remains a section corresponding to 1QS 8.1-10. In the light of 4QS^{e} it seems that the section parallel to 1QS 8.1-10 formed an introductory passage for the following sections with regulations addressed to the wise leader. Although these regulations for the wise leader may be of early origin, I no longer think it appropriate to speak of a manifesto, but simply of an introduction that is comparable to two other introductions in 1QS, namely to those at the beginning of columns 1 and 5.

Whatever the correct interpretation of the section, it is clear that it once again discusses the theme of separation from the men of injustice. There is no preserved parallel to this text in 4QS^{b}, and a fragment in 4QS^{d} has preserved only a part from the left edge of a column, which, nevertheless, allows a comparison with the text in 1QS. This column of 4QS^{d}, to which the fragment belongs, had 15-18 words per line. Leaving out the orthographical differences, the text seems in lines 1-5 to follow 1QS rather closely (the superlinear words in 1QS 8.9-11 were apparently in the text of 4QS^{d}). In the middle of line 6, however, from the sentence beginning with the words בהיות אלה בישראל ('When these exist in Israel') onwards, the text begins to differ. The words ליחד ('as a community') and בתכונים האלה ('in accordance with these rules') written above the line in 1QS 8.12 and 13 are lacking in line 6, and the gap at the beginning of line 7 has room for only about ten words, while in 1QS there are twenty. Obviously, some of the text of 1QS 8.13-15 was not included in 4QS^{d}, and filling up the gap with the rest of the sentence, which begins with the words בהיות אלה בישראל, reveals that the missing part was the citation from Isa. 40.3.

The text of 4QS^{d} thus reads as follows: 'When these exist [in Israel], they shall separate themselves fr[om the settlement] of the men of [injustice and shall go into the wilderness to prepare there the way of him. This is the study of the la]w which he commanded through [Moses, that they should d]o all [that has been revealed] from ti[me to time and in accordance with what the prophets revealed by his holy spirit].' An alternative reading for 'the way of him' is attested in 4QS^{e}, which has

Cross in support of a very early date for 4QS^{e}'. P.S. Alexander, 'The Redaction History of Serekh-HaYahad: A Proposal', *RQ* 17 (1996), pp. 437-55 (445 n. 17).

11. I have discussed this question in 'The Primary Results', pp. 303-308.

'the way of truth' (דרך האמת) instead of the syntactically difficult personal pronoun הואה. It is interesting that both writers avoided the use of the name 'Yahweh' in this way. The more extensive version of 1QS has the phrases 'as a community' and 'in accordance with these rules' added above lines 12 and 13, to be read after the words 'When these exist in Israel', and the citation of Isa. 40.3 follows the words 'to prepare there the way of him'. The text of 1QS reads: 'When these exist as a community in Israel in accordance with these rules, they shall separate themselves from the settlement of the men of injustice and shall go into the wilderness to prepare there the way of him, as it is written: "In the wilderness prepare the way of···· make level in the desert a highway for our God". This (way) is the study of the law w[hich] he commanded through Moses, that they should act in accordance with all that has been revealed from time to time and in accordance with what the prophets revealed by his holy spirit.'

The introductory formula appears in the form of כאשר כתוב as earlier in 1QS 5.17. The citation במדבר פנו דרך···· ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו omits the words קול קורא, which appear at the beginning of the verse in the Masoretic text, and instead of the tetragrammaton, the scribe of 1QS has marked four dots. The use of four dots instead of the tetragrammaton is also attested elsewhere in the scrolls (e.g. in 4QTest and 4QTanh). In some cases the name of God, out of reverence, is written in paleo-Hebrew script instead of in the square characters. The manuscript 4QS^{d}, in fact, provides two examples of the latter in the parallels to 1QS 9.25 and 9.9 (4QS^{d} 2 3.9 and 2 4.8). The manuscript 1QIsa^{a} has a small variant from the Masoretic text: instead of ישרו, 1QIsa^{a} reads וישרו. 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 Qumranic 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. The same verse from Isaiah is also used in the New Testament with reference to John the Baptist by all four evangelists (Mt. 3.3; Mk 1.3; Lk. 3.4-6; Jn 1.23). There the purpose of the verse is to explain John's presence in the desert. The way in which the evangelists have detached the verse from its original context and accommodated it into a new environment is very similar to the one we find in the *Community Rule*.

