Prophetic Scribalism: A Semantic, Textual and Hypertextual Study of the *Serek* Texts

by

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This thesis challenges the position that the serek texts are primarily prescriptive and legal, as they have been customarily defined. It argues that the term serek should be reconceptualized according to descriptive analysis, with the purpose of creating what C. Newsom terms a 'Gestalt structure.' In order to achieve this, four serek texts (M, S, Sa, and D) will be analyzed at three literary levels—semantic, textual and hypertextual—explaining how the elements at these levels interact as cohesive wholes, thus serving to create a more complete picture of this group of texts as a literary unity. Thus, while the separate, constituent semantic, textual and hypertextual parts must be analysed as separate elements, the fundamental questions posed regarding these elements will be different in a Gestalt paradigm as compared to a traditional, definitional analysis. Going from the micro to the macro, the first chapter will look at the serek texts through the 'microscope' of close philological analysis, examining how the term serek functions atomistically within the Dead Sea Scrolls. Building upon these results, the second chapter will more broadly analyse the structure, themes and narrative apparent in the serek texts, thus creating a fuller understanding of how the serek texts relate to one another and respond to circumstances in community life. Finally, the last chapter seeks yet more broadly to understand the serek texts in the wider literary milieu of the Second Temple Period. Here, a scribal technique present in the serek texts will be compared to a similar technique used in the Book of Isaiah—arguably the most important prophetic work for the Qumran sectarians.
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כומס human embodies כומס another human

Just as water reflects the face, so one human heart reflects another

Prov 27:19
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INTRODUCTION

1 Impetus

The impetus for writing this dissertation comes from the observation that the term *serek*—present primarily in the *War Scroll* (M), in the *Serek Hayahad* (S), in the *Rule of the Congregation* (Sa), and in the *Damascus Document* (D)—has not been adequately understood.¹ An example of this ambiguity of meaning can be seen in the quotation below in which J. Duhaime—in a companion book to M—summarizes the range of scholarly opinion on the literary genre of M:

> In spite of the indications that 1QM has some sort of literary history, the whole text, in its final shape, was probably intended as a rather coherent document, assembled according to accepted conventions and modeled after one of the genres available in the cultural environment of its redactor(s). For the Qumranites, it probably belonged to the general category of ‘rule’ (*serek*). In modern times, 1QM has often been associated with the apocalyptic literature, mainly in the first decades of Dead Sea Scrolls studies. A few interpreters see it as a sectarian liturgy. It has also been suggested that its contents and basic patterns might have been partially derived from Maccabaean or Graeco-Roman military manuals. [...] As it now stands, 1QM contains elements that are connected with those found in apocalyptic literature, but clearly it does not belong to the literary genre of the apocalypses. No compelling argument has been adduced, either, to support the identification of this document as a script for a cultic drama, in spite of a liturgical dimension that certainly associates it with priestly circles. In its current form, this composition is an eschatological rule that parallels, in a religious and utopian way, the genre of the Graeco-Roman tactical treatise.²

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¹ This material includes the MSS of the documents from Qumran Caves 1, 4 and 5.
It may be surprising for those who have first read S to discover that the scribes of M also introduce their document with the title serek. This is particularly puzzling since it has become common amongst scholars to use ‘serek’ as a legal term that primarily collected and listed various laws and precepts; that is, the central prescriptive rule-texts or halakha for the various communities represented in scrolls. One might ask: Does this mean that M is also a serek text in the sense of being a prescriptive legal text? Even if some scholars have come to recognize that the legislative activity represented in the serek texts was the most recent stage in the progressive revelation of the law for the covenancers, why is it that M is not included in these debates? If this is the case, what precisely does this mean in the case of M? If S and the

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1 The first line of the text has been reconstructed with הַמָּכֶה [הַסֵּרֶך] (1:1). The reading is not certain, but it is accepted by nearly every scholar.

2 See in particular the discussion about the genre of S in S. Metso, The Serekh Texts (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 7. Also see her recent discussion about the feasibility of using serek texts for historical reconstruction in S. Metso, “Problems in Reconstructing the Organizational Chart of the Essenes,” DSD 16.3 (2009). Metso points out: “If these documents were meant as prescriptive legal texts, as is often presumed, one has to ask what purpose such high amounts of non-legal material would have served in prescriptive documents. In prescriptive legal documents, such passages would seem rather superfluous” (391). The trend not to include M in discussions about the serek texts can also be seen in S. Tzoref, “The Use of Scripture in the Community Rule,” in A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism, ed. M. Henze (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2012), 203-34.

3 See G. Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, rev. ed. (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 163-90. Nevertheless, since 2000 many scholars, whether consciously or not, have moved away from conceptualizing M as a ‘rule-text,’ and it has become standard to call the document the War Scroll, rather than referring to it as the War Rule, which was commonly done in the 60’s and 70’s. This may be because scholars are reluctant to see this scroll as a ‘law-text’ in any conventional sense—there being a fine line between the term ‘rule’ and ‘law.’ For example, Charlesworth has claimed that while “in the Rule of the Community the term serek denotes the ‘rule’ that contains the regulations of the community, in the War Scroll (1QM) it designates the military organization of the Qumranites.” See J. H. Charlesworth, “Community Organization: Community Organization in the Rule of the Community,” in Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam (New York: OUP, 2000), 134. While this is true in some of the occurrences of serek in M, this is not the case in all occurrences.

4 See, for example, A. P. Jassen, "The Presentation of the Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran," JBL 127.2 (2008): 319-22.
more explicitly eschatological Sa also claim to be serek texts, then what is the ‘common
denominator’ connecting such similarly classified works? How are these texts connected
semantically by their use of the term serek? Furthermore, how are these texts further
connected at the textual and hypertextual levels? This dissertation will attempt to address
these questions by analyzing texts that make extensive use of the term serek according to a
uniquely modified form of genre analysis, namely Gestalt analysis.

2 From Genre to Gestalt

[...] genres are still categories, and the need to understand how they work persists:
how to relate genres to features, to works, to other genres, to readers and to writers.
But categories are not what we thought they were: they are not 'cut-and-dried,' but
rich, complex and flexible.

Michael Sinding

It might be argued that genre distinction is dispensable when analyzing a text, nevertheless
several objections to genre analysis can be anticipated: What does it matter in any case how
we categorize a text? Should not the content and context be the primary concern for scholars
rather than categorization? While traditional form-critical analysis may seem outdated to

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7 In DJD 39, Lange defines the greater category of legal texts found near Qumran as “Texts Concerned with
Religious Law.” He goes on to say that “Texts such as the War Rule demonstrate that religious law was not
restricted to questions of halakhic in Second Temple Judaism but also dealt with other topics such as the
eschatological war of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness. For this reason, the broader term ‘religious
law’ seems more appropriate than the more commonly used term ‘halakhic texts.” See A. Lange and U.
Mittmann-Richert, “Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre,” in
DJD 39, ed. E. Tov, The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and An Introduction to the Discoveries in the

some, ultimately the acts of categorization and classification must be major components of any literary analysis because such naming of objects is at the root of our cognitive processes.9

As humans, we can only speak about ‘things’ insofar as we have words to describe them. More importantly perhaps, categorization has at its root the act of comparison; we must compare texts to recognize their similarities and differences—a process that helps us better understand texts and their function. Thus, the categorization of texts is imperative as it provides a cognitive vehicle through which one may compare and contrast other similar texts and contexts, and it is through such comparison and contrast that a text comes to life. If a text is grossly mis-categorized—or worse not given a genre distinction at all—it runs the risk, for all intents and purposes, of being marginalized and thus rendered silent in scholarship.10

Despite the fact that ‘categorization’ is indispensable, before deciding on how to proceed with a ‘genre’ analysis, we must sort through the several theories on how so to do.”

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9 See comment by Miller: “The urge to classify is fundamental, and although it involves [...] difficulties [...], classification is necessary to language and learning,” see C. R. Miller, “Genre as Social Action,” Quarterly Journal of Speech 70.2 (1984): 151.

10 Another question needs clarification; that is: Who categorizes texts in the first place? It is the primary concern of this dissertation to expound how the scribes themselves of the ancient documents under consideration understood and used the term serek, rather than how we might specifically try to understand it. Thus, when I speak about categorization, I am primarily referring to the covenants’ own categorization as evidenced by their use of the term as a title for various documents and sections of documents.

Bernstein has recently published an article entitled “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Biblical Interpretation in Antiquity: A Multi-Generic Perspective.” While the title might suggest its usefulness for this study, Bernstein does not discuss the serek texts, and he does not describe in detail his approach to genre; see M. Bernstein, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Biblical Interpretation in Antiquity: A Multi-Generic Perspective,” in The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60: Scholarly Contributions of New York University Faculty and Alumni, ed. L. Schiffman and S. Tzoref (Leiden: Brill, 2010).
In the last 50 years, the study of genre has been reconceived in important ways. For centuries—from Plato and Aristotle to the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century—genres were seen as concrete, each distinguished by its unique features of form and content. For example, the school master of yesteryears would speak confidently and definitively about drama or epic with such subcategories as lyric, sonnet or ode. As summarized by A. Freedman and P. Medway, according to this traditional view genres have four facets; (1) they are always literary; (2) they are defined by textual regularities in form and content; (3) they are fixed; and (4) they can be classified into mutually exclusive categories.\textsuperscript{12} While it remains germane to speak about form and content in any discussion about genre, more recently the general trend has been to recognize that such textual regularities must be examined within a broader context, what has been called an ‘interdefined’ Gestalt structure.\textsuperscript{13} For example, C. Miller has pointed out that similarities of textual form and substance can be insightfully correlated to recurring social situations in which the texts participate.\textsuperscript{14} This approach can be defined as descriptive—in that it describes the writer’s social motive in responding to certain recurrent social situations—rather than definitional, where a scholar sets out to extract precise formulas of form and content present in any given type of text. In addition to these insights, C. Geertz has emphasized that such reconceptualizations of genre in the humanities lead writers in our


\textsuperscript{13} See ibid., 1-3.

\textsuperscript{14} Miller’s program is to: “examine the connection between genre and recurrent situation and the way in which genre can be said to represent typified rhetorical action,” see Miller, "Genre as Social Action," 151.
times to actively blur traditional prescriptive genres and that this situation allows for society as a whole to change. In light of such intellectual changes, most scholars are reluctant to develop grand classificatory systems.

If we turn to Biblical Studies, perhaps the most popular and effusive definition of genre in the field comes from J. J. Collins’ work on apocalypses. In the introduction to *Semeia* 14, he defines a genre category as “a group of written texts marked by distinctive recurring characteristics which constitute a recognizable and coherent type of writing.” As can be seen, this description is primarily definitional and as such some scholars—in particular C. Newsom—have argued that it should be nuanced. Newsom maintains that given the current trends in genre studies, Collins’ definition contains several limiting factors. First, a definitional approach on its own does not explain how a given genre functions as a form of human communication. Second, a definitional approach does not look to a text’s rhetorical

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16 Fowler, for example, has been keen to look to how texts inherit their similarities: “the basis of resemblance lies in literary tradition [...] a sequence of influence and imitation and inherited codes connecting works in the genre.” See A. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge MA: HUP, 1982), 42-43. Fowler bases his insights on the work of L. Wittgenstein’s theory of *Familienähnlichkeiten* (family resemblances) in which Wittgenstein emphasizes that it is not possible to deduce essential defining features of any ‘genre;’ but rather, one can only describe relative resemblances between given texts. The following is the famous passage in which Wittgenstein describes family resemblances: “I:66 Betrachte z.B. einmal Vorgänge, die wir “Spiele” nennen. Ich meine Brettspiele, Kartenspiele, Ballspiele, Kampfspiele, u.s.w. Was ist allen diesen gemeinsam?—Sag nicht: “Es muß ihnen etwas gemeinsam sein, sonst hießen sie nicht ‘Spiele’”—sondern schau, ob ihnen allen etwas gemeinsam ist.—Denn, wenn du sie anschaut, wirst du zwar nicht etwas sehen, was allen gemeinsam ware, aber du wirst Ähnlichkeiten, Verwandtschaften, sehen, und zwar eine ganze Reihe... Wir sehen ein kompliziertes Netz von Ähnlichkeiten, die einander übergreifen und kreuzen. Ähnlichkeiten im Großen und Kleinen.” Taken from Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations (Philosophische Untersuchungen): The German Text, with a revised English Translation*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe, 3 ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001 [1953]), 27.

orientation. She points out further that given the number of new ‘genres’ found at Qumran, it is clear that genre-making was an important task for the covenanters. Thus, it is imperative that scholars continue to find new lenses through which to approach genres in Qumran research if they are to understand how these communities functioned.\textsuperscript{19} Within her discussion, Newsom brings to light E. Rosch’s work on ‘prototype theory,’ which Newsom claims can provide a useful tool for the reconceptualization of genre in the field.\textsuperscript{20} While Rosch is not directly involved in theories about literary genres, her work has provided interesting insights into the processes through which humans create categories. Her base definition of a prototype is as follows:

\textsuperscript{18} Newsom has described Collin’s approach to genre as a “classificatory ‘box’” model: “The first, and unfortunately still common, understanding of genre is that it is a classificatory “box” into which one sorts various kinds of speech acts, usually identified by a list of distinguishing characteristics. See C. Newsom, “Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology,” in Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005). In a later article, Newsom describes the limitations of such an approach: “in the memorable characterization of Alastair Fowler, [the classificatory ‘box’ model] treats genre as though it were a matter of pigeonholes, whereas genres are far more like pigeons. Although this view of genre has been criticized for years, it has an amazing persistence, and indeed is not to be entirely despised. The genuine insight connected with this view of genre is that genre is related to the larger cultural practice of classification.” See C. Newsom, “Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot,” DSD 17 (2010): 243.

\textsuperscript{19} See comments from Newsom: “One of the features that has often been noted about the sectarian literature from the Qumran caves is the number of new genres developed by the community. These include, most notably, serakhim, pesharim, hodayot, mishmarot, and a variety of distinctive liturgical texts, such as the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, covenant ceremony texts, marriage rituals, rituals of expulsion, and so forth. While it is possible that the vagaries of preservation prevent us from knowing of examples of these genres from other Jewish communities of the Second Temple period, scholars consider most if not all of these genres to be unique to the Yahad community movement. While each type has been studied in significant detail, to my knowledge there has been little or no research into the question of how one might think of these new works as a genre system. There are a number of questions that one might ask. To what needs of the sectarian community do these new genres represent a response? How do they segment the life of the community? What different competencies do they develop within their users? In what ways are the different genres, as distinct generic worlds, complementary and overlapping? How do they work together to construct the integrated sectarian world and also to differentiate it into a series of discrete experiences?” Newsom, "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot," DSD 17 (2010): 256.

\textsuperscript{20} See Newsom, "Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology.” 442.
By prototypes of categories we have generally meant the clearest cases of category membership defined operationally by people’s judgments of goodness of membership in the category [...]. In short, prototypes appear to be just those members of a category that most reflect the redundancy structure of the category as a whole.21

In her article “Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology,” Newsom takes such insights and distills them into the following:

Categories are not best thought of as defined by distinctive features possessed by every member of the group, but rather by a recognition of prototypical examples that serve as templates against which other possible instances are viewed. [... For example] even though robins, ostriches, swallows, eagles, and penguins are all birds, people tend to treat robins and sparrows as ‘typical’ members of the category ‘birds’ and ostriches and penguins as ‘atypical.’ Thus robins and sparrows are the prototypes for the category ‘bird.’ The category can be extended to cover other birds that do not conform to the prototype (e.g., those that are large or do not fly or do not sing), but the birds that do not closely resemble the prototypes have a marginal status.22

Thus, prototypes of any given genre will be easily recognizable simply because they are just that—they are recognizable to the onlooker. However, as Rosch goes on: “With respect to prototypes, it appears to be those category members judged the more prototypical that have attributes that enable them to fit into the typical and agreed upon script elements.”23 In other words, when humans create categories, they do so with particular events—discrete bounded temporal units—in mind. Thus, there are—when I speak about cooking a meal for example—prototypical instruments involved such as a frying pan, a pot, and a wooden spoon, which are

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23 See Rosch, “Principles of Categorization,” 45.
bound into the category of cooking implements, in addition to being bound to a particular event, called preparing a meal. By extension, if we are undertaking a literary analysis of texts that we take to be of the same ‘category,’ we would have to demonstrate that the features of these texts (i.e., their vocabulary, structure, content, themes, and other literary techniques—parallel to the kitchen utensils mentioned above) must be bound within a cohesive framework. In Newsom’s words:

The significance of this analysis of cognitive models for genre is that “elements” alone are not what trigger recognition of a genre; instead, what triggers it is the way in which they are related to one another in a Gestalt structure that serves as an idealized cognitive model.

Thus, in a literary context, the relationship of these elements in a Gestalt structure—what we can call a Gestalt paradigm—accounts for the textual features (i.e., form, content, themes, and other literary techniques) of the genre and the place of the text within the greater world in which it was created. In this way, a Gestalt analysis is one way in which one can move

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24 For a Western chef, a wok or a hibachi may not be prototypical cooking instruments; nevertheless, they can be identified as belonging to the same category even if not as prototypes.


