

CHARLOTTE HEMPEL

The Qumran Rule Texts
in Context

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The Qumran Rule Texts in Context

Collected Studies

Mohr Siebeck

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For Charles and Imogen

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Birmingham, January 2013

Charlotte Hempel

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- Chapter 6, '1QS 6:2c–4a – Satellites or Precursors of the Yahad?,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture* (ed. Adolfo Roitman, Larry Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref; STDJ 93; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 31–40
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- Chapter 9, 'Shared Traditions: Points of Contact Between S and D,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller; STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 115–131
- Chapter 10, 'The Qumran Sapiential Texts and the Rule Books,' in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 277–295
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- Chapter 12, '4QOrd^a (4Q159) and the Laws of the Damascus Document,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: IES, 2000), 372–376
- Chapter 13, 'The Sons of Aaron in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 207–224
- Chapter 14, 'Do the Scrolls Suggest Rivalry Between the Sons of Aaron and the Sons of Zadok and If So was it Mutual,' *RQ* 24 (2009): 135–153
- Chapter 15, 'Maskil(im) and Rabbim: From Daniel to Qumran,' in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu; JSJSup 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 133–156
- Chapter 16, 'Family Values in the Second Temple Period,' in *Ethical and Unethical in the Old Testament: God and Humans in Dialogue* (ed. Katherine Dell; LHBOTS 528; London: T & T Clark, 2010), 211–230
- Chapter 17, 'Pluralism and Authoritativeness – The Case of the S Tradition,' in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Mladen Popović; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 193–208
- Chapter 18, 'The Social Matrix that Shaped the Hebrew Bible and Gave us the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon* (ed. Geoffrey Khan and Diana Lipton; VTSup 149; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 221–237

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Abbreviations Including Frequently Cited Sources

ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
AYBC	Anchor Yale Bible Commentary
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BASORSup	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research: Supplement Series
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBA	Catholic Biblical Association
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DAWBSSA	Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft
DBSup	Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément
DJD 1	Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik <i>Qumran Cave 1</i> (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955)
DJD 3	Dominique Barthélemy, Józef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux <i>Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân</i> (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962)
DJD 4	James A. Sanders, <i>The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPsalms^a)</i> (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965)
DJD 5	John Marco Allegro and A. A. Anderson <i>Qumrân Cave 4.1 (4Q158–4Q186)</i> (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)
DJD 6	Roland de Vaux and Józef T. Milik <i>Qumrân Cave 4.2: I. Archéologie, II. Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums (4Q128–4Q157)</i> (DJD 6; Oxford: Clarendon, 1977)
DJD 7	Maurice Baillet <i>Qumrân Grotte 4.3 (4Q482–4Q520)</i> (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982)
DJD 10	Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell <i>Qumran Cave 4.5: Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah</i> (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994)

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- DJD 21 Shemaryahu Talmon, Jonathan Ben-Dov, and Uwe Glessmer
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- DJD 22 George J. Brooke et al.
Qumran Cave 4.27: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3 (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)
- DJD 23 Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude
Qumran Cave 11.2: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31 (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998)
- DJD 26 Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes
Qumran Cave 4.19: Serekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998)
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Qumran Cave 4.26: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1 (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000)
- DJD 39 Emanuel Tov (ed.)
The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series (DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000)
- DJD 40 Carol Newsom, Hartmut Stegemann, and Eileen Schuller
Qumran Cave 1.3: 1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 4QHodayot^{a-f} and 1QHodayot^b (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009)
- DSD *Dead Sea Discoveries*
- DSS Dead Sea Scrolls
- DSSSEL Emanuel Tov
The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library (Leiden: Brill, 2007)
- DSSR 1 Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov (eds)
The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Part 1: Texts Concerned with Religious Law (Leiden: Brill, 2004)
- DSSR 4 Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov (eds)
The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Part 4: Calendrical and Sapiential Texts (Leiden: Brill, 2004)
- DSSSE Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar
The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1998)
- ECDSS Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls

EDEJ	John Collins and Dan Harlow (eds) <i>The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism</i> (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010)
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EDSS	Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (eds) <i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> (New York: OUP, 2000)
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>The Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HdO	Handbook of Oriental Studies
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>The Heythrop Journal</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IES	Israel Exploration Society
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods: Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSQ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
KBW	Katholisches Biblewerk
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
NCB	New Century Bible
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
N. S.	New Series
NTL	New Testament Library
NTOASA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus: Series Archaeologica
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OTL	Old Testament Library
OUP	Oxford University Press
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The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 3 Damascus Document II, Some Works of the Torah and Related Documents (Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 3; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006)
- PTSDSSP 4B James H. Charlesworth et al. (eds)
The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 4b Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 4B; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999)
- PTSDSSP 6B James H. Charlesworth et al. (eds)
The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 6b Pesharim, Other Commentaries and Related Documents (Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 6B; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002)
- RB* *Revue Biblique*
- REB Revised English Bible
- RechBib Recherches Bibliques
- Revised Emil Schürer
- Schürer 2 *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ, Volume II* (ed. and rev. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1979)
- Revised Emil Schürer
- Schürer 3.1 *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ, Volume III.1* (ed. and rev. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986)
- RQ* *Revue de Qumran*
- SBL Society of Biblical Literature
- SBLMS Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
- SBM Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
- SJLA Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
- SNTSMS Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
- STDJ Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
- SUNT Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
- ThR* *Theologische Rundschau*
- TLZ* *Theologische Literaturzeitung*

TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
<i>TTZ</i>	<i>Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum: Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
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Chapter One

Introduction

This volume brings together seventeen studies on the Qumran Rule texts that appeared in print in a variety of journals and volumes between 1996 and 2012 alongside a substantial final Chapter 19 (“Haskalah” at Qumran? The Eclectic Character of Qumran Cave 4’) which is published here for the first time. The previously published studies have been lightly reworked in the process when I felt a turn of phrase needed to be sharper and sometimes bolder than originally printed. I added additional key bibliographical information and updated references to primary texts where appropriate. Since the chapters gathered here offer a cumulative body of research on the Rule texts in their wider context, bibliographies of chapters published more recently frequently update what was not possible to include in some of the earlier studies. Sections 1–8 of the Introduction correspond to Parts I–VIII of the volume.

The first methodological issue to be addressed here is the somewhat problematic category of Rule texts itself.¹ A great deal has changed in the space of over sixty years since the first scrolls from Qumran Cave 1, including the Community Rule (1QS), were deciphered. Just as the notion of the family and the traditional roles of its members are now considerably removed from the 1950s so ‘the Modern Family of Rule Texts’ has also undergone dramatic changes. Core members of the family as conceived for the purposes of this volume can be easily identified as the Community Rule (S), the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), the Damascus Document (D), and 4Q265 (Miscellaneous Rules). Various family members share a common history, genetic legacy, overlapping narratives, alongside fiercely individual and distinctive elements. The latter testify to independent journeys pursued while ‘keeping in touch’ to varying degrees.

The term ‘Qumran’ also warrants a health warning since when talking about Qumran Rule texts this terminology is employed here primarily as a heuristic shorthand to refer to the site where most of the texts dealt with in this book were found rather than the home of a single, unified ‘Qumran community.’

¹ See Charlotte Hempel, ‘Rules,’ in *The T & T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. George Brooke and Charlotte Hempel; London: T & T Clark, forthcoming) and eadem, ‘סרדן,’ in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten* (ThWQ) (ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry et al.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, forthcoming).

1. The Nature of the Communities

Most of the texts treated in this volume refer at some point to (an) organized group(s) set apart, to a greater or lesser degree, from outsiders and deal with issues such as admission, community organization, leadership, discipline, with some also narrating shared histories. Chapter 2 ('Community Structures and Organization') reviews some of these central organizational matters and suggests a degree of complexity and development across and within individual texts.² The main scholarly contribution of this chapter is the close reading of the regulations on admission into the community in IQS 6, IQS 5, and CD 15. In particular, by looking beyond the customary boundaries of documents, the chapter demonstrates that a comparable admissions procedure centred on swearing an oath to return to the law of Moses attested in CD 15:5b–10a forms the background to IQS 5:7c–9a//4Q256 (4QS^b)//4Q258 (4QS^d). Both accounts differ markedly from the elaborate admission process prescribed in IQS 6:13b–23 that has been at the forefront of scholars' attention and imagination. My reading of the admission texts has since been accepted by John Collins and Stephen Hultgren.³ This chapter's brief overview on meetings already hints at the complexity of the evidence in both the Damascus Document and the Community Rule that will occupy my attention again and more fully in Chapters 5 and 6. Moreover, the discussion of the array of leadership figures offered here forms a useful basis for subsequent studies on the place of priestly leadership in the Scrolls represented by Chapter 13 and 14.