2. *The Question as to the More Original Version*

In order to solve the question of which of the two versions is more original—the longer one with the quotations represented by 1QS or the shorter one of 4QS[b,d]—the possible motivation for lengthening or shortening the text needs, in particular, to be discovered. A broader comparison between the text of 1QS with its parallels in 4QS[b,d] reveals that not only are the citations absent in 4QS[b,d], but also other passages, individual words and phrases are missing. In some places, writers have chosen different wordings. The title at the beginning of 1QS 5, for example, is different from the one in 4QS[b,d]; while 4QS[b,d] uses the technical term הרבים, 1QS renders a long phrase involving the sons of Zadok, that is, the priests, and the men of the community; in some places, 4QS[b,d] appears to lack words like 'the community' (היחד) and 'the eternal covenant' (ברית עולם). The words and phrases that are present in 1QS but missing in the version of 4QS[b,d] have the nature of either strengthening the self-understanding of the community or of providing a scriptural justification for the community's regulations. In my opinion, inserting theologically significant words into the text is natural, whereas omitting them is very difficult to explain. Omission of part of the text usually comes into question only when the text is out of date, for example, or when it contains elements which are considered somehow questionable. Compared to 4QS[b,d], the text of 1QS gains more authority when the community's own regulations attain a biblical legitimization.

One may still ask, however, whether the citations could not have been omitted because they were considered self-evident. It has to be borne in mind that in two cases out of three the writer has assumed that when a biblical passage is directly quoted, it does not entirely convey the *sensus plenior*, the hidden inner meaning of Scripture. It needs to be interpreted and applied specifically to the teaching of the community.[12]

12. This is clearly the case in 1QS 5.16b-19a, where the expository element 'For all those who are not counted in his covenant, they and everything that belongs to them are to be kept separate' has been brought into the text by the redactor. In 1QS 8.12b-16a, the reminiscence of Isa. 40.3 was obvious even before inserting the direct quotation, and the expository element 'This (way) is the study of the law w[hich] he commanded through Moses, that they should act in accordance with all that has been revealed from time to time and in accordance with what the prophets revealed by his holy spirit' was already part of the original text. See below, the end of the next passage in this article.

Even with an interpretative explanation, the connection between a regulation and the citation supporting it appears, at least to the modern reader, very arbitrary. And even though someone may have wished to abbreviate the text by omitting the citations, it remains to be explained why terms like 'the community' (היחד) and 'the eternal covenant' (ברית עולם), which are important for the self-understanding of the community, were excluded.

A further argument supporting the view that the shorter version is the more original[13] can be adduced by the observation that in the version of 4QS[b,d] the text runs smoothly without any breaks in the line of thought, whereas in 1QS the natural flow of the text is interrupted. In the middle of line 13 of 1QS 5, the third person plural, referring to the men of injustice, changes to the singular, although the theme of separation remains the same. After the quotation of Exod. 23.7 in line 15b, plural forms are again used of the wicked. It is difficult to see the written passage (1QS 5.13b-15a) as referring to a person joining the community. The passage seems rather to refer to one of the men of injustice, or to a person whose conversion is insincere. Some commentators suspected that this passage was an interpolation even before the material from Cave 4 was available.[14] The thought which is interrupted at the end of line 13 continues at the end of line 15. The syntax of the passage 1QS 5.13b-15a is also very peculiar, for the particle כיא appears there five times. Moreover, the idea of interpolation is further supported by the fact that an interval has been left in the middle of line 13, and there is a paragraphus in the margin. A glance at the version of 4QS[b,d] reveals that the problem with the number (sg.–pl.) does not come up at all in 4QS[b,d], for the passage 1QS 5.13b-15a is missing, as well as the preceding passage in the plural form in 5.11b-13a. The second passage, containing a citation which is lacking in 4QS[b,d], seems to be better adjusted to its context, but it may be noted that line 18 actually only repeats what is said previously in lines 10b-11a. The third citation in

13. G. Vermes earlier stated in his remarks on the 4QS[b,d] parallels of 1QS 5: 'At a preliminary guess, it can already be surmised that 1QS is more likely to be an expanded edition of the Cave 4 texts than 4QS an abridgement of 1QS', 'Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4', *JJS* 42.2 (1991), pp. 250-55.

