

MARCUS K. M. TSO

Ethics in the Qumran Community

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

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Mohr Siebeck

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Ethics in the Qumran Community

An Interdisciplinary Investigation

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This book is a reworked version of my PhD thesis, which I submitted in 2008 to the University of Manchester in the Faculty of Humanities. An extended project like this naturally incurs many debts. My thanks first go to my thesis advisor, Prof. George Brooke, for his patient guidance, continual encouragement, and inspiring generosity, both in the thesis stage and the publication stage of this project, and to my thesis examiners, Dr. Todd Klutz of the University of Manchester and Dr. Simon Gathercole of the University of Cambridge, for their valuable comments on my thesis.

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Turning my thoughts towards home, I want to thank the members of my home Bible study group at Willingdon Church, Burnaby, for their care and

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My work has been enriched deeply by these and other people and institutions, but all its flaws of course remain my responsibility alone.

This monograph, like the thesis on which it is based, is dedicated to Prof. Bruce Waltke, who taught me Hebrew and the Hebrew Bible, and the memory of Prof. Stanley Grenz, who taught me theology and ethics, and above all, my ever-loving and supportive wife, Daphne, without whom this project would never have started, much less finished.

ברוך יהוה

Burnaby, September 28, 2010

Marcus K. M. Tso

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List of Abbreviations

See *SBLHS* Chapter 8 for other abbreviations not listed below.

<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972–
ANYAS	Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATDan	Acta theologica danica
BAJS	Biblical and Judaic Studies
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BHis	Bibliothèque historique
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BIRS	Bibliographies and Indexes in Religious Studies
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BRLJ	Brill Reference Library of Judaism
BSem	The Biblical Seminar
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CBW	Cities of the Biblical World
<i>CDSSE</i>	<i>The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English</i> . G. Vermes. London, 1997
<i>CHJ</i>	<i>Cambridge History of Judaism</i> . Edited by W. Horbury, W. D. Davies, and Louis Finkelstein. Cambridge, 1984–
CJA	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity
COL	Christian Origins Library
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
<i>Cons</i>	<i>Consensus</i>
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSJH	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
CSRel	Contributions to the Study of Religion
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DJDJ	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan
DJDJ V	<i>Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)</i> . Edited by J. Allegro. Oxford, 1968
DJD XI	<i>Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts</i> . Edited by E. Eshel, et al. Oxford, 1998

DJD XX	<i>Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1.</i> Edited by T. Elgvin. Oxford, 1997
DJD XXII	<i>Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3.</i> Edited by G. Brooke et al. Oxford, 1996
DJD XXXVI	<i>Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts; and Miscellanea, Part 1.</i> Edited by S. Pfann et al. Oxford, 2000
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSSR	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader.</i> Edited by D. Parry, and E. Tov. 6 vols. Leiden, 2004–2005
DSSSE	<i>Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition.</i> Edited by F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar. New York, 1997–1998
EDSS	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls.</i> Edited by L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam. New York, 2000
EJ	<i>The Encyclopedia of Judaism.</i> Edited by J. Neusner et al. 3 vols. New York, 1999
EJSP	<i>European Journal of Social Psychology</i>
EMSP	European Monographs in Social Psychology
EpRev	<i>Epworth Review</i>
ErIsr	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
ESSP	European Studies in Social Psychology
Ethics	<i>Ethics</i>
EvQ	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
FO	Folia orientalia
FP	Fields of Philosophy
GBS/NTS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship/New Testament Series
GDNES	Gorgias Dissertations Near East Series
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HD	<i>Human Development</i>
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBV	<i>Journal of Beliefs and Values</i>
JBQ	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JRE	<i>Journal of Religious Ethics</i>
JSCE	<i>Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics</i>
JSem	<i>Journal of Semitics</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series