26 For example, Freedman and Medway give the example of the personal letter in which a teenaged girl writes to her friend over the summer: “As researchers, we could analyze this letter and categorize those textual features that mark it generically as a teenage girl’s personal letter: its syntax (many conjoined, short independent clauses); its lexicon (informal, often colloquial); its punctuation (many dashes, exclamations points, no semicolons); its format (overall, that of a letter, but modified by the occasional smiley and/or frowning face, I’s dotted with hearts, etc.); its substance and its tone. Such a characterization would be typical of traditional ways of looking at genre. Current reconceptions of genre would focus, instead, on [the girl’s] letter as a typical rhetorical action taken within a recurring social situation. In this case, the rhetorical action undertaken is one in which intimate social ties are being maintained and strengthened—in the context of a teenage sub-culture within a particular socio-cultural community [...]. All the formal features specified above can be understood to derive from and relate to the writer's social motive in responding to a recurrent social situation of a certain type.” See Freedman and Medway, “Introduction: New Views of Genre and Their Implications for Education,” 2-3.
away from a definitional approach (form and content) and move towards a descriptive approach (form and function).²⁷ Such an analysis would account for not only the rhetorical orientation of a text, but would also explain how it functions as a form of human communication interrelated within the world in which it was created. Thus, a Gestalt paradigm describes how the texts function as a whole.²⁸

It must be pointed out that Newsom does not set out to provide a comprehensive or practical model for how to effectuate a descriptive over a definitional analysis of a literary text. Her use of Rosch and her evocation of Gestalt are meant to provide us with an alternative conceptual framework through which we can approach texts as cohesive wholes. The work of turning this conceptual framework into a practical model for analysis is left to us. In the case of the serek texts, we can assume that there existed in antiquity an assumption that S, M and D were intimately related in their wholes, because they are labeled—or significant parts within are

²⁷ As has been pointed out by Brooke, “[...] how should ‘authority’ of texts or textual traditions within particular groups of texts be articulated suitably? Whatever might be the creative and hermetically strong ways of answering that question, the question itself brings to the fore the issue of the primacy of a text’s status and function, matters that could well seem to have more controlling force in generic discussion than a text’s form and content, but which are often assumed or ignored in debates about genre.” See G. J. Brooke, “Genre Theory, Rewritten Bible and Pesher,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 363-64. It is my hope that a descriptive approach to genre analysis (in the form of Gestalt analysis) will provide such an opportunity to explore the form and function of the serek texts rather than concentrating on their form and content.

²⁸ Gestalt theory was born within the context of psychology under the auspices of M. Wertheimer. Wertheimer was concerned, in the context of psychology, with comprehension as the product of seeing the world in its interrelatedness, rather than through the atomization of its parts; see, for example, M. Wertheimer, *Productive Thinking* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945). For an evaluation of the continued influence of Wertheimer, see D. Brett King et al., “The Legacy of Max Wertheimer and Gestalt Psychology,” *Social Research* 61.4 (1994: Winter): 907-35.
labeled—by their scribes as *serakhim*.

Given that this is *their* assumption, in order for us to describe what a *serek* text is in a Gestalt paradigm, we must understand what makes these texts function cohesively. Essentially, this means creating a synchronic literary study.

Understanding what the root סֶרֶך means and how the literary characteristics of the *serek* texts come together to generate a unified rhetorical orientation will allow us to understand the *serek* texts as a unique form of human communication. My suggestion for effectuating a descriptive Gestalt analysis is to analyse the *serek* texts at three literary levels—semantic, textual and hypertextual—all the while minding to explain how the elements at these levels interact as cohesive wholes, thus serving to create a more complete picture of this group as a literary unity.

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29 In the case of D, large sections are labeled as *serek* texts. See Chapter 1 for references.

30 Despite the name of the dissertation, Parker's study on M is primarily concerned with historical matters; see J. O. Parker, *The Genres of the Dead Sea War Scroll* (PhD diss., Mid-America Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997).

31 These three levels parallel somewhat Frye's first three levels laid out in his *Anatomy of Criticism*. Here, Frye attempts to analyze, in a systematic and 'scientific' manner, the fundamental principles which would allow a literary critic to make literature 'intelligible'; he warns that 'either literary criticism is scientific, or all these highly trained and intelligent scholars are wasting their time on some kind of pseudo-science like phrenology.' see N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957). 8. In short, his project set out to develop what would become a five-fold taxonomy for classifying literature. The primary categories of this system Frye would call *phases*: literal, descriptive, formal, mythical and anagogic. In Frye's own words: "Phase: (i) one of the five contexts in which the narrative and meaning of a work of literature may be considered, classified as literal, descriptive, formal, archetypal, and anagogic" ibid., 367. Each of these phases would describe a particular contextual relationship. For example, the literal phase would answer the question: How do the smallest parts of the text function? At this level, the critic would analyze symbolic 'motifs.' In the second descriptive phase, the question is: How does the message relate to the historical circumstances in which the text was written? At this level, the critic would analyze symbolic 'signs.' In the third formal phase, the question is: How does the text relate grossly to other texts? At this level, the critic would analyze symbolic 'images.' In the fourth phase, the question is: What does the text mean in the imaginative comprehension as a whole? At this level, the critic would analyze symbolic 'archetypes.' Finally, at the fifth and final level, the question is: What does the text mean in religious or divine comprehension as a whole? At this level, the critic would analyze symbolic 'monads.' His system is summarized by R. D. Denham, "Introduction," in *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Toronto: TUP, 2007). The following table is my adaptation thereof:
must be analysed as separate elements, the fundamental questions posed regarding these elements will be different in a Gestalt paradigm as compared to a traditional, definitional analysis.

If we are perceptive with such an analysis, we should be able to account for a unified Gestalt paradigm of the serek texts by asking the following three questions: (1) At the semantic level, what does the term ‘serek’ mean and how does this meaning unite the texts? (2) At the textual level, how do the serek texts function as a form of communication that supports a particular and unified worldview as a response to events or circumstances with which the group was faced? And; (3) at the hypertextual level, how did the serek texts fit into and interact with the greater Jewish literary tradition? Finally, if such a connection can be made, how does this

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases →</th>
<th>Literal</th>
<th>Descriptive</th>
<th>Formal</th>
<th>Mythical</th>
<th>Anagogic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of Symbol</td>
<td>Motif</td>
<td>Sign</td>
<td>Image</td>
<td>Archetype</td>
<td>Monad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Narrative (Mythos)</td>
<td>Rhythm or movement of words; flow of particular sounds</td>
<td>Relation of order of words to life; imitations of real events</td>
<td>Typical event or example</td>
<td>Ritual recurrent act of symbolic communication</td>
<td>Total human ritual, or unlimited social action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning (Dianoia)</td>
<td>Pattern or structural unity; ambiguous and complex verbal pattern</td>
<td>Relation of pattern to assertive propositions; imitation of objects</td>
<td>Typical precept</td>
<td>Dream: conflict of desire and reality</td>
<td>Total dream, or unlimited human desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Related Kind Of Criticism</td>
<td>‘Textual’ or New Criticism</td>
<td>Historical and documentary criticism</td>
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</table>
connection provide a unified rhetorical orientation? Each of these questions must be addressed with an eye to understanding the documents as integrated wholes. The answers to the questions will point us to what Newsom calls the “social contract” that the scribes of serek texts were trying to make with their readers.

3 Three Levels of Analysis

In order to answer the question of what a serek text is, I will first approach the representative texts through the lens of a semantic analysis. This will allow me to establish philologically how the root סֶרֶך is used in situ. Second, in order to understand to what sort of events they were responding, I will undertake a textual analysis that will examine the structure, narrative, a central theme and a philosophical tenet that all occur in and unify each of the serek texts. This will allow me to establish further how the serek texts were collectively responding to their

32 The first two chapters will examine the serek texts in a synchronic manner, and the third will attempt as much as possible, to analyse the texts diachronically. The problem that arises when attempting a diachronic study of the serek texts is, however, that there are no other ‘serek-like’ texts that come before. Thus, other creative forms of comparison will have to be devised in order to facilitate such a study (see below).

33 In a recent article, Newsom has summarized six common ways of thinking about genre: (1) Classificatory ‘Box’ Model: “into which one sorts various kinds of speech acts, usually identified by a list of distinguishing characteristics;” (2) Family Resemblance: “criss-crossing and overlapping networks of similarity;” (3) Mode of Comprehension: “actively engages in an act of intertextuality that helps us locate this text in relation to others with which we are already familiar;” (4) Communication and Cultural ‘Know-How’: “social function of genre;” (5) Modes of Perception: “a form of knowing and conceptualizing the world;” and (6) Recognizing the Dialogic nature of Genre as both Synchronic and Diachronic: “ecology of genres or genre systems at a given point in time and across periods of time.” Newsom, “Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot,” 272-75. The Gestalt model I am following most resembles her “Communication and Cultural Know-How” model. On that model, she goes on to say: “By understanding genres, one comes to have cultural competency in producing and understanding certain kinds of speech. While one could also understand this approach as a form of intertextual attention, more attention is paid here to the internal structure and distinctive elements of repeated speech acts, their social contexts, and the purposes for which they are useful.” Ibid., 274. I will have a particular way of taking the term ‘intertextual,’ which accords with the work of Genette (see Chapter 1).
environment. Finally, in order to understand how the serek texts fit into the greater Jewish literary tradition of the Second Temple period, I will explore the scribal technique of hypertextuality as it was adopted and adapted within the serek texts. Taken together, analyses of the semantic, textual and hypertextual levels will allow us to read the serek texts as wholes, and as social contracts for those who read and lived by them.

3.1 Semantic Level: The Term Serek in the DSS

In the first chapter, I will work to understand what the root סְרֵך signsifie semantically. In order to accomplish this, I will work to establish philologically how each individual instance functions in its given context. By way of this analysis, I will show that at its core the root describes a particular ‘ordering,’ or ‘laying out’ of conceptual or physical objects in relation to other objects.\(^3^4\) Parsed further, it is used to describe several dispositions—spatial, hierarchical, martial and procedural—according to which the Qumran covenanters organized themselves and hoped to organize themselves in the end time. Thus, the Qumran covenanters—arranged in a particular order either in their community setting, in a military arrangement, or conceptually in accordance with preconceived instructions—become, to make an analogy, the timbers of a great building, the foundation of which was Scripture.\(^3^5\) The serek as God’s

\(^3^4\) At its core, as scholars have recognized that the term serek—as it appears in M, D and S—appears to mean ‘rule,’ ‘order,’ or ‘body of regulations.’ See The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, vol. 6 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 199; ibid. However, it is clear that the semantic range of these stems from a military context meaning ‘to muster’ or ‘to array.’ Thus, the core meaning of serek appears to be ‘laying out,’ or ‘arranging.’

\(^3^5\) Within this study, I use the term ‘Scripture’ with a recognition of the pluriformity inherent in these texts, as has been pointed in particular by Ulrich, “Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon,” in The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, March 18-
order, the *serek* as community, the *serek* as army, and the *serek* as instruction are themselves edifices—structures that are both real and imagined. I have chosen the term ‘disposition’ to describe each instance of סֶרֶך́ in the scrolls as this is—to my mind—the most neutral term in the English language that connotes ‘arranging’ and ‘laying out.’

36 While I will not be using critical spatial theory explicitly in this study, it is important to lay out some background for the reader. The impetus for critical spatial studies has at its core an interest in understanding the space or spaces produced by a society as complex cultural products; see M. K. George, "Space and History: Siting Critical Space for Biblical Studies," in *Constructions of Space I: Theory, Geography, and Narrative*, ed. Jon L. Berquist and Claudia V. Camp (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 15. Spatial theorists have pointed out that there has been great focus on history and time in many disciplines of research in the modern period; however, the study of spaces has been neglected. Such contemporary spatial theorists—for example Y.-F. Tuan, J. Berger, and H. Lefebvre—are beginning the critical task of reassessing the role of space in critical social theory, after its subordination to time and history in the modern period. E. W. Soja gives voice to this new methodological orientation, when he writes in *Postmodern Geographies* that, in the contemporary geopolitical world, “it may be space more than time that hides consequences from us, the ‘making of geography’ more than the ‘making of history’ that provides the most revealing tactical and theoretical world,” see E. W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), 1. While space, according to these theorists, it also goes beyond the material. As summarized by George:

“To understand space as a social product, the result of social ideas and practices, is not to make a claim about matter, motion, or other physical properties of the universe. Rather, it is an understanding and recognition of the role human beings, individually and collectively, play in creating the spaces they occupy and inhabit. Space is more than matter, motion, or physical properties, just as it is more than the symbolic, mythological, or religious meanings spaces come to have for people and societies;” see George, "Space and History: Siting Critical Space for Biblical Studies," 15. Other theorists have gone on to conclude that once ‘space’ is imbued with all of this social complexity, it transforms into ‘place.’ In the words of T. Cresswell: “Place is how we make the world meaningful and the way we experience the world. Place, at a basic level, is space invested with meaning in the context of power.” Other theorists have expanded this paradigm even further to explain space in terms of its physical (‘Firstspace’), conceptual (‘Secondspace’) and social (‘Thirdspace’) dimensions. Critical Spatial Theory—which was first conceived of by H. Lefebvre and further nuanced by Soja—maintains at its core that space can be parsed into a tripartite division; see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 38-39. In Lefebvre’s view: (1) Physical—(L’espace perçu); perceived space; physical surroundings; reducible to numerical analysis and statistical tables (mathematical objectivity) (Soja calls this ‘Firstspace’); (2) Conceptual—(L’espace conçu); ‘place; mental space; perceptions of space; ideas about space (Soja calls this ‘Secondspace’). E.g., maps/debates about how a space should be; therefore, texts about utopias; and, (3) Social—(L’espace vécu); ‘space; living in space in relation to other people (Soja calls this ‘Thirdspace’). E.g., actual uses of space. In principle, this division is usually indivisible in the real world. See comments by Berquist: “Although some have
The major contribution of this chapter will be that the individual instances of סְרֵק have never been analyzed comprehensively to understand how they serve to provide semantic conceptual maps—a conceptual map that provides a unified template for a longed-after ideal society. This analysis shows that M is much more intimately connected with other serek texts than has previously been assumed, and therefore it ought to be included seriously in discussions about the serakhim. Furthermore, it will be found that the four dispositions discussed in this chapter also have parallels at the textual level, which will then be explored further in Chapter 2.

interpreted Soja's theoretical contributions as providing a new tripartite ontology of space, Soja's work argues against any such ontology. The three spaces of Firstspace, Secondspace, and Thirdspace are not different realities of space or even different modes of spatiality. Rather, they represent what the interpreter sees when examining space in different ways. [...] To interrogate those representations is to investigate the power relations that produced the constructs. [...] One could speak, therefore, of Soja's work not as an ontology of space but as a deconstructive method for spatial discourse. One uses Soja's theory not by parsing space into its constituent parts but by altering the power relations involved in seeing space, in variations that are not random but are certainly kaleidoscopic," see Jon L. Berquist, "Introduction: Critical Spatiality and the Uses of Theory," in Constructions of Space I: Theory, Geography, and Narrative, LHB/OTS 481 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 8. While these theories were originally developed within the field of human geography, it has become apparent in the last decade that their use in biblical studies has proved—and will continue to prove—insightful. In the words of George: "There are many spaces biblical scholars encounter in their work [...]. Critical spatiality provides scholars with a means of examining and analyzing such spaces in terms of the social practices and forces that created them [...]. Space is a complex social phenomenon, one that involves not only physical space, but also the conceptual systems created and employed to organize it, and the symbolic and mythological meanings societies develop in order to live in space; see George, "Space and History: Siting Critical Space for Biblical Studies," 29. For some recent work in biblical studies which makes use of critical spatiality, see, for example, W. R. Miller, "A Bakhtinian Reading of Narrative Space and its Relationship to Social Space," in Constructions of Space I: Theory, Geography, and Narrative (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 124-40. See also S. J. Schweitzer, "Exploring the Utopian Space of Chronicles: Some Spatial Anomalies," in Constructions of Space I: Theory, Geography, and Narrative (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 141-56.

While W. Schniedewind is more concerned with showing how Qumran Hebrew (QH) can be explained by its tendency to “preclassical archaizing,” his comments about QH as being a “language integrally tied to its role in society” might be helpful here in conceptualizing serek. See Schniedewind, "Linguistic Ideology in Qumran Hebrew," in Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira, ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, STDJ 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 245-55. Also see his comments regarding the pesher genre in Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage," JBL 118.2 (1999): 235-52.
3.2 Textual Level: Textual Features within the Serek Texts

While individual elements within a text—such as the repeated use of the term serek—cannot alone define what a serek text is, in the case of the heavily used term serek, such an analysis provides us with an important base upon which we can make further inquiries. The second chapter will build upon this semantic base in order to further expand upon a Gestalt paradigm for the serek texts. To accomplish this, it will be necessary to access the particular worldview according to which the serek texts functioned. This can be accomplished by identifying some of the key textual elements of the serek texts, and to establish how these elements point to a unified story about how the world of the covenanters works. This information will help us to discover what the unified ethos of these texts is.

In Chapter 2, I will examine four elements that correspond to the four semantic dispositions described in Chapter 1. First, at the textual level, the serek texts create compilations consisting of at least three text-types: the account, the instruction and the hymn/prayer/liturgy. In each of the serek texts, these text-types are woven into an integrated structure to create complex compilations. Second, in Chapter 1 we will have seen that the root סַר"ך could also denote a hierarchical disposition—at the textual level, this is paralleled by the existence of an integrated, chronological narrative about the ‘eschaton’; a story emerges in each of the serek texts in which there is a movement from a worse situation in the present to a better situation in the future. Thus, the narrative moves along a hierarchical trajectory to a better future. Third, semantically the root סַר"ך could also denote a martial disposition, which is paralleled
by a third element in the *serek* texts; that is, the *central theme* of the ‘enemy other.’ From this textual element, each of the *serek* texts is imbued with an ‘us’ *versus* ‘them’ ethos that begins to colour the entire worldview of the covenanters. Finally, the semantic disposition of the instruction is paralleled at the textual level by an overarching *philosophical tenet* of ‘divine design,’ in which the texts emphasize how God’s plan manifests in history. The instructions, at the textual level, provide a template for the Children of Light to follow in order to fulfill this divine plan.

It is the contention of this chapter that these textual elements—strengthened by their parallels in the dispositions of Chapter 1—will put into relief what sort of worldview is being maintained and strengthened through these texts. This is a worldview largely coloured by animosity and the desire for separation from that which is seen to be errant. Such answers will give us concrete insights into the social motivation behind the *serek* texts, and will answer whether the term *serek* is used merely as a header for a set of legal precepts—a header introducing practical, perceived observations that were translated into written sections that described the everyday lives of the Qumran covenanters—or whether we can comfortably describe *serek* texts as texts geared towards the eschaton, and thus reasonably include within our analyses a text such as M, which is most often left out.