Most recently Florentino García Martínez suggested we move beyond the quest of trying to identify a core of 'sectarian' texts within the larger corpus of the Scrolls and speak instead of 'clusters of text.'⁴ To a large degree the studies

² The discussion on meals at Qumran is taken forward outside of this volume in Charlotte Hempel, 'Who is Making Dinner at Qumran?', *JTS* 63 (2012): 49–65.

³ John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 56–57 and Stephen Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 234–235. A different view is upheld by James C. VanderKam, 'The Oath and the Community,' *DSD* 16 (2009): 416–432 who prefers to read the various statements on admission into the community as relating to a single process.

⁴ Florentino García Martínez, '¿Sectario, no-sectario, o qué? Problemas de una taxonomía correcta de los textos qumránicos,' *RQ* 23 (2008): 383–394. For previous attempts to arrive at criteria for identifying a core group of sectarian texts see, e. g., Esther Chazon, 'Is Divrei Ha-Me'orot a Sectarian Prayer?', in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 3–17; Devorah Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,' in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23–58; Charlotte Hempel, 'Kriterien zur Bestimmung "essenischer Verfasserschaft" von Qumrantexten,' in *Qumran Kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom*

in this volume reveal clusters of texts within larger compositions, and not infrequently a cluster from D shares more with S than other parts of D. This theme runs across much of this volume but is particularly developed in Chapters 8 and 9. A particularly important recurring observation is that our understanding of individual documents frequently benefits from casting our nets wider. Just as earlier attempts at delineating a sub-corpus of sectarian literature are now perceived as too rigid, so the boundaries of individual documents are often porous when it comes to the development of the literature we are studying.

Several studies in this volume are concerned with a careful analysis of the complex relationships between various core members of the family of Rule texts. Chapter 3 ('The Damascus Document and 1QSa') makes the case that the regulations for communal life in the central portions of 1QSa are much more closely related to the Damascus Document than to the Rule of the Community to which the text was physically attached. In particular, attention is drawn to shared characteristics such as,

- an all-Israel perspective;
- the presupposition of family life;
- a proliferation of congregation (עדה) terminology in both 1QSa and D in contrast to the Community Rule;
- references to the Book of Hagi;
- and prescriptions for exclusion from the congregation of members with physical or mental disabilities.

I conclude that 1QSa 1:6–2:11a comprises communal legislation that originated with the parent movement of the Yaḥad – also attested in the communal legislation in the Damascus Document – which was secondarily inserted into its present eschatological context.

Toten Meer (ed. Jörg Frey and Hartmut Stegemann; Einblicke; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2003), 71–78; Armin Lange, 'Kriterien essenischer Texte,' *ibidem*, 59–69; and Carol Newsom, "'Sexually Explicit'" Literature from Qumran,' in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. Baruch Halpern and David Freedman; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–187. Reference should also be made to several studies dealing with sectarianism that have recently appeared, cf. David Chalcraft (ed.), *Sectarianism in Early Judaism* (London: Equinox, 2007); Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Religion and Society 45; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007); and Sacha Stern (ed.), *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History* (IJS Studies in Judaica 12; Leiden: Brill, 2011). Further also John Collins, 'Sectarian Communities in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: OUP, 2010), 151–172 and Jutta Jokiranta, 'Sociological Approaches to Qumran Sectarianism,' *ibidem*, 200–231. The history of scholarship on the sectarian scrolls is now also comprehensively covered in several contributions in Devorah Dimant (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective* (STDJ 99; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

2. Beginnings

The three chapters that follow all relate to the emergence of communal life and offer a fresh reading of counter narratives of ‘beginnings.’

2.1 *The Teacher: From John Wayne to the Wizard of Oz*

The accounts of community origins in the Damascus Document, and CD 1 in particular, were for a long time read with a great deal of confidence in the general outline of events if not the precise dates and details offered.⁵ Chapter 4 (‘The Damascus Document and Community Origins’) queries this account and notes the rhetorical force of writing off the original reform movement that gave rise to the Teacher community as blind and groping for the way. I suggest, instead, that the early reform movement was far from blind but confidently claimed to be the recipient of divine hope and grace at a crunch point in Jewish history. Traces of teacher-free accounts of community origins remain in CD 2:8b–9a.11–13, *Jubilees* (e. g. *Jub.* 21:24) and *1 Enoch* (e. g. *1 Enoch* 93:10), and arguable also in CD 1:3–9a and CD 3:12b–17a. In the Damascus Document all but one of the teacher-free accounts (the exception being CD 2:8b–9a.11–13) were subsequently expanded to represent multi-tiered origin accounts.