<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JWSTP</i>	<i>Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus.</i> Edited by M. E. Stone. CRINT 2.2. Assen/Philadelphia, 1984
LBS	The Library of Biblical Studies
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LJLE	The Library of Jewish Law and Ethics
LJPSTT	Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
MSer	Moreshet Series
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTL	New Testament Library
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>Numen</i>	<i>Numen: International Review for the History of Religions</i>
OCTb	Oxford Centre Textbooks
<i>PAAJR</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research</i>
Phae	Phaenomenologica
PHFPS	Prentice-Hall Foundations of Philosophy Series
<i>PRSt</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
<i>QSM</i>	<i>Qumran Sectarian Manuscripts: Qumran Text and Grammatical Tags.</i> Version 2.9. Edited by Martin G. Abegg, Jr., 1999–2007
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RelSRev</i>	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
<i>RevScRel</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RI	Recherches intertestamentaires
<i>RRJ</i>	<i>Review of Rabbinic Judaism</i>
<i>RTR</i>	<i>Reformed Theological Review</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
<i>SBLHS</i>	<i>The SBL Handbook of Style.</i> Edited by P. Alexander et al. Peabody, Mass., 1999
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
SCT	Studies in Continental Thought
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
<i>Sef</i>	<i>Sefarad</i>
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SJC	Studien zu Judentum und Christentum
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>Sound</i>	<i>Soundings</i>
SSEJC	Studies in Early Judaism and Christianity
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

StPB	Studia post-biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TeG	Traditio exegetica Graeca
TTFC	Theology for the Twenty-First Century
TTS	Texts and Translations Series
<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
UTPSS	University of Texas Press Slavic Series
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WAC	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation</i> . Edited by Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook. San Francisco, 1996
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Part I

Introduction

Chapter 1

General Introduction

A. Why Is Ethics in the Qumran Community Worth Investigating?

In antiquity as today, Jews and Christians were concerned with how they ought to live in the presence of God. Such a concern about the rightness or wrongness of one's conduct in all aspects of life and of one's inner character or motivations falls within the wider discussion of ethics. Although a fuller statement on what "ethics" and related words mean in this book will await Chapter Three, a preliminary working definition is apropos here. This book uses the word "ethics" in its broad sense, without a sharp distinction from, nor exact equivalence with, its synonym "morality." "Ethics" can refer here to a moral code, the reflection on and study of morality, or to morality itself.¹ Furthermore, ethics is concerned with that which is normative, how good and evil are distinguished vis-à-vis personal choices – a distinction essential to all biblical religions. Thus, both Christians and Jews since antiquity have their own varied ethical systems, even when they do not explicitly describe them as such. Indeed, contemporary Jews and Christians have written about ethics in their own cultural contexts, drawing upon the resources of their sacred texts and religious traditions, while responding to the philosophical tradition of ethical discourse in the West.² But did Palestinian Jews in the Second Temple period articulate ethics as a part of their socio-religious worldviews? If so, how and on what bases?

Investigating ethics in the Qumran community as a special case of religious ethics among Jewish groups in Second Temple Palestine is one way to begin answering these questions. As Chapter Two will show, however, this

¹ For the typical definition of ethics as "moral philosophy," or "a consideration of the various kinds of questions that arise in thinking about how one ought to live one's life," see, Jack Glickman, ed., *Moral Philosophy: An Introduction* (New York: St. Martin's, 1976), 1. However, defining ethics with reference to morality can be problematic as the definition for the latter is no less difficult. Nevertheless, this preliminary definition at least dispenses away with the overly strict definition of ethics as something that is other than morality and outside of religion.

² For examples of contemporary Jewish ethics, see Chapter Three. For examples of contemporary Christian ethics, from the social activism of Rauschenbusch to the communitarianism of Hauerwas, see Stanley J. Grenz, *The Moral Quest: Foundations of Christian Ethics* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1997), 165–203.

subject has largely been ignored. Indeed, it has been the trend in Qumran studies since the 1980s to eschew categories and concepts that are not explicitly found in the Scrolls and to shun inappropriate systematization. Despite the risk of distortion that comes from using the category of ethics to read the evidence of the Scrolls, if carefully done, such a reading will prove illuminating in many ways. For example, investigation of “Qumran ethics” promises a better understanding of who the Qumranites were and their beliefs and practices. Thus, it is intrinsically valuable for Qumran studies itself. Moreover, it can elucidate the development of later Jewish and Christian ethics and even provide comparative cases for a better understanding of how ethics develops in contemporary religious communities that trace their roots ultimately to Second Temple Judaism.