### 3.3 Hypertextual Level: A Scribal Technique in the *Serek* Texts

The final chapter will establish how the *serek* texts interacted with the greater Jewish literary tradition, by seeking a prototype to which the scribes looked back. The hope is that if such a
prototype can be established, that it will provide a broader picture that will give a deeper context for our understanding of the *serek* texts as interrelated documents, thus completing a Gestalt paradigm. In Duhaime’s comments quoted at the beginning of this introduction, he rightly points out that M has often been associated with apocalyptic and eschatological literature. Given that all these *serek* texts have been noted for their predictive elements, it will be useful to see whether one can find some commonality between these predictive elements and elements in earlier Jewish texts that might function in a similar manner. In the case of S, for example, Jassen has made the case that even the legal sections can be seen as a continuation of divine revelation.38 In the case of D, it has been recognized that at least the admonition looks ahead to the future.39 Also, it has been pointed out that certain sections of D are concerned with messianism.40 Despite these observations, most current work on the document has concentrated on its laws and on redactional criticism.41 In addition, Sa has also

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39 As regards D, Collins has pointed out that the *Damascus Document has an overview of history reminiscent of the Enochic writings, and implies a calculation of the date of the ‘end’ or decisive divine intervention,* see Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London & New York: Routledge, 1997), 10. While Grossman does not classify D as a predictive text, she does recognize the importance of the greater framework of the compiled text: "Such texts lay out the history of a community—often in the context of larger national or cosmic historical accounts—but they also acknowledge the importance of the community’s present-time experience and their anticipation of the future," see Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 225.


featured in discussions about apocalypticism and eschatology. While the majority of scholars have not gone as far as to classify M and Sa as apocalypses *per se*, many have pointed out that both documents demonstrate predictive qualities; that is, they very explicitly describe future events which have not yet taken place. The question these observations beg is: Should one investigate more to see if prediction constitutes an important rhetorical practice of all the *serek* texts? If so, how is such prediction executed and is there a template we can identify for making such predictions about the future? Perhaps the most obvious text to look to as being a template for the scribes of the *serek* texts would be Isaiah, since this text itself is predictive and was found at Qumran in more abundance than any other text.

Beyond the fact that Isaiah was the most widely attested prophetic work found in the caves near Qumran, it also provides an interesting point of comparison because it demonstrates a unique and parallel manner in which it purports to predict future events; that is, Isaiah—in particular Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 40-66)—alludes to former prophetic texts to show how these older pronouncements have already been fulfilled, or how they will soon be fulfilled. In  

 should be pointed out that this was also because in early years of DSS’s scholarship, the laws were often neglected.


43 This step can be described as my attempt to hypothesize about the rhetorical classification of *serek* discourse. As pointed out by Miller: "A useful principle of classification for discourse, then should have some basis in the conventions of rhetorical practice, including the ways actual rhetors and audiences have of comprehending the discourse they use." See Miller, "Genre as Social Action," 152. It cannot be denied, given the content of sections of M and Sa that they were used in some manner to predict future scenarios.

44 My point of departure to understand how Deutero-Isaiah functions as a prophetic text that alludes back to older prophecies, comes from a study on scriptural allusion in Deutero-Isaiah by Sommer. Sommer shows that Isa 40-66 related to older prophecies in several manners: through *historical recontextualization, reprediction, reversal of meaning, fulfillment of earlier prophecies* and through *typologies*; see ‘Deutero-Isaiah’s Use of Jeremiah’
doing so, the scribes of Deutero-Isaiah take the older authoritative scriptures out of their original contexts, and recast them into new prophecies. This technique cannot be properly called ‘commentary,’ since a commentary would assume that the commentator’s purpose was to shed light on the text that is evoked. Rather, in Deutero-Isaiah, the older prophetic texts are evoked to comment upon the scribe’s own time. Thus, the relationship between the older ‘base’ text and the new text can be described as hypertextual, in the words of G. Genette, who defines hypertextuality as: “any relationship uniting a text B (which [he calls] the hypertext) to an earlier text A ([which he calls] the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not a commentary.” This process of making use of authoritative scriptural lemmata outside of their original context and weaving them into a new context can be described as a scribal technique—a scribal technique that aims to create the fabric of new revelations. This is precisely the scribal technique we find at work in the serek texts as a united group.

Sommer, A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66 (Stanford: Standford University Press, 1998), 32-72. While such nuances of usage cannot be seen explicitly in the serek texts, an important common denominator exists between these sets of texts. At the heart of Deutero-Isaiah’s usage of biblical allusion was one primary use: to show how the ancient prophets had already predicted events in the present and those to come. In a similar manner, I will investigate to see whether such biblical allusion is used in the serek texts either to show the fulfillment of those previous prophecies, or to show how those previous prophecies can be repredicted in a new context.


46 I must say a quick word about what constitutes a prophetic text in the context of this study. Since I am trying to understand how the scribes of the serek texts were using prophetic allusion, I must follow their conception of a prophet. Thus, I will assume that any text attributed to a prophet would have constituted a prophetic text. Thus, I will consider all of the Pentateuch as prophetic given that it is attributed to Moses; in addition, the Psalms, mostly attributed to David, must also be considered prophetic from the point of view of the covenanters. For example, on David as a prophet see J. Kugel, "David the Prophet," in Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1990). On the conception of the prophet in Second
In this chapter, I will examine how Deutero-Isaiah⁴⁷ makes use of hypertextuality and compare this with similar usage in the representative serek texts—M, S, Sa, and D.⁴⁸ If such a conceptual link exists at this technical level, then there is good reason to believe that the scribal technique of scriptural hypertextuality used in the oracles of Isa 40-55 may have served as a unifying conceptual prototype and authority conferring strategy for the scribes who penned the serek texts, thus further binding these texts, including M, into a single whole.⁴⁹

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⁴⁸ Is has been suggested by Brooke that all of the DSS can be described as relating to earlier authoritative scripture, see Brooke, “The Dead Sea Scrolls,” in The Biblical World (London: Routledge, 2002), 250-69. I am not claiming that the serek texts are unique in this, but rather, I am describing this scribal technique in order to emphasize how the serek texts are functioning overall. This is one of the advantages of using a descriptive over a definitional approach to understanding the serek texts; that is, I am able to describe various elements present in all of the serek texts to understand how they function as a group, rather than concentrating on the elements that only occur within serek texts and not in other groups of texts. The simple fact of the matter is that the serek texts use authoritative scripture to predict the future. The interesting question that will be dealt with later is: Why?

⁴⁹ I am using Najman’s term ‘authority conferring strategy’ in this context to describe hypertextuality as a scribal technique. In her study on Jubilees, Najman uses the term to describe four strategies that take the form of motifs and scribal techniques used by the scribes of Jubilees (e.g., mention of Heavenly tablets; Angel of the Presence dictating to Moses; Mosaic attribution; and, authentic interpretation); see Najman, ”Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies,” JSJ 30.4 (1999): 379-410. See also Najman, ”Angels at Sinai; Exegesis, Theology and Interpretive Authority,” DSD 7.3 (2000): 313-33.
CHAPTER 1
Semantic Level: The Root סֶרֶך in the DSS

1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to establish what the contextual semantic range of the root סֶרֶך is. Many scholars have assumed that סֶרֶך has at its core a legalistic semantic field; that is, under the header סֶרֶך, the various ‘sectarian’ communities primarily collected and listed various prescriptive laws and precepts thereby creating the central rule-texts represented in scrolls found near Khirbet Qumran. However, this definition is more problematic when M is also taken into account; and indeed, because of this difficulty, it is often surprising for students who have first read S to discover that the scribes of M also introduce several sections of their work with the noun סֶרֶך. Furthermore, one must also contend with the fact that D uses the term 10 times (out of approximately 50 occurrences) to introduce various sections, and thus should also be considered a serek text. This leads to the question: Does this mean that M is also a serek text in the sense of being a prescriptive law text? If this is the case, what

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50 I have used the Massoretic vowel-pointing for serek (סֶרֶך) as a noun to distinguish more clearly in my text from sarak (סָרָק) as a root.

51 See in particular Metso’s discussion about the genre of S in Metso, The Serekh Texts, 7.

52 The first line of the text has been reconstructed with [הַמִּלְחָמָה] והספר סרכה וזו (1:1). The reading is not certain, but it is accepted by nearly every scholar.

53 Vermes, for example, assumes that M is a ‘rule’; thus, he includes it under the rubric of ‘Rule Texts’ in his Penguin-translation; see Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 163-90. Nevertheless, since 2000 many scholars whether consciously or not, have moved away from conceptualizing M as a ‘rule-text,’ and it has become standard to call the document the War Scroll, rather than referring to it as the War Rule, which was commonly done in the 1960’s and 1970’s. This may be because scholars are reluctant to see this scroll as a ‘law-text’—there being a fine line between the term ‘rule’ and ‘law.’ For example, Charlesworth has claimed that while ‘in the Rule of the Community the term serek denotes the ‘rule’ that contains the regulations of the community, in the War
precisely does this mean as regards M, S, Sa, Sb and D taken together collectively? On the
surface at least, if one were to consider only the prevalence of the root סֶרֶך in any of the
scrolls found near Khirbet Qumran, one should conclude that M were a strong representative
of serek texts. In order to begin to understand how each of these texts is unified, this section
will examine the root סֶרֶך to see how it is used in the DSS in order to determine what
semantic range of meaning ought to be ascribed to the term. Within this analysis, one will be
able to make conclusions about what the motivation was for the Qumran covenanters to use
the root in particular texts and not in others.

1.1 Use of the root סֶרֶך

Despite the fact that the root is well attested in the DSS, when first faced with translating it,
scholars had to use much ingenuity, intuition and etymology given that the root was very rare
in other ancient Semitic sources. סֶרֶך only occurs a handful of times in Rabbinic literature
where it was usually given a semantic range between ‘usage,’ ‘example,’ and ‘habit.’ A
preliminary exploration of the term was carried out by R. H. Charles in his translation of the
Testament of Levi. In a footnote, Charles points out that the root סֶרֶך was translated into

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54 The root סֶרֶך occurs 4 times in D, 8 times in S, 4 times in Sa, and finally 24 times in M.

55 Jastrow gives two definitions for סֶרֶך: (1) Safa’el of סֶרֶך (cf. סֶרֶך סֶרֶך) ‘to interweave,’ ‘to twist’; also ‘to wrong,’
corresponding to Hebrew זָסַך: see Lam 3:59 (1027). (2) ‘to clutch;’ ‘to hold fast,’ ‘to cling to.’ The noun סָרִך means
‘example,’ ‘clinging to,’ ‘habit;’ following the example of (1028). In these sources, the primary semantic range for
סֶרֶך is ‘to cling to,’ or “to follow the example of;” for example, in b. Nid 67b, a daughter is implored to follow her
mother’s good example in matters of menstrual purity: מֵאֵשׁ סֶרֶך תַּלְמֵית. See Jastrow, A Dictionary of the
Targumim, Talmud Bavli, Talmud Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature (New York: Verlag Choreb, 1926), 1028.
Greek by the term τάξις, which Charles translated into English as ‘rank,’ the context which was: Εἶδον δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται ἐν πρώτῃ τάξει—“And I saw concerning him, that he would not be in the first rank” (T. Levi 11:3). It was after the discovery of the Cairo Genizah and the subsequent translation of the Fragments of a Zadokite Work—later to be dubbed the Damascus Document—that the meaning of the root was re-visited; however, S. Schechter—who first translated the enigmatic Zadokite Work—did not go beyond the rabbinic meaning of ‘custom’ for his edition, connecting it with מֶנֶג and מֶשֶׁת. After the DSS were discovered, most scholars did not go beyond Schechter as regards their interpretation of סֶר. E. L. Sukenik maintained that the basic meaning of the root סֵר was equivalent of נֶג— with a semantic range of ‘habit’ or ‘custom.’ However, as more of the DSS were published—in particular M—scholars began to claim that the best translation for the nominal form סֶר in the newly discovered texts was ‘ordinance’ or ‘post in an array.’ In this manner, they connected the new texts back to Charles’ observations that had connected the term to τάξις, which could also have military connotations.

The first critical edition of M, published by Sukenik’s son Yadin in 1955, devotes a separate section to the root סֶר. One can glean Yadin’s views regarding the term from his footnotes commenting upon 1QM 2:1:

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57 In Schechter’s words: “The term סֶר again [...] occurring frequently in the sense of custom (= מֶנֶג or מֶשֶׁת), is almost entirely unknown otherwise in the Hebrew literature;” see Schechter, Documents of Jewish Sectaries: Volume I: Fragments of a Zadokite Work (Cambridge: CUP, 1910), xi. In this volume, Schechter points to the nominal use of the term in rabbinic sources (either as סֶר or סֶרֶך) in a manner similar to Jastrow above.

58 See Sukenik, מאמזת מנחות מไหม קדומים שיצא בגניזות בבלד בר יזרעאל (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1950), סֵר.
‘They will arrange’ [...] the term serek is most characteristic for the writings of the sect, which were in need of varying yet related meanings: “custom,” “rule,” “regulation,” “unit in a military formation,” “sect in a military formation,” “list,” “row,” or “arrangement” (my translation).60

It seems here that Yadin appropriates his father’s interpretation of the term’s meaning—being נוהג /custom—and adds to it two more meanings: rule (משטר—a connection that Schechter had already made) and regulation (חוקה). To these he adds several of the broader connotations in the Greek τάξις: “unit in a military formation,” “sect in a military formation,” “list,” “row,” or “arrangement.”61

In a commentary to S written in 1957, P. Wernberg-Møller reviews the work of Charles and concludes that the term has three shades meaning: (1) a battle array; (2) a post or place in a battle array; and (3) an ordinance.62 In addition to these comments, Wernberg-Møller also concludes—with what he saw as added evidence from D—that סֶרֶ should also be conceptualized as a synonym for חוק.63 However, what Wernberg-Møller did not note was that more specific casuistic rules in the DSS (in other words, if one does x, they will suffer y) are not

59 Whenever I quote from a Modern Hebrew (MH) text, I have typed the Hebrew in ‘David’ font (being the standard MH font). Otherwise, any Classical Hebrew texts are written in ‘SBL Hebrew’ font.
60 See Yadin, חוושך בבני אור בני מלחמת מגילת (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1955), 265. The translation made by C. Rabin is as follows: “dispose. The verb only here and in line 6, but cp. V, 4; for the meaning cf. Qumran I p.110, I, 23 ‘to lead forth the whole congregation, each man in his serek...’” see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, trans. Chaim and Batya Rabin (Oxford: OUP, 1962), 262-63 n.1.
63 See ibid.
introduced by the noun סֶרֶךְ, but rather by the formula אלה הממשטיים. For example, in 1QS 6—a section which lists various transgressions and their punishments—the scribe begins with the header: "And these are the 'regulations' (משמשטיים) by which they shall judge in an examination of the Community depending on the case" (1QS 6:24). This section then begins with laws that govern speech such as lying and answering impatiently. These all have to do with breaches of order and various transgressions and contain case-by-case penalties. Thus, it remains to be proven that the noun סֶרֶךְ would also denote a specific rule or precept.

By the 1970’s, B. Levine was emphasizing the connection between the root סֶרֶךְ as used in the DSS and the same root in Aramaic meaning 'head,' or 'officer.' He claimed, in light of this, that the phrase סֶרֶך היחד could be translated—by metonymic extension—as a 'rule' or 'command' established by a head-officer for the community (1QS 1:16-17). In addition, he saw the verbal forms in M (e.g., at 2:1 & 2:6) were to be derived from the same range of meaning; that is, as a Qal form referring to the 'commanding' done by a head-officer. While 1QS 1:16-17 is perhaps the most problematic of all the cases of סֶרֶך, it may still be possible to find a

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65 See B. A. Levine, "Aramaic Texts from Persepolis," JAOS 92 (1972): 72. This meaning in Aramaic may be derived from Old Persian sara which means 'head;' see Franz Rosenthal, A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, 7 ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 58 § 189. This may also be related to Ge‘ez seroh (ስር hoạch) 'Head Priest;' see W. Leslau, Comparative Dictionary of Ge‘ez (Classical Ethiopic) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 513.

66 In a similar manner, Schiffman concluded several years later that the use of the root as a legal term had its origins in a military context: "... serek became a general term for a series of orders or instructions and was used for a list, a body of halakhah (usually on one subject) and even as a general term for sectarian law;" see Schiffman, The Halakhah at Qumran (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 68.
meaning for the term in this context that conforms to the manner in which the root is used overall in the scrolls, rather than trying to derive a meaning by comparing it to other cognate languages. While comparisons with other languages and etymologies can be instructive, they can also be misleading.67 For example, as regards Levine’s arguments, in order to understand what סרך היחד means in its context it is equally—if not more important—to look at how the term was used by a writer of the same language at the same time. While looking to Aramaic cognates can be instructive, the meaning in Aramaic could possibly lead one away from the meaning in Qumran Hebrew.68

In 1975, Schiffman examined the meaning of ס"ך in a section concentrating on ‘sectarian’ halakhic terminology.69 In this section, he reviews the pertinent studies including an article by Weinfeld that would become the basis of Weinfeld’s later work on the topic (see below).70 Schiffman assumes that the original use of the term must have come from a military context.71

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67 Although his criticisms are in the context of biblical theology, Barr basically warns his reader of making similar linguistic arguments in The Semantics of Biblical Language. In this work he is interested in criticizing methods used in the handling of linguistic evidence in such theological discussions. Barr comments: “[a]s soon, therefore, as the semantics of the words, within the period of the texts and the language of the texts, are neglected, the interpreter has arrogated to himself a very large power of selectivity over the material. [...] Whatever be the answer to it, however, it is clear that there is no such question about the meaning of words, as distinct from texts. Words can only be intelligibly interpreted by what they meant at the time of their use, within the language system used by the speakers or writer;” see J. Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language (Oxford: OUP, 1961), 139-40.

68 Such ‘false-friends’ as they are called by linguists, are apparent between many languages; for example, if I were to try to understand the meaning of ‘manifestation’ in English by looking to the French manifestation, I might be led to believe that a manifestation was a demonstration (which is how one would generally translate the French into English).

69 See Schiffman, The Halakhah at Qumran, 60-68.


71 See Schiffman, The Halakhah at Qumran, 64.
He proceeds to say that the usual usage of ס"ך in the DSS is to introduce “a set of regulations,” and he concludes that the regulations that the term introduces should be seen as a “list of halakhot.” He supports his conclusion by devising a historical development that assumes the term began its existence with a semantic range limited to military orders, and then expanded to include the orders and instructions (halakhot) themselves.