Since its original publication in 1999 this chapter can fruitfully be related to several important recent studies that reflect an increased scepticism about the heroic portrait of the teacher of righteousness in the Scrolls.⁶ The argument

⁵ For a recent treatment see James C. VanderKam, ‘The Pre-History of the Qumran Community with a Reassessment of CD 1:5–11,’ in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture* (ed. Adolfo Roitman, Larry Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref; STDJ 93; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 59–76 and further literature referred to there.

⁶ Cf. George J. Brooke, ‘The “Apocalyptic” Community, the Matrix of the Teacher and Rewriting Scripture,’ in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Mladen Popović; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 37–53; Steven Fraade, *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarians and Sages* (JSJSup 147; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 38–42; Florentino García Martínez, ‘Beyond the Sectarian Divide: The “Voice of the Teacher” as an Authority-Conferring Strategy in Some Qumran Texts,’ in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller; STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 227–244; Maxine Grossman, ‘Roland Barthes and the Teacher of Righteousness: The Death of the Author of the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lim and Collins), 709–722; Angela Kim Harkins, ‘Who is the Teacher of the Teacher Hymns? Re-Examining the Teacher Hymns Hypothesis Fifty Years Later,’ in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (ed. Eric Mason et al.; JSJSup 153; Leiden: Brill, 2012), Vol. I, 449–467; Jutta Jokiranta, ‘Qumran – The Prototypical Teacher in the Qumran Pesharim: A Social-Identity Approach,’ in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context* (ed. Philip F. Esler; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2006), 254–263; Michael A. Knibb, ‘Teacher of Righteousness,’ in EDSS 2:918–921; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, ‘The Legacy of the Teacher of Righteousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion*

developed in this chapter further illuminates the influential work by Hindy Najman on founder figures which are frequently pseudepigraphically linked to a foundation narrative comprising law and history both in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish literature.⁷ The Teacher of Righteousness as portrayed in CD 1 can likewise be conceived as a pseudepigraphic founder figure whose ‘name’ is not drawn from among venerable individuals of the long distant past but rather the result of ‘biblical’ interpretation.⁸ Finally, most recently Angela Kim Harkins has mounted a compelling challenge against reading the Hodayot as offering access to the innermost thoughts and personal struggles of a historical personality.⁹ The combined force of this scholarly trajectory leaves us with a Teacher figure who resembles the character of the shady Wizard of Oz more closely than John Wayne of old coming to rescue a community in distress.

Alongside the teacher of righteousness several other established truths of the first several decades of Qumran research appear somewhat diminished by the full corpus of texts such as the dualism of light and darkness,¹⁰ the Masoretic text,¹¹ and the calendar.¹² At the same time as reservations are expressed about our ability to say very much at all about the historical teacher of righteousness,¹³ my own work has looked at a number of previously neglected passages that seem to paint a different picture of beginnings.

Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005 (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Betsy Halpern-Amaru, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 23–49; idem, ‘The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered: From Fragmentary Sources to Collective Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity: The Fifth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium (Durham, September 2004)* (ed. Stephen Barton, Loren Stuckenbruck, and Benjamin Wold; WUNT 212; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 75–94.

⁷ Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003; pb. ed. Atlanta, Ga.: SBL, 2009).

⁸ See Brooke, ‘The “Apocalyptic” Community’ and García Martínez, ‘Beyond the Sectarian Divide.’

⁹ *Reading with an “I” to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions* (Ekstasis 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012); see also Carol Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 287–351.

¹⁰ See Charlotte Hempel, ‘The Teaching on the Two Spirits and the Literary Development of the Rule of the Community,’ in *Dualism in Qumran* (ed. Geza Xeravits; LSTS 76; London: T & T Clark International, 2010), 102–120.

¹¹ See, e. g., Eugene Ulrich, ‘The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books,’ in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller; STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 209–225, esp. 210 and further literature cited there and idem, ‘Biblical Scrolls Scholarship in North America,’ in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective* (ed. Dimant), 49–74, 63 and 65 where he provocatively labels the mid 20th century approach to the MT as “pre-Copernican.”

¹² See Sacha Stern, ‘The “Sectarian” Calendar of Qumran,’ in *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History* (ed. Stern), 39–62 and Chapter 19 below.

¹³ See also, Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 90–91.