B. What Aspects of Ethics in the Qumran Community?

Inasmuch as the Qumranites’ writings exhibit a set of ethical *norms*, based on certain communally held *values* or *principles*, which reflect certain *world-views* specific to the community and are shaped by various *factors*, all of these expressed in whatever degree of coherence and consistency, they display an *ethical system* in a minimal sense, though not one that is either static or monolithic. While each of these aspects is important and will be touched upon from time to time, this book will focus on the more fundamental question: what are the factors that contributed to the ethics-shaping worldviews and principles at Qumran, and how did these factors work? It will pursue this two-fold question by examining four prime candidates for such contributing factors, to be introduced in the next section on methodology.

Beyond this fundamental focus question, this book will also seek to clarify a number of other issues concerning Qumran ethics. These include identifying the terminology, concepts, and categories in the Qumran literature that belong to a contemporary discussion of the ethics of an ancient group. This involves some work of translation and mapping between what anthropologists call the *emic* and the *etic* perspectives. The term “emic” is derived from the linguistic category “phonemic” and denotes “the viewpoint, categories of thought, and explanations of the group being studied,” and the term “etic” is derived from the linguistic category “phonetic” and denotes “the perspective and classifying systems of the external investigator.”³

Related to this question of emic terminology for ethics is the question of the relationships between ethics and Jewish religious law, or halakhah. Although halakhah is not an explicit emic category at Qumran, but is borrowed

³ John H. Elliott, *What Is Social-Scientific Criticism?* (GBS/NTS; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 37–40, 129.

from rabbinic studies, it has proven useful as an investigative category when applied to legal issues in the Scrolls.⁴ Specifically, this book will inquire whether there was ethics apart from halakhah, and vice versa, at Qumran. Can one be subsumed under the other? Are they coterminous? If not, where do they differ?

Similarly, the relationship between ethical norms and ritual norms needs to be clarified. As noted in earlier studies, purity is a major concern at Qumran. Did the sectarians distinguish between moral purity and ritual purity? Previous research on this question needs to be re-examined in the context of this broader study.

Other questions to be addressed include the following. Did the Qumranites have a natural law ethics, versions of which are found in the writings of the Stoics, Philo, and later Jewish and Christian ethicists? If so, how did they understand natural law? Where did they stand with respect to determinism and freewill? What kind of changes can be detected in their ethics during the time they occupied Qumran?

C. How Will This Book Investigate Ethics in the Qumran Community?

This book will use an eclectic and interdisciplinary methodology to answer the diverse questions outlined above. This methodology can be adumbrated by a delineation of the scope and an overview of the chapters of this book.

I. Scope

By focusing on the sectarian community that most scholars believe resided at Khirbet Qumran, as Chapter Four will elaborate, this book will work with a plausible historical reconstruction that locates this community at Qumran from around 100 B.C.E. to 68 C.E. This sociological, geographical, and chronological specification will help avoid conflating different communities and confusing the distinctions between their ethics.⁵

As a result of this focus on the Qumran community, as opposed to their sectarian predecessors or affiliated groups located elsewhere, this book will prioritize as evidence texts that are more assuredly Qumranic, without excluding non-Qumranic texts that are clearly influential at Qumran. Since there is often no simple answer to which texts are Qumranic or sectarian, the group of

⁴ See Chapter Two and Three for details.

⁵ See the cogent argument for not using the term “Qumran Community” to refer to the movement as a whole in John J. Collins, “Beyond the Qumran Community: Social Organization in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 16 (2009): 351–69.

texts used in this book is a centred set and not a strictly bounded set. Furthermore, a diversity of genres will be chosen as a control over the evidence, lest too much attention to a particular genre distort the picture. However, space limitation precludes the examination of all genres in every chapter.

Finally, as mentioned above, this book will focus primarily on the question of how ethics was shaped at Qumran rather than on the particular ethical views of the Qumranites. The book will argue that four sets of factors contributed to the shaping of Qumran ethics in a complex and interrelated way. These factors are scriptural tradition(s), identity formation, cultural/political contexts, and eschatology. While these four factors are not meant to be exhaustive, they are proffered as representative of other factors that may also have contributed to the processes of formulating ethics at Qumran.