Another treatment of the term comes at the beginning of Weinfeld’s monograph entitled The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect (1986). After reviewing the various attempts to translate the term, he reminds his readers of the root’s Semitic etymology: according to his etymology, סר כ originally connoted ‘twisting’ a thread, a meaning that remains in the Syriac סר כ as well as the rabbinic סר כ, which were then extended to mean ‘to tie,’ ‘to adhere,’ and by extension ‘to follow;’ thus, custom or habit. His conclusions are thus: “the term serek should be ‘understood as ‘bond’ in the sense of binding rules (= the code).” According to his survey, this primary sense was then extended to create a threefold semantic range in which ס"ך meant: (1) a set of rules; (2) a military unit; or, (3) a political or religious association. The first two meanings are already dealt with by Schiffman (above) and

72 See ibid., 67.
73 See ibid., 68.
74 As he points out, these basic meanings are also attested in Arabic, Akkadian and Hittite; see Weinfeld, The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 10-11.
75 See ibid., 11.
76 See ibid., 13.
have good evidence to support them, but his third category should be scrutinized.\textsuperscript{77} The problem with his conclusions is that he assumes that the usage of \textit{סֶרֶך} must stem from the same root that Jastrow had traced for his Rabbinic dictionary. However, this does not have to be the case. As happens very often, we may be dealing with a different root \textit{סֶרֶך}, which has a separate etymological history, having a completely different semantic range.\textsuperscript{78}

We are left, after this survey, with a large semantic range for the root \textit{סֶרֶך}: \textit{usage}, \textit{example}, \textit{habit}, \textit{custom}; \textit{rank}, \textit{post}, \textit{ordinance}; \textit{list}, \textit{row}, \textit{set}, \textit{arrangement}; \textit{battle array}, \textit{military unit}; \textit{political} or \textit{religious association}.\textsuperscript{79} In order to understand how this root unifies M, S, Sa, Sb and D, it is crucial that one understand precisely how this term was used \textit{in situ}, rather than devising etymologies. In order to complete a Gestalt paradigm of the \textit{serek} texts, a systematic survey of the term’s use in every occurrence in the DSS must be undertaken. Once this is completed, it should be possible to establish first what it signifies, and second to determine how it was used by the Qumran covenanters to express their particular conceptualization of

\textsuperscript{77} A. Schofield also includes a small section on \textit{serek} in her book, although she does not have insights which go far beyond Schiffman and Weinfeld; see Schofield, \textit{From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule} (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 153-54. Also, Alexander summarizes the scholarship on the term \textit{serek} in his EDSS article, and he basically concludes that \textit{serek} has the same connotations as the Greek \textit{τάξις}; see P. S. Alexander, "Rules," in \textit{Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls} (New York: OUP, 2000), 799. Finally, in a recent commentary on M, Ibba gives three meanings for the term \textit{serek}: \textit{regola} ‘rule/law’ (1QM 3:3, 13:5:3, 4; 6:16; 7:17; 8:14; 9:10; 13:11; 14:19; 15:4, 5:16:3), \textit{elenco} ‘list/catalogue’ (1QM 4:6, 9, 11), and \textit{comando} ‘order/command’ (1QM 6:10, 11, 14:7:1, 18:6); see Ibba, \textit{Il ‘Rotolo della Guerra: Edizione Critica} (Torino: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998), 287-88.

\textsuperscript{78} Most recently, the term \textit{serek} has been taken up by B. W. Conklin. His conclusions are that \textit{serek} is a Persian loanword, which originally meant ‘head,’ see Conklin, "Alleged Derivations of the Dead Sea Scroll Term \textit{SEREK}," \textit{JSS} 52.1 (2007): 45-46.

\textsuperscript{79} The results have been summarized in \textit{The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew}, vol. 6, 199-200.
the world. Once this is established, one can draw conclusions about the type of information
the covenanters hoped to communicate via the root סֵרַך.

2 Analysis of Instances of סֵרַך in the DSS

A survey of the frequency of the root סֵרַך in the DSS yields approximately 80 occurrences;
however, if one excludes the instances in the Cave 4 parallels, one yields a tally of only about
50. These are spread primarily amongst four documents: M (25 times), S (8 times), Sa (4
times) and D (10 times). These occurrences will form the basis of my analysis, the results of
which are summarized in Appendices B and C. Given the survey of scholarship on the root
סֵרַך above, my conclusion is that few scholars would deny that סֵרַך denotes in many
instances an 'arranging' or 'laying out.' Thus, it is within this semantic range that my analysis
will start. In the following sections, I have chosen the term 'disposition' to categorize each
semantic range of the root סֵרַך in the DSS, because this is to my mind the most neutral term
in the English language that connotes 'arranging' and 'laying out.' It will be my purpose,
through semantic categorization, to understand what sort of worldview the Qumran

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80 This count does not include the parallels which occur in the Cave 4 materials. Where they do occur, the texts
read the same as the best intact witnesses from Cave 1 and the Cairo Genizah. The only exception is 4QS 1:6, the
Cave 4 parallel of which uses a different preposition before the word סֵרַך; see Appendix A.

81 Outside of these documents, the root only arises a handful of times, in relatively damaged texts. Given their
condition, I will only include their analysis in the footnotes. Three times the root occurs in 4QHoroscope (4Q186
f:2i 1:6), an astrological text with some words written in a cryptic script, and once again in another Cave 4 work,
4QAgesCreat' which appears to describe periods of human history; see J. M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson,
"4QHoroscope (olim 4QCryptic)," in DJD 5, 88-91. In addition to these, there are three more occurrences, one
each in 4Q284 f:6 (4QPurification Liturgy), 4Q287 f:1 (4QBlessings) and 4Q421 f:3-3 (4QWays of
Righteousness). There is a possible fourth in 4Q287 f:1 (4QBerahot) although the text is broken and the context is
hard to discern; for the publication see B. Nitzan, "4QBerahot," in DJD 11, 49-60.
covenanters were describing when using סֶרֶך—in i.e., what do the semantics of this term in context tell us about the social reality of their world.

2.1 Spatial Disposition

The first semantic category into which the root סֶרֶך might be placed can be called ‘spatial disposition.’ I have used the descriptor ‘spatial’ here since it is used to organize physical objects or information into space in a general manner. Thus, under this rubric, סֶרֶך means in a simple and general way ‘to list,’ ‘to layout’ or ‘to organize,’ synonymously to the BH עַֽר or סֶדֶר. As a nominal, the noun סֶרֶך in this category can be translated as list, layout, arrangement or order (without the connotation of commanding). This meaning was already described by Yadin when he noted that סֶרֶך can be translated in a manner that approximates סֶדֶר meaning arrangement.82

There are at least 15 examples of the root סֶרֶך being used in M in a manner meaning “plan” or “layout.” The first comes in 1QM 1:1, being the first line of the scroll, after which the beginnings of the eschatological war are described:83

לָעֲלֵי (שֶׁבֶל סֶרֶך) המַלְכָּה

For i[nstruction: the Layout of] the war84

82 See Yadin,OSHBinBinM1973, 347.
83 The translations of the DSS in this chapter are my own unless otherwise stated.
84 This is the reconstruction according to Abegg’s critical edition; see Abegg, The War Scroll from Qumran Caves 1 and 4: A Critical Edition (Cincinnati, Ohio: Hebrew Union College Dissertation, 1992), 212.
Chapter 1: Analysis of Instances of ס"ך in the DSS

The most prevalent translation of this line has been “Rule (Règle) of the War;” taken without reservation or explanation. It must be pointed out that after this title, the scribe begins to depict the first stages of the eschatological war: the enemies are listed and a chronology of sorts is laid out. Nowhere in this section of M are regulations or principles given; neither is a code nor body of regulations provided. Furthermore, what follows cannot properly be called a single rule or regulation on its own. Thus, the term appears to be used here as a noun meaning ‘layout’ or ‘arrangement’ in the sense that the initial events of the War of the Kittim are described as they will occur according to a particular, imagined chronology. Given the eschatological dimensions of the description, this instance of ס"ך might also be described as conceptual; the motivation is to describe an imagined space that has not yet come to pass in concrete terms.

This is not the only example of the root ס"ך being used in a spatial manner. The next example comes several lines down in 1QM 2:6, this time occurring as a participle. In the

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86 It should be pointed out that this instance of serek is a reconstructed reading; however, there is nearly universal acceptance of the suggestion by Milik that the line should contain ס"ך. See Milik, “Review of Sukenik,” RB 62 (1955): 598. Given the number of times that M uses the term, it is quite reasonable to assume that here too the line contained ס"ך. Nearly every translation—barring Duhaime’s and Ibba’s which leave out the word—includes the restored serek. See Duhaime, “War Scroll,” in The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, PTSdSSP 2: Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents (Tübingen - Louisville: J. C. B. Mohr - Westminster/John Knox Press, 1995), 97. See also Ibba, Il ‘Rotolo della Guerra’: Edizione Critica, 63.

86 See J. P. van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 35. See also B. Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrán: Commentaire et Traduction (Te Assem: Van Gorcum, 1962), 60. In addition, see Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 165. For another, see Abegg, "The War Scroll," in The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2005), 147. In Yadin’s translation, made in conjunction with the Rabins, they translate: “And th[is is the book of the disposition of] the war;” see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 256. This translation should be considered quite suitable here, especially if we bear in mind the definition of disposition; that is, an action of setting in order or an arrangement; see The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 532.
context of this passage, the priests and their respective courses during the War of the
Divisions are described. The subject of this sentence is the sacrifices that will be set up:

... את כל אלה יסרוכו במועד שנת השמטה ...

They shall lay out all these during the appointed time of the year of remission.

Here we are catapulted into a future time-frame after the Sons of Light have been restored to
their temple service. G. Vermes, Duhaime and M. Abegg all translate “they shall arrange” in
this instance, meaning—they will arrange the sacrifices.87 Given the context, it is hard to
imagine another meaning for the verb, and indeed this is the regular meaning given to the Qal
סר"ך in the DCH.88 Given this meaning, it is possible to connect סר"ך here to BH
ער"ך; for example, in Lev 1:7-8 one finds the root ד使って הכהנים את
the sections. Thus, once again, we see that the term is used to describe the organization of
objects in a conceptual space, at the same time being brought into a future scenario. Thus, the
motivation here is to describe the future in a concrete manner; that is, the covenaners were
motivated by the desire to see their imagined future in terms that were as concrete as if they
were describing present circumstances.

87 See Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 167, and Duhaime, "War Scroll," 99. For Abegg's
translation, see Wise, "Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association," in The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation (New
York: HarperCollins, 2005), 149. Yadin translates this instance as—ביסא—they will carry out / accomplish; see
Yadin, n.6; ibid. However, in his English edition, he chooses to translate “they shall dispose at the time of the sabbatical year;” see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against
the Sons of Darkness, 264. In this case, van der Ploeg also paraphrases this verbal form with the line: “ils
assigneront leurs postes”—they will assign their posts; see van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté
avec une introduction, 36.

88 See The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, vol. 6, 199.
In the third column of M, after the inception of the War of the Divisions has been recounted, the scribes begin to catalogue in detail the precise characteristics of the banners that soldiers will be required to bring into battle (1QM 3:13). The section begins with the following line:

סכר אוחות כל העדה למסורותם...

(This is the) arrangement of the standards of the whole congregation according to their enrollment...

Here the author goes on to describe a precise ranking for how the standards will be presented in the future eschatological War of the Divisions in order for the Sons of Light to triumph in battle: on each is written a particular formula, which could be likened unto a magic spell that will conduct the enemy to their destruction. They are arranged in a precise order in this passage: first the grand banner, then the banners of the heads of the camps, next the standard of the tribe, and so forth. Yadin claims that this instance of סכר in M has the connotation of MH תקנון—a set of rules or regulations; however, it is difficult to see how this meaning would work here. Recognizing this perhaps, in his English translation he uses ‘disposition,’ a word which he will use to translate nearly every instance of סכר in M. The majority of translators have chosen a variation of ‘rule’ to translate סכר in this passage; however, again in context this meaning is hard to support. Despite these translations, סכר is best rendered here as

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89 For the comments on תקנון; see Yadin, חושך בבני אור בני מלחמת מגילת 276 n. 12. For his English translation of this passage see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 270. The only times that Yadin does not use ‘disposition’ or ‘to dispose’ in his English translation are when he simply transcribes the word as seruk (see below).

90 See van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 38. See also Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction, 122 & 27. A further translation can be found in Ibba, Il ‘Rotolo della Guerra:’ Edizione Critica, 97. Another can be found in Duhaime, "War Scroll," 103. Finally, see Abegg, "The War Scroll," 150.
arrangement, since this is not a principle or regulation, but rather it a description of how the standards will be arranged. As in 1QM 1:1, this instance can be described as conceptual, as it imagines a future spatial arrangement of objects that has not come to pass.

The next example of סףך in being used in a spatial manner comes in 1QM 4:6 within a section describing the standards:

...ואחריהם כל פרוש שמותם...

...and after these, the entire list of the details of their names...

Most scholars have agreed that this instance of סףך means something akin to ‘list.’91 I would claim that most of these translators, with the exception of B. Jongeling, have been forced to expand upon their usual translation of סףך as ‘rule’ or ‘order,’ because this rendering simply cannot be supported in the context of 1QM 4:6. And indeed, the DCH, translates this line as the “list of the details of their names.”92 Here the editors of DCH bring together the meaning of פרוש as it is in CD 4:4 and its variation in 4:6: הנה פרוש שמותיהם translated in the DCH as

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91 Van der Ploeg translates this instance as “la série de leurs noms (bien) exprimés” (my italics), although it is unclear which terms he is translating; see van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 39. Jongeling translates: "et après cela l'indication complète de leurs noms en ordre" (my italics); see Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction, 133. Here he tries his best to twist the passage thereby forcing into his translation ‘order,’ because this rendering simply cannot be accepted given the syntax of the line. Ibba translates “tutta la lista dei loro nomi”—the entire list of their names; see Ibba, Il 'Rotolo della Guerra: Edizione Critica, 102. Ibba explains his choice more precisely in his note where he gives a literal reading: “Tutto l'elenco dettagliato dei loro nomi”—The entire detailed list of their names. He notes that the elenco (list) in this context is translating פרוש, which is interesting because Ibba has also used elenco to translate סףך in other contexts. Duhaime translates: “... and after these the whole ordered list of their names.” Abegg appears to have followed Jongeling with: “... and after these the list of their names in full;” see Abegg, The War Scroll," 151.

“behold, (there/here are) the details of their names.”⁹³ Also in CD 15:2: הב כל פרוש השם, DCH translates the line as “in it (i.e., the law of Moses) are all the details, i.e., the full spelling, of the name (of Y).”⁹⁴ The DCH, I would argue, has produced the best translation for this line, a translation that would put this instance of סרך שם under the rubric of spatial organization: meaning a general list or layout of the names, which shows their relation to one another in conceptual space. Once again, within this eschatological context, this instance of סרך שם can be described as conceptual—it visualizes a physical banner that will present itself in the future upon which will be written significant names, accompanied by ‘details’ that qualify each of the names. This is a striking image, especially given the presumption in Second Temple times that knowledge of a human or divine name carried with it great influence and effective power over the name-sake.⁹⁵ We have here effectively the description of a magical military tool that will materialize in the future.

The next example comes in 1QM 4:9, a section that introduces the order of the standards for the whole congregation to be used during the war:

סרך אותות העדה בצאתם למלחמה

(This is the) arrangement of the standards of the congregation. When they march out for battle...

⁹³ See ibid., 760.
⁹⁴ See Baumgarten, DJD 18, 103-04.
⁹⁵ For example, see comments from M. Rose in his article on the Names of God in the OT: “the knowledge of the name opens up specific human dimensions for communication and for fellowship. The one who knows the name of a god or a human can appeal to them. The knowledge of the name can thereby have effective power. Magic and incantations attempt to use this knowledge through techniques which exploit the influence of the name;” see Rose, "Names of God in the OT," in ABD, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1996, c.1992), 1002.
Once again, we are within an end-time context in which the covenanters conceptualize banners that will be used during the War of the Divisions. That is, they are describing the layout of the standards of the congregation with their relative insignias, as they will appear.96 The spatial order of these banners, to be presented during this future time, are described in concrete terms as if they already existed.

In the next column of M, a new section begins in which the layout for the arming of various divisions is described (1QM 5:3):

The layout for the order of fighting battalions...

Here it is hard to conceptualize the description given in M as a set of principles or regulations, or further as a code of discipline.97 It is easier to understand this instance as a spatial arrangement—a layout of the battalions as they will look on the ground at a future time. Here the precise number of soldiers in each division is related, including an exact portrayal of the divine weapons that will be forged in gold, silver bronze and encrusted in jewels (1QM 5:5-6)

96 This is similar to Ibba’s assessment; he translates serek here as “ordinamento,”—arrangement—and he comments that “the term סֶרֶךְ can point either to [the word] ‘rule’ or ‘arrangement’: “Il termine סֶרֶךְ può indicare sia ‘regola’ che ‘ordinamento.’ Il contesto mostra che si vuole elencare, secondo un certo ordine stabilito, la disposizione delle insegne della congregazione con le relative scritte,” see Ibba, *Il ‘Rotolo della Guerra:’ Edizione Critica*, 104. Both van der Ploeg and Jongeling translate this instance as “règle.” Yadin’s English translation prefers once again “disposition;” see Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 276.

97 Here van der Ploeg and Jongeling both translate serek as ‘règle,’ in addition to translating לְסֶרֶךְ as a Pi’el infinitive construct with *lamed*-preposition; see van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction*, 40.; and Jongeling, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction*, 144. Yadin in his English translation uses “disposition;” see Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 278. Duhaime also translates this phrase as “(This is the) rule to array the fighting battalions,” construing it as a title, and taking לְסֶרֶךְ as an infinitive construct with *lamed*-preposition; see Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 107. While Abegg generally translates serek as ‘rule,’ he takes לְסֶרֶךְ in this instance as a verbal noun, rendering it ‘for arranging;’ see Abegg, “The War Scroll,” 152.
for the occasion, reading more like a vision of the future than a set of regulations. In each of these sections, the author goes on to paint a picture that includes magical military paraphernalia, the dimensions of the banners, the magic formulas to be written on each, and the specific spatial make-up of the fighting battalions.

The next example comes in 1QM 9:10—a rather damaged part of the scroll. Here, there appears to be a description of a tactical maneuver that the scribes name ‘towers’:

סרכנה לשמע סדר דגי המלחמה

The layout for changing the order of the battle divisions...

There is general agreement that סֵר”ך should be translated as ‘rule’ here. It must be emphasized that what follows this instance of סֵר”ך, once again, is not a list of instructions, but rather a description of the maneuver itself. In this instance, סֵר”ך introduces a conceptual picture of a spatial organization that will manifest in the future.