14. Murphy-O'Connor, 'La genèse littéraire', p. 546; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, p. 110.

1QS 8 seems to fit the context quite well, too, but the sentence preceding the citation formula has so many words in common with the citation of Isa. 40.3 that one may speak of an implicit citation. It was later inserted as an explicit citation into the text.

3. *Conclusions*

The text of 1QS seems to have gone through a redaction, the purpose of which was to provide scriptural legitimization for the regulations of the community, as well as to strengthen the community's self-understanding. Perhaps—this is my tentative suggestion—at the time that the proof-texts were added, enthusiasm within the community had begun to show signs of waning and the need for separation was being questioned. Therefore, the strict rules had to be justified by allusions to the Scriptures.

A parallel phenomenon to the one we find in relation to 1QS and 4QS^{b,d} can be found in the New Testament. In order to point out the emphases Matthew wished to convey to his readers, he expanded the text of Mark with Old Testament quotations (*Reflexionszitate*, see, e.g., Mk 1.21/Mt. 4.13-16; Mk 3.7-11/Mt. 12.15-21; Mk 11.7/Mt. 21.4-5). Here, too, we find that the later version contains scriptural quotations, while the earlier one lacks them.

Both 4QS^{b} and 4QS^{d}, which can be dated to the last third of the last century BCE, are paleographically several decades later than 1QS, which was written 100–75 BCE. Since the 4QS manuscripts, nevertheless, represent a more original text, it is clear that 1QS and 4QS^{b,d} cannot be directly dependent on each other or even belong to the same textual family. There must have been a split in the textual tradition at a very early stage, about 100 BCE, or even earlier.

Why the community continued copying the shorter text, even though a more extensive version represented by 1QS was available, remains an open question. Of course, the text of Mark was also further transmitted during the time when the text of Matthew already existed. But the *Community Rule* as a legislative document represents a very different type of text from the Synoptic Gospels. It seems that there were several legitimate versions of the *Community Rule* co-existing,[15] and that the

15. E.P. Sanders already paid attention to the problem of contradicting regulations in the *Community Rule* while discussing the two different penal codes in 1QS 8.16b-20 and 8.20–9.2: 'Theological disparities can be accommodated, but the halakhah on a given point cannot be two different things at once' (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* [London: SCM Press, 1977], p. 325). On the question, see also P.R. Davies, 'Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls', in F. Garciá Martínez, A. Hilhorst and C.J. Labuschagne (eds.), *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A.S.Van Der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (VTSup, 44; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp. 152-63.

relation between a written document (the *Community Rule*) and actual life in an Essene community has so far been seen too directly and in too uncomplicated a manner.

Excursus: Translation of the Sections of the Community Rule Containing Biblical Citations[16]

1QS 5.1-20:

(1) *This is the rule for the men of the community*[17] who willingly offer themselves to turn back from all evil and to hold fast to all that he has commanded *as his will.*[18]

They shall separate themselves from the congregation (2) of the men of injustice and shall form a community in respect of the law and of wealth. They shall be answerable *to the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant, and to the multitude of the men* (3) *of the community who hold fast to the covenant; on their word the decision shall be taken*[19] on any matter having to do with the law, with wealth, *or with justice.*[20] *Together*[21] they shall practise *truth and*[22] humility, (4) righteousness and justice, kindly love and circumspection in all their ways. Let no man walk in the stubbornness of his heart so as to go astray *after his heart* (5) *and his eyes and the thought of his inclination! Rather they shall circumcise in the community the foreskin of their inclination and of their stiff neck*[23] that they may lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the community *of the eternal covenant.* (6) *They shall make expiation*[24] for all those who willingly offer themselves to holiness in Aaron and to the house of truth in Israel, and for those who join them in community. *In lawsuits and judgments* (7) *they shall declare guilty all those who transgress the statutes.*

16. Except for the italics and the footnotes, the translation follows that of Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, pp. 104-35.

17. 4QS^{b,d}: 'This is the teaching for the wise leader concerning the men of the Torah'.

18. Lacking in 4QS^{b,d}.

19. 4QS^{b,d}: 'to the authority of the Many'.

20. Lacking in 4QS^{b,d}.

21. Lacking in 4QS^{b,d}.

22. Lacking in 4QS^{b,d}.

23. Lacking in 4QS^{b,d}.

24. Lacking in 4QS^{b,d}.