Nevertheless, these contributing factors are not randomly selected, but commend themselves, not only for the study of Qumran ethics, but, with proper adjustments, also for the ethics of other comparable religious communities. First, the importance of tradition, whether written or oral, in the construction of ethics in religious communities is evident. For the Qumranites, appealing to their authoritative texts was one of the main strategies for explaining or justifying their ethics. Second, the communal character of the Qumran sect invites a sociological approach to gauge the link between the social constructions of its identity and ethics. Third, since all ethical systems are to some extent products of their time and reflect their cultural and political contexts, an examination of the contextual factors in Qumran ethics is necessary despite the sect's isolationist reputation. Finally, ethics in religious communities often reflects at least some aspects of their theologies.⁶ Qumran scholarship has long recognized eschatology as a key aspect of the expressed beliefs of the Qumranites. Therefore, it is reasonable to attend to the effects eschatology in particular had on Qumran ethics.

II. Overview

After this introductory chapter, Chapter Two will begin setting up the stage for this study by reviewing the state of scholarship. This review will not only note the partial treatments this subject has received, but also observe the major trends in Qumran scholarship that are relevant to this investigation, providing tools for this book to fill the gaps in the scholarly discussion.

Chapter Three will explore the language and discourses in the Qumran texts first, then in the roughly contemporary writings of Philo of Alexandria as a representative of Hellenistic Jewish ethics, then in rabbinic literature, finally in the debates of modern ethicists, particularly Jewish ethicists. This wide-ranging exploration will seek to identify what constitute ethical dis-

⁶ Cf. the statement that Christian ethics is "theology in action" in Grenz, *Moral Quest*, 19.

courses in the Qumran texts in a way that is faithful to the texts and their Jewish roots, while still commensurate with modern philosophical ethics. Furthermore, it will expose a number of issues about Qumran ethics that will be addressed in later chapters.

Chapter Four will complete the stage setting by giving an account of the history of the Qumran community that will serve as the historical framework for this book. Although the details of this history are not conclusive, this historical realism justifiably emphasizes the reality of the community, one that is collaborated in part by archaeology and classical sources. Moreover, it highlights that the Qumran texts are historical products developed over time. This chapter will therefore aid the discussion in the later chapters by providing a way of locating texts within their historical contexts.

Chapters Five through Eight will contain the main exploration of the four contributing factors of Qumran ethics. Chapter Five will tackle scriptural tradition(s) and explore how the Qumranites understood and appropriated the various genres of their authoritative texts, especially laws and narratives, to determine the demands of God. The most influential and authoritative biblical books will be selected for separate analysis to show how texts from each book variously influenced Qumran ethics. Chapter Six will turn to identity formation, drawing most heavily on the social sciences, and will highlight that ethics was socially constructed at Qumran. Chapter Seven will examine the political and cultural contexts of the Qumranites and demonstrate that the formulation of their ethics was not done in a vacuum, but was sensitive and responsive to their political and cultural environments. Chapter Eight will consider eschatology as a salient aspect of the Qumranites' theology and will show that Qumran ethics was also theological.

Chapter Nine will tie the discussion together by demonstrating how these four tributaries of Qumran ethics flow together and mingle with each other in their effects on Qumran ethics. This will be done by taking example texts from four different genres. In the process, some dominant underlying principles will be identified.

The book will conclude with a review of its objectives, methodology, and major findings, and will present a synthesis of principles uncovered throughout the book and especially in Chapter Nine.

Part II

Setting the Scene

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The research on ethics in the Qumran community has never been sustained, focused, or comprehensive. Tracing the historical development of this research will confirm that although various scholars have made their contributions to this subject, their collective effort has yet to produce an adequate account of ethics in the Qumran community. A review of the literature on this subject can be divided into three periods: before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, from their initial discovery to 1990, and from 1990 to the present.¹

A. “Qumran Ethics” before the Discoveries at Qumran (before 1947)

Prior to the discovery of the Scrolls, much learned work had already been done to set the stage for how Scrolls researchers would study and discuss ethics in the Qumran community. These “pre-Qumran” studies included works on the ethics of the Essenes, the ethics of the apocryphal and pseud-epigraphic literature, and the ethics of the *Damascus Document*.