The final use of סֵר”ך in this manner in M comes in 1QM 15:5, which describes the first engagement in the War of the Divisions:

ספר סרכנה עם כל דברי התוシン

Book of the Arrangement of his Time including all the words of thanksgiving

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98 See van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction*, 44. See also Jongeling, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrán: Commentaire et Traduction*, 238. Finally, see Duhaime, "War Scroll," 115. Yadin connects this passage with 1QM 5:3; however, he does not comment about the word סֵר”ך; however, in his English translation he uses ‘disposition; see Yadin, 312 & 286. For his English translation see Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 300.
This use of סֵרֶך’ך introduces a book—the contents of which is not entirely known—often translated as the ‘Book of Rule of his Time.’ Yadin, in regard to this, comments:

One has to suppose that the intention is to organize, that it contained the serek of the prayers for the times and for the different holy days; that is—indeed—a “serek (arrangement) of prayers,” [or] a “siddur (prayer-book; lit., arrangement of prayers)…” (my translation).

Despite his explanation in the Hebrew edition, in his English translation Yadin leaves in transliteration the words: “Serek ’Itto.” If one reads the term in context, the best translation would be in a spatial sense; i.e., in the sense of a physical list or layout, as Yadin had put forth in suggesting a connection with seder. Either the book was a physical list of various prayers, or it was a chronological list of events that would come to pass. In either case, it is a spatial ordering of information in ink on parchment.

The first example of סֵרֶך’ך being used in a spatial sense in D comes in CD 7:6-7 (CD 19:3 adds [אשר היה קדם]). The context of the larger section in which these lines are found is of a summary of certain duties of members:

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99 Ibba gives ‘libro della regola del suo tempo’ but he does not comment on his choice of words to translate serek; see Ibba, Il Rotolo della Guerra: Edizione Critica, 204-05. Others who choose to translate ‘rule’ are Duhaime and Abegg; see Duhaime, "War Scroll," 129. Finally see Abegg, "The War Scroll," 161.

100 See Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, ad loc.

101 See Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, ad loc.
As regards the whole passage, it has been pointed out by several scholars that the reference to members living in camps and living according to the סֶרֶךְ of the land is out of place, given that this section is inserted between the promise that they will live for a thousand generations in 7:6, and a warning that begins in 7:9. Given the semantic range devised in the examples above, one should render this instance as: ‘in the camps according to the layout of the land’ (in CD 19:3 adding אשר היה קדם: “which existed formerly”). While this passage could be referring to an earlier time when members had lived in camps, one possible reading is to take this camp to be the same as the war camps described in M. It is likely that these camps are the war camps that would form during the War of the Divisions, and that this section of D is also describing an imagined future, end-time scenario. If this is the case, then this first instance does not refer to a ‘rule,’ or ‘law’ of the land, but rather to a particular physical layout that will occur in a future wartime scenario. Since this would be a layout that would exist in the

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104 Baumgarten and Schwartz, in addition to Knibb, have regarded this instance of the term serek to mean ‘rule;’ thus, according to the rule of the land; see Baumgarten and Schwartz, “Damascus Document (CD),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, PTSDSP 2: Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents (Tübingen - Louisville: J. C. B. Mohr - Westminster/John Knox Press, 1995), 25. See also Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 52. J. F. Elwolde, however, has argued that this instance of serek does not make good sense in its own right, and thus should be amended to כדרך הארץ; in other words, if they live in camps “in the customary way;” see Elwolde, “Distinguishing the Linguistic and the Exegetical: The Biblical Book of Numbers in the Damascus Document,” *DSD* 7.1 (2000): 14.

105 This hypothesis is taken up further in Chapter 2 below.
future—a future inspired by Num 1-2—it can be concluded that in D this instance of סרפך describes a layout based upon that given in Numbers. In this way, the camps did not yet exist; their arrangement existed in the minds of the covenancers as inspired by Numbers.

The second example of the root סרפך to be used in a spatial manner in D comes in CD A 7:8 (which parallels CD B 19:2-4). The context of the larger section in which these lines are found is a summary of certain duties of members:

... according to the arrangement of the Torah, as it says: “Between a man and his wife and between a father and his son (Num 30:17)”

What would it mean to do something “according to the serek of the Torah (instruction)”? If we can assume that תורה refers to the Law of Moses here, then perhaps a logical translation of סרפך would be ‘rule,’ as in “according to the rule of the Law.” However, one might ask why the scribes did not simply write כתורה, since ‘Torah’ appears to suffice in most instances in the Hebrew Bible when the law is being referred to.105 While translating כתורה כסרפך as ‘according to the rule of the Law’ is possible—a variation of which is accepted by most translators—the passage can also be translated in accordance with the manner סרפך is most often used in M. This would yield: “according to the plan/layout of the Torah.” If this is the case, the author may simply be stating something akin to: according to what is laid out in the Torah. Given that the Torah would be given by God through his prophet Moses, then the conceptual world that is described in those sacred texts would have been thought of by the covenancers as His Plan or

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105 E.g., Jos 8:32; 23:6; Judg 4:11; 1Kgs 2:3; and, 2 Kgs 14:6.
Design; that is, the Torah would have within it—according to its *nigleh* meaning—the imagined, conceptual spatial arrangement for a future time. Thus, ‘according to the layout of the Torah’—*סכרה התורה*—can be read as ‘according to His divine plan or design of His Law.’

The third example in D comes in CD 10:4. In this section we encounter a list that lays out the physical arrangement of judges of the congregation, according to their ages and number:

> והסכר לשפטי העדה...

And this is the *arrangement* for the judges of the congregation...

It is interesting to point out that Dupont-Sommer notes in his edition that “[t]he function of these judges is not entirely clear;”¹⁰⁶ that is, we are really only given information about the physical makeup of the judges, not about their duties as such. The passage goes on to state that judges will be between 25 and 60 years of age, and continues to lay out the makeup of the judiciary—ten in total; four of Levi and Aaron and six from Israel. The ‘layout of the judges’ is discussed in terms of the ages of the judges and their relative numbers, but not in terms of their duties. Despite this, translators are unanimous in their translations of this instance as ‘rule.’¹⁰⁷ This is not a ‘rule,’ but rather a physical arrangement of the makeup of the body of

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¹⁰⁷ Baumgarten and Schwartz render the line “And this is the rule for the judges of the congregation...” see Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," 45. Vermes translates this line in the exact same manner except he types it in italics to make it stand out as a title, see Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 141. Knibb does not translate CD 9-16 since according to him it is only of a legislative character; see Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 13. Hempel translates in exactly the same manner; she also notes that the term *serek* is often used to mean ‘rule,’ and she points to Schiffman’s *Halakhah at Qumran* (see above) for a discussion of the term; see Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction*, 100-01. Finally, Wise uses ‘This is the rule for the judges of the nation,” see Wise, “Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association,” 71. While it
judges. \textsuperscript{108} It should be pointed out that the regulations that do follow this section starting in 10:10 are headed by \textit{על"ך} meaning ‘concerning’ (CD 10:10; 14), which appears to start a new section. Whether this is an imagined layout, or whether it described a social reality must be left as a question for debate. If we accept that D describes a future arrangement that will form during the War of the Divisions (as was postulated for CD 7:6-7 above), then this description of the makeup of the body of judges can be described as a spatial arrangement for the future—based upon a conceptual model gleaned from the Scripture.

The next example of the root ס"ך comes in CD 12:19 (parallel text in 4Q266 f5ii:14); a section which describes the settlement of the towns of Israel:

\textit{ס"ך מושב ערי ישראל על המってしまוהו על התמידי בנ\it{ה}המה ערי ישראל על המשפטים ה\it{ל}לולאויי לכהות קדש לשלום} \textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{19} The \textit{layout} of the settlement of the towns of Israel is in accordance with these laws [i.e., the aforementioned laws in 10:10-12:8]: to separate between \textsuperscript{20} the impure and the pure and to distinguish between holy and profane.

It has been noted by scholars that this header also appears out of place. According to Hempel, it is either a conclusion to the description of laws that came before from 10:10-12:18, or it is a

\textsuperscript{108} In modern, legalistic terms, the difference between ‘principles’ and ‘regulations’ is subtle, but worth clarifying: a principle is “a basic rule, law or doctrine” whereas a regulation is “a rule having legal force, backed by an administrative agency or a local government;” see \textit{Black's Law Dictionary}, 7 ed. (St. Paul, Minn: West Group, 1999), 1211. It is important to emphasize that modern legal definitions will not apply exactly to the ancient context of the DSS. In modern legal parlance, there are specific definitions for such terms as ‘regulation,’ ‘statute,’ ‘principle’ and ‘ordinance.’ Each of these terms constitutes the force of a particular jurisdiction. Because of this ambiguity, it is important to define what one means when one speaks about ‘law’ generally as a concept. Legal language can be defined as that which points to a collection of precepts by which, to some level, a legislative body is in charge of and according to which it may prescribe what it considers to be normative and persecute what it considers to be deviant; see ibid., 889.
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‘bridge’ between the rules of the camp and the rules of the town.\textsuperscript{109} However, reading this passage using a conceptualization of סרץ meaning physical ‘arrangement’ or ‘layout’ helps to make it fit into its current context in a more logical manner. The entire section from 10:10-12:18 lists various laws dealing with purity. After these laws are stated, the scribe concludes by saying that the towns of Israel will have to live by these laws—המשמעים האל INDEX—that is, according to the laws from 10:10-12:18. In other words: “The layout of the settlement of the towns of Israel is in accordance with these laws: ...” In this manner, it is possible to read these purity laws as part of the spatial, conceptual arrangement of the cities of Israel that will be inhabited by the Sons of Light in the end time. The laws themselves in this section are not referred to as serakhim, but rather they are referred to as mishpatim. The serek here refers to the spatial arrangement.

In CD 12:22 another section begins with the root סרץ, a section which at first glance appears to catalogue what have generally been taken to be some of the ‘rules’ for those living in camps:

וזה סרך מושב המחנות...

This is the arrangement of the assembly of the camps...

Hempel recognizes that this section can be compared to CD 14:3-6 (see below). She states:

“[w]hen one compares the make-up of the meetings of all the camps [...] to the make-up of the meetings of individual camps [...] a difference in scale can be noticed” (my italics).\textsuperscript{110} Despite the fact that she translates סרץ as ‘rule,’ she seems to recognize that the content of these

\textsuperscript{109} See Hempel, The Damascus Texts, 50.

sections are about the spatial make-up of the meetings rather than being about specific judicial regulations regarding these meetings. This section emphasizes that every congregation making up a minyan must contain at least one priest knowledgeable in the ‘Book of Hagu.’ The passage is based in part on the organization in the wilderness of Ex 18:21-25, a configuration that Jethro recommended to Moses. Translators of D have unanimously translated this instance of סֶרֶךְ as ‘rule;’ however, given the manner of information that follows this instance, we can conclude once again that a better translation would be layout in a spatial sense. The information that the root סֶרֶךְ organizes is not judicial—connotations that ‘rule’ or ‘ordinance’ would evoke—but rather, the noun סֶרֶךְ introduces a description of the physical arrangement of a camp. Once again, if we concede that these camps in D could be the camps of the War of the Divisions, then this ‘arrangement’ could be described as an imagined space that will only come to form in the future end time.\footnote{There are three other instances of the occurrence of serek in what have most often been described as non-serek-like texts (although it is difficult to know their exact make-ups given their fragmentary natures). They may in fact have been part of serek-like texts, but their fragmentary nature will not allow us to determine this with any certainty. The first instance comes from a text known as 4Q\textit{Ages of Creation A} (4Q180); published in Allegro and Anderson, DJD 5, 77-79. The text appears to describe several periods of human history, and the fragment in question lists the generation after Noah (4Q180 f1:4):... This is the list of the son[s of Noah, from Shem to Abraham...]

... זה סרך בנ... This passage is translated by Milik as “This is the order of generations after the creation of Adam and from Noah to] Abraham” translating his text: הַזָּה סֶרֶךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם אוֹתָדוֹת אָדָם וּמַעְלָהָם... See Milik, \textit{The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 249-51. However one decides to reconstruct the text, it is clear that the author intended to provide his reader with a physical list of sorts, cataloguing a genealogical list. This list creates a genealogical space in which the descendants of Noah are placed beside each other along a continuum. The next example that can be given of this use of serek can be drawn from...}
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2.1.1 Summary
There are at least 16 examples of the root סֶרֶכֶךָ being used in the DSS to describe a spatial relationship between objects or concepts, whether showing the physical make-up of a camp, or introducing the layout of written names upon banners. In each of these instances, סֶרֶכֶךָ denoted the ‘ordering’ of objects or concepts in spatial terms, rather than introducing a list of legal precepts. In nearly all of the examples given, the space that was described was an imagined space that would only come about in a future, end-time scenario. Thus, as regards social motivation in these instances, one can conclude that the root סֶרֶכֶךָ was chosen specifically by the covenanters because they hoped to describe their imagined future in concrete, spatial terms, thereby leaving no room for doubt that their particular physical conceptualization for the future was the true conceptualization.

4QHoroscope (4Q86, olim 4Qcryptic); published in Allegro and Anderson, DJD 5, 88-91, where the scribes describe the physical characteristics of someone born under a particular zodiacal sign (4Q86 f2i 2-3):
...דקות ויושבת על סרכ מה... 
...and his teeth 3 [are] fine and sit in their order...

In this occurrence, the idiom appears rather obviously to mean ‘in order,’ in a physical sense. In idiomatic English, it can be rendered as: ‘his teeth (are) fine and sit in (good) order.’ Again, behind this usage is a description of a physical series—in this case a series of teeth—being in their proper arrangement. The final example that can be given of this use of serek can be drawn from 4QHoroscope (4Q86, olim 4Qcryptic; published in ibid.), in which the scribes describe the physical characteristics on someone born under a particular zodiacal sign (4Q86 f2i 1):
הגריות וזקנו [ין] יינו בין שחורות וב...סרך
The order/‘shade’ of his eyes is between black and light and his beard

One might intuitively choose to translate serek in this instance as ‘shade’ since the passage qualifies serek as being a range between dark and light. In essence, this is what a shade is: a technical term describing continuum between two extremes; i.e., an ordering of qualities along a continuum.
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2.2 Hierarchical Disposition

The second semantic category into which the root סרך can be placed might be called ‘hierarchical disposition.’ Under this rubric, סרך means more specifically ‘to list,’ or ‘to arrange’ in a hierarchical manner; thus, it can also mean ‘to rank.’ This rubric can be seen as an extension of the spatial disposition described above: conceptual or physical objects are arranged; however, here the emphasis is upon the ranking of the arrangement. As a noun, the term סרך in this category can be translated as rank, hierarchy, class or ranking.

The first example of this hierarchical disposition comes near the beginning of S (1QS 1:16-17) where the scribe explains the admission of members into the community:

וכלו לאשר לassed והיחד יעבורו בברית לפי אל לעשות...

...thus all those who enter into the hierarchy (4QSb 2:1 reads בסרך) of the community shall cross over into a covenant before God in order to act according to everything which he had commanded...

It is interesting to note that the only other place that this term occurs in construct with the noun יחד comes in 1QS 1:1; for this reason, several scholars have translated this instance of סרך as a repetition of the title of the document in 1:1. However, in the context of the passage it makes good sense to think of individuals as ‘entering into the hierarchy of the community,’

\[\text{References}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{112}} For example, Qimron and Charlesworth translate the line as 'all those who are entering shall cross over into the covenant before God by the Rule of the Community...'; see Qimron and Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community (1QS)," in The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents (Tübingen - Louisville: J. C. B. Mohr - Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), 9. This sort of translation was also used by Vermes in his revised edition where he simply translates 'Community Rule;' see Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 99. In a similar way, although in a more consistent manner, Knibb translates 'all those who join the order of the community shall enter into a covenant before God...;' see Knibb, The Qumran Community, 82. However, this time in his note he does not talk about hierarchy and states that "[e]ntry into the community involved entry into a covenant to serve God faithfully" (84).\]
their place in which will be determined by their insight and deeds (cf., 1QS 5:23). Taken this way, the scribe is depicting an idealized, conceptual space in which the Sons of Light will be organized perfectly according to their predetermined rank as commanded by God. Given the phrase כככל אשר צוה, one has to conclude that this describes a perfect, predetermined ranking. In this deterministic framework, there is no room for error. However, we find out later in 1QS that the covenanters also had to devise specific regulations to account for the transgressions of errant Sons of Light. Thus, their social reality—the social space in which they actually lived—had to account for Sons of Light who were less than perfect. Their סֶרֶ—that is, the measure of their perfected reality—did not have room for such anomalies. Their conceptual world was idealized and imagined to be perfect. Thus, while this portion of S does not describe a future reality, it does describe a moralized space that is set up according to a strict hierarchy sanctioned by God.

We also see such hierarchical usage in a section that details of the ceremony for the annual review of membership in S (1QS 2:19-21):

...הכהנים יעברו 20 ברשונה בסרכ לפי רוחותם זה אחר זה והלויים יعبرו אחריהם ...

...the priests shall cross over 20 first in rank, according to their spirits, one after the other. Then the Levites shall cross over after them, 21 then all the people shall cross over third in rank...
Scholars have translated בָּסְרֵך in several manners; for example, Wise has used ‘by rank’ and Knibb has used ‘into the order’. However, when the context is taken into account, these lines are best read in light of the meaning of תכון we saw above. To reiterate, it was shown by M. Kister that this word comes from a semantic field meaning ‘to measure,’ but with specific theological connotations. Kister gives a specific example of this from within S: תכון על ועת (1QS 9:12), which he claims demonstrates the relationship between the ‘measure’ of the periods and the spiritual measures (or weights) of human beings. Thus, the word תכון would denote the portion of righteousness and spiritual capability allotted to the members of the sect: איש בתכונות, הבונים (1QS 6:4, 8; cf. 6:10). Given such notions, one has to assume when the members are organized בסרכ לפי רוחותם that this is not just any type of hierarchy, but rather it is a spiritually qualitative hierarchy according to the rank of each member, rank being understood in a deterministic manner. In light of the “Instruction on the Two Spirits,” it is likely a predetermined nature of which is being spoken here.

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114 Wise translates the first instance as ‘ranked’ and the second as ‘by rank;’ see Wise, “Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association,” 119. His first translation does not follow the Hebrew, and should not be accepted. In a similar manner, Vermes uses ‘ranked’ for the first instance and he does not translate the second instance in 1QS 2:21; see Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 100. Qimron and Charlesworth translate both of the occurrences as ‘into the order’ again with a footnote stating that the term serek literally means ‘rule;’ see Qimron and Charlesworth, “Rule of the Community (1QS),” 11. In a similar manner, Knibb translates ‘into the order,’ however, he notes that this ‘passage prescribes the hierarchical order that is to be observed when the covenant is renewed’ (my italics); see Knibb, The Qumran Community, 88. Finally, Wernberg-Møller translated both instances as ‘into the order’ presumably where ‘order’ means the community as a whole; see Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction, 24.


116 See ibid.
The third example of the root סרך meaning ‘rank’ comes in 1QS 5:23 at the end of a section listing the stipulations governing the examination of the initiates:

וכתבם בסרכ איש לפני רעהו לפי שכלו ומעשיו

And they shall register them *by rank*, each in relation to his companion, according to his insight and his deeds...

After the initiates have been examined, the text states that they must be registered according to their insights and deeds, which makes sense in the context of the passage. E. Qimron and J. H. Charlesworth translate this instance of סרך as ‘in the rule’ with a footnote stating that it can also be translated as ‘order.’" It is unclear however, what ‘rule’ would mean in this context: Is this Rule another specific book or register? Is ‘the Rule’ a code-name for the community? They do not clarify this in their translation. Given the context of the passage and especially the explanatory phrase that follows—איש לפי רעהו—the best manner of understanding this instance in context is as ‘rank.’ Thus, the ב functions here to turn סרך into an adverb. As in 1QS 1:1, the notion of ranking individuals has to be taken as hierarchical. The covenanters are arranged according to a hierarchized space that God has determined from the

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117 See Qimron and Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community (1QS)," 25.

118 Wernberg-Møller has also translated this instance as ‘in the order’ (with a small ‘o’) without explanation as to whether this meant a document or the community as a whole, although one might assume that he meant community; see Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction, 29. Consistent with his other translations, Knibb retains ‘in the order,’ but again he notes that “members of the community were ranked in strict order [...]. The present passage refer[ring] to the assignment of new members to their place in that order;" see Knibb, The Qumran Community, 114. Here Knibb means ‘order’ in the sense of ‘hierarchy’ and not in the sense of ‘ordinance.’

119 Wise also translates the term—noting the use of a ב—as an adverb and renders it ‘by rank;’ see Wise, "Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association," 124.
beginning of time. This hierarchy cannot be understood without accepting the covenanters' philosophical views of hard determinism.

The next example of סֶרֶך”ך being used hierarchically appears in a line that is slightly more difficult to render at first. It occurs in S, in a section listing what appear to be special regulations for the ‘Session of the Many’—that is, for public meetings (1QS 6:8):

...This is the ranking for the session of the Many. Each (member) by his spiritual measure: the priests shall sit first, the elders second...

The root סֶרֶך”ך is used in close proximity to what appears to be its near synonym: תכון. What has not been pointed out up to now is that the content given after this line describes a sequential seating list: “each man in his proper place: the priests will sit in the first row, the elders in the second, then the rest of the people, each in his proper place.” This is not a regulation as such; rather, it is more precisely the description of a conceptual and hierarchical sequence, which presumably will be fulfilled physically at this sort of meeting. That is, it lists the ‘hierarchy’ of the members—or סֶרֶך”ך—as they will be arranged during the sessions. As

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120 Several translations of this passage have been suggested; for example, Wernberg-Møller translates the phrase as ‘This is the regulation for the session of the Many;’ see Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction, 30. In a similar guise, Qimron and Charlesworth prefer to use the English word ‘rule’ which they have claimed, several times in their footnotes, is the literal meaning of serek; see Qimron and Charlesworth, “Rule of the Community (1QS),” 27. Wise also cannot shake the temptation to translate serek here as ‘rule’ despite the fact that he has preferred to use ‘rank’ in the examples given above; see Wise, “Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association,” 125. Even Knibb departs from his usual translation of ‘order’ and renders the phrase: “This is the rule for a session of the many;” see Knibb, The Qumran Community, 117. In a similar manner, Vermes had translated this line as a title of sorts: “This is the Rule for an Assembly of the Congregation” (his italics), see Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 106.

121 See comments below regarding תכון.
regards the term תכון, it has been shown by Kister that it comes from a semantic field meaning ‘to measure,’ but with specific theological connotations (especially in the scrolls of the covenants). While the term can denote the divine ordering of periods of time, it also denotes—in Kister’s terms—the ‘spiritual measures with which people are endowed.’ Kister goes on to say that the sentence ואיש איש ולמשקל ועת עת לתכון (1QS 9:12) demonstrates the relationship between the ‘measure’ of the periods and the spiritual measures (or weights) of human beings. Indeed the very word תכון denotes also the portion of righteousness and spiritual capability allotted to the members of the sect: איש בתכונו (1QS 6:4, 8; cf. 6:10) and this idea is connected with other terms such as ‘lot’ (גורל), ‘portion,’ ‘inheritance’ (נחלה). Thus, what we have in this portion of S is a statement about how the members will be organized according to their predetermined position within the community, a position that is evident according to an individual’s perceived spiritual qualities. In this manner, the סֶרֶפֶּד is the predetermined ‘ranking’ of members relative to the session.

The next example of the term being used hierarchically comes within a discussion centered on the status of initiates and the procedure around their two-year process of admission. Here the author states in 1QS 6:21-22:

123 See ibid.
124 See ibid., 167. Also see the study of Pines which claims that later Jewish notions of demonology may be tied back to these older notions surrounding one’s personal גורל; see Sh. Pines, “The Oath of Asaph the Physician and Yohanan ben Zabda: Its Relation to the Hippocratic Oath and the Doctrina Duarum Viarum of the Didachē,” PIASH 9 (1975): 263-64.
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If the lot goes out to him to approach the community, he shall be registered in the rank of his spiritual measure amongst his brothers...

In the section immediately preceding this, we are told that the פָּקֵד רֹאֶשׁ הָרְבעִים will examine the initiates and if thought suitable, the initiates would be permitted to enter into the community on probationary terms (1QS 6:13-14). Here it seems clear enough that the term is being used in a technical manner to mean, ‘rank’ or ‘hierarchy’ and not in the sense of a ‘regulation.’ This is a hierarchical sequence, and the fact that the term should be translated as such has already been expressed by several scholars in their own translations of 1QS. It must be added that this notion is once again inextricably interwoven within a framework of predeterminism. Here the covenanters are talking about the predetermined spiritual ranking of members who will join the community not by their own choice, but rather because the ‘lot’ will go out to them. Once again, סְרֶךֶ describes a hierarchized space in which God’s predetermined will comes to pass as expressed through the strict hierarchy of the community.

The next instance in which סְרֶךֶ is used clearly in a hierarchical manner comes in Sa (1QSa 1:21). The section that immediately precedes this passage describes the education of members

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125 For example, Qimron and Charlesworth translate the term in this line as ‘order’ with a footnote stating that the Hebrew can also mean ‘rule;’ see Qimron and Charlesworth, “Rule of the Community (1QS),” 29. In a similar manner, Knibb has preferred ‘in the order of his rank;’ see Knibb, The Qumran Community, 119. The same translation ‘in the order of his rank’ is given by Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 106-07. Along differing lines, Wernberg-Møller translates the phrase סְרֶךֶ תַּכֹּן as ‘definite place,’ which essentially skirts the issue by avoiding the term through paraphrase; see Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction, 31 and 110. Wise translates the phrase in a similar manner to Wernberg-Møller as ‘appropriate rank’ which can also be criticized since Wise too appears to disregard the term סְרֶךֶ by not distinguishing it clearly from תכון.
until their 20th year and the various stages of their membership in the community. The line in 1QSa 1:21 concerns the fate of a man who is a פתי; that is, mentally incompetent.126

...ובעבודת המס יעשה עבודתו כפי מעשוה... 22 even though he shall do his service in task-work in proportion to his ability...

His family shall merely register (him) into the ranking of the army even though he will serve behind the scenes helping the soldiers.127 This occurrence of סר has been translated variously by scholars;128 in context it seems best to translate it as ‘ranking’ along lines similar to what was seen in S. While it is obvious that סר is being used here in a military context, it is not clear that it is being used in the sense of a ‘military unit’ as in the martial disposition that will be described below. That is, the incompetent will be registered into the ranking of the army—albeit at the very bottom of the hierarchy—and will only be assigned menial tasks that will not disturb the fragile balance of the divine war. He will still be able to participate in the battle, but only in a very tangential and limited manner given his lowly predetermined rank.

126 For a brief discussion of the term פתי as it is used in Sa, see Schiffman, The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 27.
127 This is likely an expansion and commentary upon Deut 20:1-7 in a manner reminiscent of m. Sot 8.
128 In DJD 1, D. Barthélemy translates the line as “sur le rôle des effectifs” which would be rendered into English as ‘into the register of the military force;’ see D. Barthélemy, “Règle de la Congrégation (1QSa),” in DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 115. In a similar manner, Vermes translates ‘army register;’ see Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 160. Knibb does the same; see Knibb, The Qumran Community, 148. Schiffman prefers ‘roster’ over register, but essentially this has the same meaning; see Schiffman, The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 27. Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck translate “register of the army,” but they state in their note that the literal meaning of serek should be ‘rule;’ see Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, "Rule of the Congregation (1QSa)," in The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, PTSDSSP 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents (Tübingen - Louisville: J. C. B. Mohr - Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), 115.
Again, here we are privy to the hierarchy of the imagined future world of the War of the Divisions.

The next example of the term being used hierarchically also comes in Sa when the ranking system of the eschatological community is further expounded. Here the particular the role of the Levites is discussed (1QSa 1:23-24):

...על פי בני אהרון להביא ולהוציא את כול העדה איש ב סרכו על יד ראשי

...according to the sons of Aaron, to bring in and lead out all the congregation, each according to his rank, at the hand of the heads of the magistrates of the congregation...

The overall backdrop for this passage is one of a military scene; the gist of the section is that the Levites will serve in the army in some capacity under the sons of Aaron, the priests. The scribes state that Levites, under the authority of the priests, will command the other members of the congregation, and that the members of the congregation must be organized according to their rank in the hierarchy: ‘each man in his order/hierarchy.’ While the term hierarchy sounds cumbersome in English in this line, if one is to use ‘order’ it must be used with the sense of ‘hierarchy’ or ‘sequence.’ The scribe is not speaking about any sort of ‘rule’ or

129 Barthélemy in DJD 1 translates this instance as ‘son poste’ in contrast to his rendering of the previous line in which he used ‘rôle’ in the sense of ‘register;’ he comments in his note: ‘ici le ‘rang’ individual [est] fixé par le rôle;’ see Barthélemy, “Règle de la Congrégation (1QSa),” 115. Vermes follows suit and renders the phrase as ‘each in his place;’ see Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 160. So too does Schiffman in his translation: “each according to his (place in the) roster;” see Schiffman, The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 28. Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck also follow the suggestion of Barthélemy and translate: “each according to his (place in the) register;” see Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, ‘Rule of the Congregation (1QSa),’ 115. Again, they point out in their note that the literal meaning of serek should be ‘rule.’ Knibb in his translation returns to his preferred rendering of serek and produces: ‘each man in order;’ see Knibb, The Qumran Community, 148.
'regulation' here, but rather about how the armies shall be organized. Their organization, once again, is according to predetermined rank.

An example of the term being used hierarchically in D comes in CD 14:3, in a section describing the meeting of all the camps:

וסרוכ מושבכולמחנות...

*Hierarchy* of dwelling in all the camps...

This section describes a very precise and hierarchical—and likely martial—living arrangement; the members are to be organized by their stations: Priests, Levites, Israelites and then proselytes, and the text goes on to lay out a specific seating arrangement. Once again, translators of D have agreed that this instance of סרך כ"ח must be translated as 'rule,'\(^{130}\) however, once again it makes more sense to translate this instance within the semantic framework of 'ranking.' In other words, this line means to expound the predetermined ranking of the camp, and not to give a rule concerning its makeup. סרך כ"ח serves to describes the predetermined arrangement of the ranked members the camp.

There is one verbal example in M of the root סרך כ"ח being used to mean: 'arranging hierarchically,' and it comes in 1QM 2:3 where we see the find the following phrase:

... ואת ראשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר כוהן הראש ומשנתו...

...they shall arrange the chiefs of the priests *hierarchically* behind the chief priest and his deputy...

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\(^{130}\) See, for example, Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction,* 131. Also see Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," 57.
It is interesting to note variations in several of the translations of the form סרוכו. Scholars have generally been forced to render this instance as rank given the context, and indeed, this is likely the best manner in which to take it. Also, given that the scribes proceed to describe thereafter a hierarchy—i.e., ‘the priests behind the chief priest and his deputy’—this instance makes most sense if understood as a description of a hierarchy. In the eschatological scenario created by M, and within its predeterministic system of ranking, this instance of סרוכו is best described as hierarchical. The scribes have painted a hierarchical space in which we can envision several persons standing in relation to one another according to their predetermined ranking.

The next hierarchical case comes again in 1QM 4:11:

...ופרוש שמותם יכתובו עם כל סרכם...

...and the details of their names they shall write with their entire ranking...

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131 For example, Yadin translates: “The chiefs of the priests they shall dispose after the chief priest and his deputy;” see Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 262. Vermes translates this line as “They shall rank...”; see Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 166. Abegg appears to follow suit when he renders the line: ‘They shall rank the chiefs of the priests after the Chief Priest and his deputy?’ see Abegg, *The War Scroll*, 149. Van der Ploeg translates the line as “Et aux chefs des prêtres, ils assigneront des places après le grand-prêtre et son second...”: ‘And to the chief priests, they will assign stations behind the Chief Priest and his deputy;’ see van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction*, 36. Van der Ploeg also notes that the verb סרב can have the same connotations as the Greek verb τάσσω, which are ‘to arrange’ or ‘put in order,’ and thus it can mean ‘to put someone in their place; that is assign (assigner);’ see ibid., 69. Jongeling departs from this and renders the phrase “Et on rangera les chefs...” ‘And they will arrange the chiefs...’ see Jongeling, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction*, 100. However, he notes that he arrives at this translation by making the connection between ‘régler’ and ‘ranger;’ see ibid., 80. Duhaime simply translates the line as “They shall arrange the chiefs of the priests behind the chief priest and his deputy;” see Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 99. As Abegg and van der Ploeg have noticed, this instance of סרוכו definitely describes a hierarchical ordering or ranking.
As pointed out above, the DCH rendered 1QM 4:6 as the “list of the details of their names.”\textsuperscript{132}

Here once again we have הפרוש meaning ‘details,’ but in this instance, סֶרֶך cannot mean a ‘general list’ as it did in 1QM 4:6. Rather, given the context we have to assume that the scribes were depicting a scenario in which the Sons of Light would write out the details of their names including the complete details of their status. Either this is their status in the army (i.e., rank in the army), or it is an esoteric ranking (i.e., their spiritual nature, perhaps describing the qualities that were determined by scrutinizing a member’s zodiac sign). In either case, this ranking is again predetermined as per the philosophical worldview of the covenanters, and thus we must conceptualize this instance of סֶרֶך as a hierarchized place.\textsuperscript{133}

2.2.1 Summary

There are at least 8 examples of the root סֶרֶך being used in the scrolls to describe a hierarchical relationship between persons, objects or concepts. While this category is very similar to the spatial disposition described in 2.1, it carries with it the added nuance of organizing according to particular principles of rank. As has been pointed out, the primary

\textsuperscript{132} See The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, vol. 6, 200.

\textsuperscript{133} The final example of hierarchical disposition comes in a fragmentary text that has not been labeled as a serek. It is called 4QWays of Righteousness\textsuperscript{b} (4Q421 or 4QWaysRight\textsuperscript{b}), which constitutes part of a composite sapiential text that deals in some way with their organization (4Q421 fii 3):

\[ \text{לְשַׁבַּעַת הבָּהָר אִשֶׁה לֵאמֶר רֵעֵיהֶם} \]

\[ [...\]... to \textit{rank} everyone, each before [his] neighbour

Garía Martínez and Tigchelaar translate this passage as “to arrange everyone, each before [his] neighbour,” see The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 889. Vermes on the other hand renders this line as: “to regulate all (placement of) one before another,” see Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 440. While we cannot know the exact context, it is once again probable that a hierarchical organizing is being described here. Once again, it is likely that this ranking is connected to predeterminism.
principle by which rank is determined by the covenants, is the divine ‘ranking’ with which individuals would be born. Thus, in the covenants’ worldview, this hierarchical disposition points to a specific social motivation; that is, the covenants were keen to preserve their own established hierarchy and to promote it as being the true expression of the divine plan. In this way, the root סֶרֶך"י"ך served as a potent lexical marker of the divine plan. In each of these instances, סֶרֶך"י"ך denotes the ‘ranking’ of objects or concepts in spatial, albeit divinely hierarchized terms.

2.3 Martial Disposition

The third category into which the root סֶרֶך"י"ך can be placed can be called ‘martial disposition.’ Under this rubric, סֶרֶך"י"ך means more specifically ‘to array,’ or ‘to muster’ in a military sense; that is, ‘to arrange soldiers in a battle line.’ This can also be considered a subcategory of the spatial disposition, in that it too describes a form of physical organization. As a noun, the term in this category can be translated as forces, battalion or army—that is, the specific layout of a military formation.

The first example comes in 1QM 3:3 in a section that provides a description of the trumpets to be used during various phases of the war. Each trumpet bears an insignia of sorts, and one is described as having the following:

...יכתובו סרכ אל... 

...they shall write: “God’s Army”
Given the fact that this instance of the root סֵר is without a greater context, it is impossible to translate the term without reserve. The majority of scholars have opted to choose the translation ‘rule’ once again. However, van der Ploeg suggests that the insignia should be rendered as “Armée de Dieu,” and Jongeling follows suit with “Phalange de Dieu.” The scribe likely means ‘God’s Army’ given the context. If we accept this sort of spatial, military arrangement for our rendering of סֵר, then we must also concede that in the context of M, this is a military space that is being described; ‘God’s Army’ that will be reserved for the later eschatological age.