I. The Ethics of the Essenes

Almost immediately after the initial discovery of the Scrolls, scholars began to identify the group responsible for them as the Essenes,² partly on the basis of the correspondence between how the classical witnesses described the

¹ This trichotomous approach to reviewing the literature is not original in recent Qumran research. See, e.g., Catherine M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (STDJ 40; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 3–21; see a more elaborate version of this approach in George J. Brooke, “The Scrolls and the Study of the New Testament,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings* (ed. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller; SBLEJL 15; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1999), 61–76.

² E.g., Eleazar L. Sukenik, *מגילות גנוזות I* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1948), 16, later concurred by Józef T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le Désert de Juda* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1957) and André Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte* (BHis; Paris: Payot, 1959).

Essenes, sometimes in ethical terms, and how the Scrolls described the practices and perspectives of their authors. Therefore, what scholars had said about the ethics of the Essenes became relevant for the study of Qumran ethics after the discovery of the Scrolls.

The eminent nineteenth-century Hebraic scholar C. D. Ginsburg, for example, aimed to present an impartial account of the Essenes by reading past the biases of the classical witnesses and consulting the rabbinic sources.³ Nevertheless, Ginsburg's study illustrates clearly the way many pre-Qumran scholars had an idealized and romanticized view of the Essenes as a supremely ethical group of people, a view that can be traced directly to the classical witnesses upon whom they necessarily depended.⁴ Despite Ginsburg's claim of impartiality, his portrayal of the ethical characteristics of the Essenes is largely an uncritical reflection of his ancient sources, along with some contrived harmonization with Christianity.⁵ This is a typical example of how commentators grasped the ethics of the Essenes up to the middle of the nineteenth century.⁶ They tended to see in the Essenes ethical values that post-Enlightenment Christendom and Haskalah Jewry considered praiseworthy.

Indeed, Ginsburg's survey of scholarship provides what amounts to an annotated bibliography of very early Essene scholarship, citing works that are not otherwise readily accessible today.⁷ Thus, his work provides a valuable glimpse into how the Western scholarly community in the mid-nineteenth century thought about the Essenes and highlights a few issues applicable to this study, such as the need to read the ancient sources with care, to avoid linking the Qumran community to other groups too closely, and to exclude value-laden biases in the analysis of its ethics.

³ This essay was first published in 1864 and republished with another one of his works almost a century later in, Christian David Ginsburg, *The Essenes: Their History and Doctrines; The Kabbalah: Its Doctrines, Development and Literature* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955). Ginsburg was born a Jew and converted to Christianity in his teens. He is perhaps best known for the many articles he contributed to various encyclopaedias, including the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

⁴ E.g., as Ginsburg quotes Philo, "They leave the logical . . . and the natural part [of philosophy to others] . . . but the ethical part they thoroughly work out for themselves, using as their guides the laws which their fathers inherited." Ginsburg, *Essenes*, 33–34.

⁵ E.g., Ginsburg, *Essenes*, 9–10, describes the Essenes using Christian terms such as "baptism" and "sacrament." On page 11 he stretches the implications of the classical witnesses and links Josephus' report – that the Essenes adopted others' children – with Jesus' charge to let children come to him.

⁶ E.g., Hall's 1847 article in *The Biblical Repository and Classical Review*, cited in Ginsburg, *Essenes*, 74–75.

⁷ E.g., De Rossi's sixteenth-century work in *Meor Enajim* and Frankel's 1853 article in *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*.

II. The Ethics of the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Literature

The early studies of the ethics contained in the Jewish apocryphal and pseud-epigraphic literature, though dated, are valuable precursors to the study of Qumran ethics. First, they describe a segment of the cultural-religious milieu and the ethical thought of part of the Jewish world in which the Qumranites lived. Second, some of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature, such as parts of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, are found among the Scrolls and were likely influential in sectarian ethics. Finally, these studies provide possible models for and raise important issues regarding the study of Qumran ethics.