The second example comes from 1QM 6:10 in which a description of the deployment of the cavalry is given:

...לאנשי סרך המרכות...

...for the men of the forces of the lines...

Once again, the best translation here, given the overall context in which סֵר is presented, is as a physical arrangement of soldiers; that is, the forces themselves.

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134 See Wise, "Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association," 150. See also Ibba, Il Rotolo della Guerra: Edizione Critica, 94. Yadin claims that serek means here the community itself: "הכת כאל במשמעות העדה" see Yadin, מנו👹 מפורש ומשמעי חית (הכת"; see Yadin, מלחמת מגילת 272-73, n.3. Thus, in his English translation, he transcribes the word with capital letters as a proper noun: “Serek of God;” see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 268.

135 See van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 37. See also Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction, 121. Alexander also agrees with this in his assessment: “it denotes the actual battle array, the army deployed in battle order.” See Alexander, "Rules," 799.

136 Van der Ploeg translates this as "...pour les hommes (du gros) de l’armée des formation;" see van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 41. He goes on to comment that he agrees here with Yadin who connects this instance with the Greek τάξις, which can also mean a body of soldiers (see above). Yadin translates this instance as a circumlocution of sorts, rendering סֵר as a passive participle “drawn up” conflating...
forces is for an imagined time—an arrangement of soldiers that will come to be formed in a future time.

The next example of סֶרֶך"ך" comes in 1QM 5:4, a section that lays out the structure of the fighting battalions:

משבשעם סדרי מבעבר מעמד איש אחר איש...

There shall be seven forward rows ⁴ to each battle line, arranged in a military line; the station of each man behind his fellow...

The simplest manner in which to translate this passage is again to see it as a martial term, describing the men mustered in a physical line, one behind the other.¹³⁷ While I have translated this instance as 'line,' which makes most sense in English, the sense of סֶרֶך"ך" here is military given the context. It is used to describe a physical arrangement that will come to be formed in the future; i.e., a line of soldiers, in the eschatological War of the Divisions.

its meaning with המלך את (lines/formations) and presents: "...to the men drawn up in the formations;" see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 286. It is interesting to note that H. Bardtke leaves serek without a translation; see Bardtke, "Die Kriegsrolle von Qumrân übersetzt," TLZ 80 (1955). Jongeling goes along with this suggestion and renders the line "...aux hommes de la phalange des lignes;" see Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction, 187. Ibba chooses to make סֶרֶך"ך into a noun translating it as 'commander:' "...per gli uomini del comando delle sc[h]iere"—for the commander [lit. men of the command] of the formation; see Ibba, Il 'Rotolo della Guerra: Edizione Critica, 120. Duhaime translates "...for the men of the rule of the lines," and does not give any comments; see Duhaime, "War Scroll," 109.

¹³⁷ This passage, starting after line 4, is translated by van der Ploeg as "...disposés de façon que chaque home soit place derrière un autre," and he does not comment on the line in his commentary; see van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 40. Jongeling renders this part: "...disposés en ordre de position," and he also does not give any comment; see Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction, 167. Yadin renders the line: "...arrayed according to the disposition;" see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 278. Ibba, also without comment, translates "ordi[na]ti secondo la regola (con ciascuno) un posto (stabilito)"—organized in accordance with the rule (with each person) an (established) position; see Ibba, Il 'Rotolo della Guerra: Edizione Critica, 110. Duhaime gives "(when) arrayed according to the rule, one man standing behind another;" see Duhaime, "War Scroll," 107.
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The next example comes in 1QM 6:11 in the same section describing the deployment of the cavalry:

וֹפְרֵשִׁים על רַכֵּב אָנָשׁ חָסֵכֶר... The horsemen, including the cavalry of the men of the army...

Once again, the best translation here, given the context, is a physical arrangement of soldiers for the future eschatological times; that is, the end-time army.\(^{138}\)

Again in the same section, we find 1QM 6:14:

וֹפְרֵשִׁים חָסֵכֶר יִהְיוּ מָבֵן אר עַר בֵּין עָרָי נַעֲבר עַל חָזֵכֶר... The horsemen of the army shall be from forty years to fifty...

The best translation here, given the overall meaning of סֵר is an arrangement of soldiers; in other words, the army.\(^{139}\) Again, this is military arrangement as the covenanters believed would materialize during the future War of the Divisions.

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\(^{138}\) This line is translated by van der Ploeg in the same manner as the line above: “Et les cavaliers, y compris les chevaux des hommes (du gros) de l’armée...;” see van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction*, 41. In a similar manner, Jongeling renders ‘Les cavaliers, y compris la cavalerie des hommes de la phalange;’ see Jongeling, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction*, 187. Yadin claims that this instance of serek represents the entire congregation or fighting force, and thus he leaves the word in transliteration: “the horsemen serving with the cavalry of the men of the Serek;” see Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 286. Ibba makes a similar move as compared to 6:10 and renders “I cavalieri [...] compresi delle cavalcature degli uomini del comando”—*The horsemen [...] consisting of the cavalry of the commander;* see Ibba, *Il ‘Rotolo della Guerra: Edizione Critica*, 120. Abegg translates the passage “The horsemen with the cavalry of the men of the army...;” see Abegg, *The War Scroll,* 153. Finally, Duhaime renders the phrase: “The horsemen, including the mounts of the men of the rule...;” see Duhaime, *War Scroll,* 111.

\(^{139}\) Van der Ploeg translates this as ‘les cavaliers (du gros) de l’armée;’ see van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction*, 41. Once again, Yadin in his English translation prefers to use transliteration for this instance: “The horsemen of the Serek...;” see Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*...
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The next example comes from 1QM 7:1a, a section that describes the recruitment and ages of the various soldiers:

ואנשי הסרך יהיו מבן ארבעים שנה ועד בן חמשים

And the men of the army shall be between forty and fifty years of age...

Here too the best translation, given the overall meaning of סֶר"ך in these military contexts, is an arrangement of soldiers; that is, the army.140

There is also an example in 1QM 7:1b of סֶר"ך being used as a verb in this sense:

ואנשי הסרכי המחנות יהיו מבן חמישים שנה ועד בן ששים

And those who muster the camps shall be from fifty years to sixty.

In this instance of the root סֶר, סֶר"ך, we encounter an active participle being used as a nominal.141

As Jongeling points out, it is difficult to know what the original meanings of סֶר and סֶר"ך against the Sons of Darkness, 288. Jongeling renders: “Et les cavaliers de la phalange...” see Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrán: Commentaire et Traduction, 187. Ibba renders this line once again in line with his previous translations for this passage: “(per) il cavalierei del comando...”—(for) the horsemen of the commander...; see Ibba, Il ‘Rotolo della Guerra:’ Edizione Critica, 120.

140 Van der Ploeg translates this line as “et les hommes (du gros) de l’armée...” see van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 42. Yadin, taking the term to mean the community as a whole, leaves the term as a proper noun: “the men of the Serek...”; see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 288. Jongeling translates: “et les hommes de la phalange...” see Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrán: Commentaire et Traduction, 198. Ibba persists with his use of serek to mean ‘commander’ in these instances and translates: ‘gli uomini del comando;” see Ibba, Il ‘Rotolo della Guerra:’ Edizione Critica, 124. Abegg simply translates: “and the men of the army...” see Abegg, “The War Scroll,” 154. Duhaime translates using ‘rule,’ but he does not explain what this means in the context; see Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 111.

141 In van der Ploeg’s translation, he takes this to mean “those who maintain order” in the camps; see van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 42. Yadin notes that the סֶר"ך must have a governing capacity over the camp, while the סֶר whom the scribe mentions at the end of the line govern over the various units; see Yadin, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrán: Commentaire et Traduction, 299. He arrives at this conclusion by pointing out that the Aramaic translation in the Targumim of the biblical סֶר (e.g., Ex 5:6, 10) is: סֶר.
were in BH and Aramaic respectively. While they denote military posts of some sort, it is not
certain whether the roots mean ‘to rule’ specifically. In the case of סֶרֶךְ it is likely that the
root came from a semantic field meaning ‘to write,’ as van der Ploeg points out.\textsuperscript{142} As well, the
Aramaic סרכב is likely not related to BH סֶרֶךְ—despite Levine’s insistence on the
connection—but rather is related to the Persian saraka which means head.\textsuperscript{143} Thus, in this
case, given the range of meanings that have been seen in the scrolls for סֶרֶךְ, it is likely
that the verb means simply ‘to muster’ or ‘to array,’ that is, transitively as ‘to put in order
militarily speaking.’ In other words, the men who will lead in mustering the troops together
will be between the ages of 50-60; a good role for persons who will likely be too old to fight.
Again, the ‘mustering’ of these men is imagined for the future, end-time scenario.

The next example comes from 1QM 13:1 in a section that describes the blessings to be recited
by the leaders after victory:

...וכל זקני הסרכה עמו...

...and all the elders of the army with him...

\textsuperscript{142} Thus, the ‘commander’ in the case of the סֶרֶךְ may well have been more of a high clerk or scribe, as the LXX
translation - γραμματεύς - suggests (for example, in Ex 5:6); see van der Ploeg, "Les šōtrim d’Israël," OTS 10 (1954).

Here too, the best translation comes from within the context of M. The overall meaning of סֵר is the eschatological arrangement of soldiers; that is, the end-time army.\footnote{This section has been translated by van der Ploeg as “et tous les anciens de l’armée avec lui;” see van der Ploeg, \textit{Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction}, 48 and 149. Yadin states that here the term means “congregation”—\textit{”העדה”}, see Yadin, \textit{The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness}, 320. Jongeling translates “et tous les anciens de l’ordre avec lui;” see Jongeling, \textit{Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction}, 294. He comments in this context that the word should mean ‘order’ in the sense of a ‘monastic order,’ and he cites van der Woude as evidence to support his claim in this context; see \textit{ibid.}, 292. For van der Woude’s comments, see A. S. van der Woude, \textit{Die messianischen Vorstellung der Gemeinde von Qumrân} (Assen: PhD diss., 1957), 126. Ibba translates: “e tutti anziani della regola con lui”—\textit{and all of the elders of the rule with him}; see Ibba, \textit{Il Rotolo della Guerra: Edizione Critica}, 178. Duhaime translates “all the elders of the rule with him;” see Duhaime, \textit{”War Scroll,”} 123. Finally, Abegg translates “and all the elders of the army with him;” see Abegg, \textit{”The War Scroll,”} 159.}

Another example comes in col. 15; after particulars regarding blessings for the first battle are given, the following line is added (1QM 15:4-5):

\begin{quote}
...then the chief priest shall stand, and with him his brothers, the Priests and the Levites and all the men of the army, and he will read out loud the prayer for the appointed time of battle
\end{quote}

This occurrence of סֵר has generally been translated as ‘all the men of the army,’ which indeed suits the context of the text at this point.\footnote{See, for example, Vermes, \textit{The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English}, 181. See also Wise, “Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association,” 161.} Here too, the best translation given the overall meaning of סֵר is an arrangement of soldiers; that is, the army.

The final example comes from a fragmented line in 1QM 18:6, in a section which appears to describe the final engagement of the battle:
2.3.1 Summary

The examples analyzed in this section were not given extensive commentary because nearly all of them resemble one another as nominal forms meaning 'army.' In this sense, the root סֶר represents a very concrete spatial relationship—i.e., the physical arrangement of soldiers in a war. While this category is very similar to the spatial disposition described in 2.1, it carries with it the added nuance of 'military organization.' Here, each of these instances occur in a future, end-time scenario; i.e., the War of the Divisions. Thus, in the covenancers’ worldview, this military disposition is one that is predicted for the future, and thus one can say that the social motivation for the martial disposition is to give hope for coming redemption through war, and thus to provide a vehicle through which this hope can be ...

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146 Van der Ploeg translates this as: “et les chefs de l’armée;” see van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 53. This phrase is translated by Yadin in English by “and the chiefs [of the formation and the men] of the Serek,” despite the fact that he hasحضן הסר in his 1962 edition; see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 344-45. Jongeling renders the phrase: “et les chefs des formations et les hommes de l’ordre;” see Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction, 371. Ibba transcribes ונכ[א]י הנצר אנשי [הסר] (presumably he meant צבאות) and translates: “i ca[pi dell’esercito e gli uomini] del comando”—the hea[ds of the army and the men] of the commander; see Ibba, Il ‘Rotolo della Guerra: Edizione Critica, 233-34. Abegg translates this line as “and the chiefs [of the battle lines and the men] of the army,” apparently according to Yadin’s 1955 transcription; see Abegg, “The War Scroll,” 164. Also see Yadin, 360. מנו[ל]ים מתוספת בני אר בן חרש; see Abegg, The War Scroll from Qumran Caves 1 and 4: A Critical Edition, 244. One has to prefer Abegg’s earlier reading as the damaged area can only accommodate 5-6 letters; see Sukenik, The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955 [1954 in Hebrew]), pl. 33. Duhaime persists in using the word ‘rule’ and renders the line: “the chi[efs of ... of] the rule;” see Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 137.
expressed. While the martial arrangements are all for a future time, the notion that these arrangements are part of the divine plan created for the covenanters a heightened sense of self-righteousness, anchored by their perceived future military strength. While the martial disposition only occurs in M, this makes sense given the overall subject-matter of that text. M describes specifics of the battles themselves, and thus it is to be expected that *serek* as a martial disposition would be confined within it.

2.4 Procedural Disposition

The fourth and final category into which the root סֶרֶךְ can be placed can be called ‘procedural disposition.’ Under this rubric, סֶרֶךְ means more specifically ‘to put,’ or ‘to arrange’ in an order that offers a procedure or that gives a list of instructions; however, it does not occur in the scrolls in this manner specifically as a verb. As a nominal, the term סֶרֶךְ in this category can be translated as teaching, procedure, or list of instructions. This instance can also be seen as an extension of the spatial disposition, the difference being that it describes the arrangement of procedures in conceptual space rather than of arranging physical objects.

The first occurrence of סֶרֶךְ being used in this manner appears in the first line of S (1QS 1:1, and in 4QSa,c):
It is hard to know how this line should be taken, partly because of the damage in this part of the scroll; however, despite this difficulty, there has been general unanimity amongst scholars regarding how to translate it.\textsuperscript{147} Given that this is the beginning of the scroll, and given that scholars are unsure whether סרך is the best restoration for the text, one should be cautious not to make stern conclusions about how to translate this instance. If this occurrence is introducing the information that immediately follows—that is, a list of general precepts about the community—then it would be best to conceptualize this instance of סַרְךָ as a term that introduces such a list of precepts. In this manner, it might be best to translate סַרְךָ here as ‘List of Instructions.’\textsuperscript{148} Furthermore, if we accept this translation, then we must understand these instructions in the context of this predeterministic worldview. Here, as when סַרְךָ was translated as ‘rank,’ we must assume that these instructions—based upon Scripture—were understood to be predetermined by God. Thus, while we can imagine that the covenanters followed instructions in their social world, they are at the same time setting up an ideal. They

\textsuperscript{147} According to Wise the line should be read: “A text belonging to [the Instructor, who is to teach the Ho]ly Ones how to live according to the book of the Yahad’s Rule;” see Wise, “Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association,” 117. Here Wise—as in 1QS 6:8—translates serek as ‘rule.’ Wernberg-Møller gives several comments on the use of serek in this passage, and concludes that serek should be taken as a synonym for הָוָּכָל meaning ordinance or prescription; see Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction, 44. In this sense, he translates the opening as: ‘... for his life (?) ...[in the ord]er of the community;' see ibid., 22. Here ‘order’ presumably means ‘rule’ or ‘ordination.’ Knibb also translated the first line as “For [...] the book of the ru]le of the community;” see Knibb, The Qumran Community, 78.

\textsuperscript{148} On the other hand, one can also argue that this instance of serek describes the community hierarchy. If it can be accepted that the line should read as a triple construct chain סַרְךָ הָוָָכָל then one can connect it, at least by way of comparison, with 1QS 5:23 and 1QS 6:8. There it was argued that the serek was used to describe the ‘hierarchy;’ in other words, the strict sequence in which members were ranked within the Yaḥad. If this is the case here, then the ‘Book of the Serek ha-Yaḥad’ can simply be translated as the ‘Book of the Hierarchy of the Community.’ Thus, serek does not have to denote ‘ordinance’ or ‘regulation,’ but rather can be construed, as hierarchy or sequence. Presumably it was seen that a book which described the hierarchy of the community should contain, amongst other things, lists of laws and precepts.
are to seek God with all their heart and soul (1QS 1:2); to love what God loves and hate what
God hates (1QS 1:3-4). These precepts are not 'laws' as such, but rather, this entire section reads
more like a credo—i.e., it relays a procedure that will bring the covenanters into a space in
which they will feel empowered.

The second example of סֶרֶך in this manner occurs in 1QS 5:1 in a section that
lists several principles governing the life of the community:

This is the procedure/teaching for the men of the Community who have been
incited: one should turn away from all evil and hold fast to all which he has
commanded as his will...

While there is general unanimity of translation amongst scholars in rendering this instance as
‘regulation,’ one must point out that Qimron and Charlesworth give an insightful note in

149 For this translation of נַהֲנָהָ֣ב see C. M. Stauber, "Determinism in the Rule of the Community (1QS): A New
Perspective," in Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection (Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 358. In that article, I
argued that נַהֲנָהָ֣ב and נֶדֶב may be mistranslated as "volunteers," or "those who have freely pledged
themselves." I claimed that a better translation of נֶדֶב as an adjective in the Hithpa‘el would be: "those who are
incited." As a passive in the Niphal a better translation would be "those who have been incited." I argue that this,
combined with the clear statement in the 'Instruction on the Two Spirits' that God determines all, negates any
claim that the penal code must imply belief in free will, since the covenanters are making a clear metaphysical
statement to the contrary. There is no doubt that the covenanters believed they could do this or that action; the
debate is about whether they believed they had free will. The answer is that they believed God determined all,
and thus theirs is a metaphysics of fatalism.

150 This translation assumes that the infinitive constructions present in this passage should be translated as
infinitive constructs of obligation; see B. T. Arnold and J. H. Choi, A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax (New York:
CUP, 2003), § 3.4.1.e. See also Gesenius and A. E. Cowley, Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon
Press, 1910), § 114h, k-l. In addition, see Waltke and O’Connor, An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax (Winona
Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), § 36.2.3f. Finally, see Jouon and Muraoka, A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew (Roma:
Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2006), § 1241.