One such early work is H. M. Hughes' doctoral thesis published in 1910.⁸ In this book the British Wesleyan Methodist minister provided an analysis of the content and development of ethical doctrines found in the Jewish apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature, based on the pioneer critical research of R. H. Charles. Hughes did so by dividing the pertinent literature into documents of Palestinian or Alexandrian origin, and grouping them chronologically by the century in which they were supposedly written. Using this geographical/chronological grid, Hughes described and traced the development of ethical thought under four subject headings derived largely from Christian ethics as developed in the West – the moral ideal, moral evil, the will, and moral sanctions.

Hughes' method of analyzing the literature by dividing it into two geographic regions and three centuries is significant. For example, his study shows broadly that Palestinian literature reveals evidence of Sadducean accommodation to the influence of Hellenism as well as Hasidic rejection of it, while Alexandrian literature displays a creative adaptation of the Hellenistic influence.⁹ Furthermore, Hughes' thesis indicates that Second Temple Jewish ethical thought developed in a very complex way from their roots in Jewish Scriptures in response to the historical experience and interactions with foreign powers and ideas. Thus, for example, with the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, at least some Jewish writers turned from a focus on political Messianism back to a focus on the law. What this suggests for the present study is the need to discern as much as possible the diachronic theological development of the Qumran community. Moreover, Hughes' work reveals at least two of the contributing factors of Jewish ethics in the Second Temple period – scriptural traditions and political/cultural contexts.

⁸ Henry Maldwyn Hughes, *The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature* (London: Robert Culley, 1910).

⁹ For a more recent analysis of how Jews in this period "negotiated" around their cultural environment, especially in the Alexandrian context, see John M. G. Barclay, "Using and Refusing: Jewish Identity Strategies under the Hegemony of Hellenism," in *Ethos und Identität: Einheit und Vielfalt des Judentums in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (ed. Matthias Konrad and Ulrike Steinert; SJC; Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002), 13–25.

Another key issue that Hughes raises for this study is the appropriate categories to use in the investigation of Qumran ethics. While Hughes' choice of ethical categories in his analysis is debatable,¹⁰ there is no denying that categories foreign to much of Second Temple Jewish literature are needed in order to talk about its ethics. Appeals to various philosophical traditions, as the next chapter will show, are necessary to clarify what is meant by ethics in the Qumran community.

One last issue that Hughes' thesis highlights is once again the problem of a value-laden reading of ethics that he and his contemporaries tend to exemplify.¹¹ Hughes' implicit Christian and modernist perspective on ethics, most probably rooted in his British Methodist background, frequently led him to approve and prefer certain ethical positions. This book, however, will avoid making such value judgments.

III. *The Ethics of the Damascus Document*

The discovery of the *Damascus Document* quickly sparked a series of excited scholarly responses.¹² These pre-Qumran studies were very significant forerunners to the Scrolls research which began half a century later, not only by providing later scholars with some prior, albeit limited, knowledge of the content of Qumran sectarian literature, but also by developing methodologies for theorizing about the histories and origins of the sect(s) behind the texts.¹³

¹⁰ To paraphrase the four categories Hughes used, they are the understanding of good, evil, choice, and consequence. The implication is that these matters are what ethics is about.

¹¹ This tendency to relate the sectarian ethics to the Jewish mainstream on the one hand, and to Christianity on the other, is also observable even after the discovery of the Scrolls, as illustrated by the first essay devoted to Qumran ethics: John G. Harris, "Aspects of the Ethical Teaching of the Qumran Covenanters," *EvQ* 37 (1965): 142–46. Despite the problem of this approach, it corrects the opposite tendency to put the Qumran community in the margins of Second Temple Jewish society.

¹² The responses are described as "a flurry of reaction and speculation" by Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 5. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, in his prolegomenon to the 1970 reprint of Solomon Schechter's original 1910 publication of CD, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, gives the date of Schechter's journey to Cairo as 1896, Solomon Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries* (New York: Ktav, 1970), 10, while Stefan C. Reif, in his account of Schechter's pioneer contribution to CD research, reports that Schechter brought CD from Cairo in 1897, "The Damascus Document from the Cairo Genizah: Its Discovery, Early Study and Historical Significance," 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 Pinnick; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 113.

¹³ Cf. the assessment of the significance of early research of CD in Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Zadokite Fragments (Damascus Document)," *ABD*, 6:1037–38.