151 It is no surprise that Wernberg-Møller translates this line in S as: "This is the regulation for the men of the
community..." Such a translation appears at first glance to make most sense especially since there follow several
regulations of some sort; see Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an
Introduction, 27. Wise translates this phrase as "This is the rule for the men of the Yaḥad ..." Qimron and
their apparatus that points to a procedural understanding of this instance: they state that in both 4QS\textsuperscript{b} f\textsuperscript{5} 1:1 and 4QS\textsuperscript{d} f\textsuperscript{1} 1:1 this line reads — what I would translate as “Instructions, for insight,”\textsuperscript{154} concerning the men of the Torah”—instead of “This (is) the list of instructions for the men of the Community.”\textsuperscript{153} Thus, at least in two older versions of S, this section, which introduced regulations of sort, was headed by the word midrash—instruction—rather than סֶר. Thus, the ancient scribes—as well as modern scholars—seem to agree that this section contains instructions of some sort. However, one must be careful to distinguish between a list of instructions and the rule or instruction itself. And in this case, the list of procedures follows a particular sequence—and the root סֶר denotes this sequence. Here, as in 1QS 1:1, what follows is a type of credo—a list of general instructions or principles that embody the underlying deterministic thrust of S. The covenaners are to do everything possible to temper the Spirit of Darkness who acts to disrupt their membership in the Yahad.

The next occurrence of סֶר being used in a procedural manner comes in Sa at the very beginning of the text (1QSa 1:1):

וזה הסرص לכול עדת ישראל באחרית הימים

And this is the teaching for the entire congregation of Israel in the End of Days...


\textsuperscript{153} See Qimron and Charlesworth, “Rule of the Community (1QS),” 19, 61 and 73.

\textsuperscript{154} See Knibb, The Qumran Community, 104.
There has been unanimity amongst translators that this instance of סֶר "ך should also be rendered as ‘règlement/rule;’ however, it appears better to see this instance in light of S. This section lists procedures that follows a chronological sequence. Each new member fulfills the procedures in defined steps: members will be mobilized into the war engine, they will cease to live according to evil ways, they will read out the laws and eventually will be indoctrinated. All of these steps make most sense, of course, in a deterministic worldview. There appears in this section to be a free-flowing development in which the Son of Light is merely swept up into the Yaḥad during this end-time scenario. Members arrive (1QSa 1:4) as if out of nowhere, presumably carried by the Will of God. The title of Sa—Serek ha-ʿEdah—must have meant, given the information that follows, something akin to the ‘Procedure of the Congregation for the End Time.’ But this is not any ordinary procedure—this is a world fulfilled by divine instruction that the covenanters anticipated.

The next procedural example comes in 1QSa 1:6 in a section which describes the education of members of the community:

וזה הסרכ לכול צבאות העדה לכול האזרחיIsrael.

And this is the teaching for all the armies of the congregation, for all those born in Israel...

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154 See Barthélemy, "Règle de la Congrégation (1QSa)," 111. Also see Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 139. Another translation can be found in Schiffman, The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 11. A further translation can be found in Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, "Rule of the Congregation (1QSa)," 111. Finally, see Knibb, The Qumran Community, 147.
The manuscript makes it quite clear that this is meant to be a new section—a section that traces the steps a young member will take upon entering the war-time community. As regards how to translate here, scholars agree that there is good reason that this instance of the root סרך must be referring to a set of rules. However, this instance is also readily understandable in a procedural sense as the scribe draws a picture of the members according to their ages. In this sense, it can be seen as a procedure for younger members. The section depicts several stages of membership according to the ages of the members: (1) at 10 years of age, the youngest members are taught the Book of Hagu and the statutes; (2) at 20 years of age, the members are registered into the Community; (3) at 25 years of age, they attain full membership; (4) at 30 years of age, they become of legal majority with all of the responsibilities thereof, and finally; (5) at old age, they are only assigned duties according to their strengths. Again, the overall context of Sa is the end time, and presumably the 33-year period in which the War of the Divisions would be fought. During this time, it would have been understood that the covenanters, now based in Jerusalem, would continue to have children. These new members of the Yahad would also have to be brought into the membership of the community. This section does not describe 'laws' or 'rules' as such, but rather draws a picture of the procedural stages that would have to be undertaken during the

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55 Barthélemy starts the section with: "Voici maintenant le règlement pour tous les effectifs de la Congrégation;" see Barthélemy, "Règle de la Congrégation (1QSa)," ii2. All of the remaining translators that I have referred to in the previous section render this instance as 'rule,' with one important exception being Schiffman, The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 13. Also compare Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 160. For another translation see Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, "Rule of the Congregation (1QSa)," ii1. Knibb, The Qumran Community, 147. Wise translates this portion as "The following is the policy for all the troops of the congregation, and it applies to every native-born Israelite;" see Wise, "Charter for Israel in the Last Days," 138.
end time before the children of the Yahad could attain full community membership. Given the context, this can be described as a procedure that would manifest in the future.

The next procedural example comes in CD 13:7 and is similar to the example given above, except here the text describes the duties of the overseer of the camp:

...וּזִהְו סְרֵךְ תֶּמֶנֶק לִמְתַחְנוּ

And this is the teaching of the overseer of a camp...

Again, סְרֵךְ is translated by most scholars as ‘rule.’ However, what follows this heading reads like a ‘job-profile;’ in other words, a set of instructions or teaching for the overseer. The overseer will instruct, he will be kind like a father, he will guard, he will examine and he will write down members’ names in the order of their inheritance. This instance is procedural in that it outlines the specific procedural duties of the overseer.

The next example comes in CD 14:12 in a section that lays out how charity and social support will be organized in the camps:

...וּזִהוּ סְרֵךְ הָרְבִּים לָכָינָה אֵת כֹּל חפּוֹצֵיָם

And this is the procedure/teaching for the Many to provide for all their needs

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156 See the translation in Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," 55. Also see Hempel, The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction, 115. Another translation can be found in Dupont-Summer, The Essene Writings from Qumran, 157. Finally, see Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 143.
Here too, scholars translating this passage have collectively rendered 'סר פ' as ‘rule.’\textsuperscript{157} C.

Hempel attributes this heading to the work of the ‘Serek-redactor’ given the frequency of the expression 'הרבים' in S.\textsuperscript{158} As regards the translation of the passage, given the sort of information that this heading introduces, it is quite reasonable to translate the header as ‘this is the plan/procedure for the Many to provide their needs.’ In what follows, the scribe paints a picture of a procedure for providing charity: i.e., (1) two-days wages each month will be given to the overseer, and (2) from this amount the needy will be provided for. The two-step procedure is simple, but effective. This plan for the giving of alms is based very likely on the biblical \textit{מעשר} (Deut 14:22-29) that is to be given to the poor and to the Levites. Two-day’s wages per week—if we assume a 364-day year and minus Sabbaths and other Holy days—would be approximately 8.7 percent of one’s income.\textsuperscript{159} While this is shy of the 10 percent required in the Scriptures, it is possible that this is the source for the charity scheme in this section. Also, if we assume that the camps in D are military camps for the War of the Divisions, then we can conclude that this \textit{serek}-procedure is imagined for a future, end-time scenario, rather than describing the social reality of the isolationist group.


\textsuperscript{159} If we assume a 364-day year, this can be divided into 52 weeks (which gives 13 months of 4 weeks each). This means that 26 workdays per year are given to charity. If one minuses the Sabbaths (52 in one year), this leaves 312 work days from which one must also minus other Holy days, leaving approximately 300 workdays per year. 26 divided by 300 workdays equals approximately 8.7 percent. On the 364-day calendar see VanderKam, \textit{Calenders in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time} (London & New York: Routledge, 1998), 110-16.
Chapter 1: Analysis of Instances of "סרך" in the DSS

The next procedural example comes in 1QM 7:17 in a section that concludes a list of instructions for the priests and the Levites during the War of the Divisions:

...氪ו כלל הפלות הר... 

...and they shall go out according to [this] entire procedure/teaching...

Unfortunately, the text that follows is broken. However, it appears that steps are given after this occurrence of "סרך" describing how the battle lines will be formed. In Abegg's restoration, the lines immediately following the ones cited above are: "...men of the] infantry from the gates 18 [and they shall take positi]on between the two battle lines, and [...] the bat[te ...]"

Van der Ploeg translates this passage as "ils sortiront selon tout cet or[dre ]," although he does not comment on why he chooses 'ordre' over 'règle.' Likely the reason that both chose this translation is that they sensed what had preceded this line was the description of a procedure, rather than a regulation or a maxim of sorts.

The next section comes in 1QM 8:14, which describes the procedure by which the priests will blow the trumpets:

...משבר ההו חקועה [מחזב לשולשת הווילם...


See van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 43. Jongeling on the other hand renders the phrase "...suivant toute [cette] règle," and he also offers no comments; see Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction, 210. Yadin in his English translation uses the following: "...according to all [this disposition..." Note that Yadin's numbering is off since he forgets to count the vacant lines. Thus this line is 7:16 in his edition; see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 294. Ibba also follows suit with "...come (disposto da) tutta [questa] reg[ola...;" also without comment; see Ibba, Il Rotolo della Guerra: Edizione Critica, 128. Abegg uses "according to all [this] o[rdre," and Duhaime chooses "according to every ru[le...;" see Abegg, "The War Scroll," 155., and Duhaime, "War Scroll," 113.
According to this procedure/teaching the priests shall blow for three divisions...

Davies translates this as “According to this procedure (סرص) the priests shall blow for the three battalions.” Given that particular instructions are given that must be carried out in a particular sequence, Davies translation of procedure is the best in this context. This is an imagined, divine procedure that would occur in the War of the Divisions.

The next procedural example comes in 1QM 16:3 (parallel in 4Q493 f1:9) after the first engagement of the final battle is described:

אַתָּ הוֹךְ שָׁמְרֵנָה...

They shall do this entire procedure...

This line introduces what follows; that is, a list of various events that will take place in a particular order. First the priests will sound the trumpets of the Reminder, then they will sound another signal for the Battle Array, then a second signal shall be sounded and the gates

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162 See Davies, 1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977), 54. This section has been translated by van der Ploeg as “selon cette règle,”—according to this rule—without comment; see van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 43. Jongeling renders “suivant cette règle,” also without commentary; see Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction, 223. Ibba adds the word prescribe: “Come (prescribe) questa regola”—as this rule prescribes, see Ibba, Il ‘Rotolo della Guerra:’ Edizione Critica, 156. Abegg translates: “According to this rule...” and Duhaime does the same; see Abegg, ‘The War Scroll,” 155. Finally, see Duhaime, ‘War Scroll,” 113.

163 Yadin claims that this instance of serek describes everything which was laid down before, and he translated the line as: “All this disposition they shall carry out;” see comments in Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 334. Note that Yadin does not count empty lines in his transcription and therefore he numbers this line 16:2. His English translation is in Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 350. Thus, for him the reader is implored to carry out the entire ‘rule’ which has just been described. For van der Ploeg, he notes that this line refers to what comes after; however, he still translates the line as “Tout ce règlement;” see van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 51. Jongeling follows suit with “Toute cette règle;” see Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction, 342. Other translators after Jongeling have used ‘rule’ in some form; see Ibba, Il ‘Rotolo della Guerra:’ Edizione Critica, 212-13. Finally, see Abegg, ‘The War Scroll,” 162.
of war will open. The procedure described here is more like a choreographed dance in which each performer plays their part. Thus, this is not a precept, but rather the description of a predetermined process that will take place near the close of the end time.\textsuperscript{164}

2.4.1 Summary
There are at least 9 examples of the root ס"כ סר being used in the scrolls to describe a procedural relationship between concepts. Here, ס"כ סר does not describe a strictly physical relationship between objects, however, it is still possible to think of a list of instructions or procedures as existing in a conceptual ‘space’ in relation to one other. In most instances, this conceptual space was an imagined space that would come about in the future. And when the procedure was described for the present time, as we saw in 1QS 1:1, there still existed a discontinuity between the imagined space of the disposition that assumes perfection, and the social reality which was far from perfect. Thus, in this manner, the serek-procedures create an imagined space for the covenanters.

\textsuperscript{164} There is one final procedural occurrence that comes in a badly preserved text called 4QPurification Liturgy (4Q284, olim 4QSndt). It has been called the Rule for a Menstruating Woman because of its mention of the term serek and me niddah (4Q284 fii 4-5; published by Baumgarten in DJD 35, 123-29. The following is the passage which concerns serek:

|ס"כ הנדות לישראל [This is] the procedure/teaching of the impurities for Israel | מי נדה להזו [This is] to sprinkle lustral water |

This section is translated by García Martínez and Tichelaar as “[... This is] the rule of the impurities for Israel,” see The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, vol. 2, 639. Abegg on the other hand find a different reading based on the manuscript, and interprets [תודה] as thanksgiving); thus, “the “Rule of Thanksgivings” for Israel,” see Abegg, “Ritual of Purification for Festival Days,” 366. Given the state of the manuscript it is difficult to know what the scribe wanted to catalogue, and it is also nearly impossible to determine the precise context. Did he show the steps to be taken to purify? Or, did he list the various impurities? However we take it, this fragment was introducing a list of procedures to be followed to counteract ritual impurity.
3 Conclusions

This analysis makes clear that a new, contextual conceptualization of the root נָּשָׁר is needed. My research has shown that the term can be described according to a four-fold semantic range. At its core, נָּשָׁר connotes an ‘ordering’ or ‘laying out’ of conceptual or physical objects in relation to other objects. This basic meaning is expressed in four categories that I have described: (1) Spatial Disposition—in this sense, the root has its most basic meaning, referring to laying out or organizing in space. This meaning was already described by Yadin when he noted that נָּשָׁר can be used in a manner approximate to סֶדֶר.

The second shade of meaning for the term is described as (2) Hierarchical Disposition. In this category, the root means to arrange according to a conceptualization of rank; in other words to arrange in a specific, order from worst to best. This meaning was used by Charles when he made a connection with the Greek version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Yadin presaged the third category—(3) Martial Disposition—through his connection between ὑποδοχή and נָּשָׁר in the context of M. When the term is used with this shade of meaning, it denotes a military arrangement; that is, an army or a battalion. The fourth category—(4) Procedural Disposition—was presaged by Schiffman when he concluded that ‘the usual usage of serek in the DSS is in the introduction to a set of regulations [...] a list of halakhot.’ However, I have shown that in the scrolls, when the root נָּשָׁר is used in this manner, it describes such

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165 See Yadin, 347.
regulations either as a general list of principles or in terms of being a procedure of sorts; that is, a list of instructions that must be done in a particular order. A סֶרֶךְ is not simply a list of rules or a list of halakhot.

One recalls that Jastrow gives two definitions for סֶרֶךְ (Serek) (1) Safa’el of אר''ך (cf. סר''ג,ג) ‘to interweave,’ ‘to twist,’ or ‘to wrong,’ corresponding to Hebrew עָרָךְ: see Lam 3:59 (1027); and, (2) ‘to clutch,’ ‘to hold fast,’ ‘to cling to.’ In this rabbinic context, the noun סֶרֶךְ means ‘example,’ ‘clinging to,’ ‘habit,’ or ‘following the example of.’ In the context of the DSS, however, it may be possible to hypothesize that there existed a Safa’el form derived from עָרָךְ that also formed a root סֶרֶךְ. If this is the case, it would account for the range of meanings for סֶרֶךְ as evidenced by the DSS corpus. In the context of the DSS, however, it must be added that this ‘arranging’ is conceptual and imagined. It is the arranging of an ideal. The overall results are summarized here in the following table. In addition to this, every occurrence of the term serek in context has been listed in Appendix I, including the Hebrew and an English translation. Finally, a proposal for a new entry for סֶרֶךְ has also been drawn up in Appendix J:

\[\text{Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Bavli, Talmud Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature, 1028.}\]
Table 1: Semantic Range of Serek

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>スדף</th>
<th>Semantic Range</th>
<th>Verbal Translation</th>
<th>Nominal Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Spatial Disposition</td>
<td>to lay out, to arrange, to list, to organize (Qal/Safa’el?)</td>
<td>series, list, layout, arrangement, disposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Hierarchical Disposition (a scale of comparison)</td>
<td>to arrange hierarchically, to rank (to be ranked)</td>
<td>rank, hierarchy, order, ranking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Martial Disposition (a number of persons arranged for military purposes)</td>
<td>to array, to muster (Pi’el?)</td>
<td>forces, battalion, army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Procedural Disposition</td>
<td>(Does not occur)</td>
<td>list of instructions, teaching, algorithm, procedure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to describing these raw categories, the results of the analysis show that the root סbelongsTo as used by the covenanters carried with it a very particular social motivation; i.e., the root was used to describe dispositions that were—from our point of view—primarily imagined and conceptual. That is, while the term conceptualizes the world in terms that seem concrete, it is also describing an imagined reality that had not entirely ‘materialized’ yet.

3.1 Implications for Creating a Gestalt Paradigm of Serek Texts

The implications of this new semantic conceptualization of the root ס’ך as seen in context are significant in that they have shown that the noun ס”ך is not used by the covenanters to

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170 It is labeled as such in The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, vol. 6, 200.
describe any particular type of legal or judicial text. The root, in its usage in the \textit{serek} texts, is more complicated than has hitherto been assumed. At its core, it connotes ‘arranging,’ of physical objects or concepts into a conceptual space. Thus, the essence of the term connotes the global meaning of ‘arrangement;’ it does not specifically mean a ‘rule’ or an ‘order’ in any contemporary legal sense. In all cases, the term is used in organizing the information of an imagined world, whether a list of procedures to be accepted as a member of the Community (as in 1QS 1:1) or the make-up of the army for the end-time battle (as in 1QM 1:1). On the whole, it must be concluded that in the majority of cases \textit{serek} denotes an imagined space—a space that the covenanters believed would be formed in a future timeframe.

Thus, if one were to draw up a preliminary, overarching definition for the texts that make such extensive use of the root $\textit{serek}$—after this contextual, semantic analysis—one would say that it is used by the scribes to create documents that testify to a divine, preordained arrangement that God had promised—an arrangement that had been predicted in the past and was starting to manifest itself in the present and into the future. We can conclude for example that M—as a blueprint for a new physical world—served as a testimony to the arrangement that God would create in the near future. In a similar manner, S, Sa & Sb and D also attest to this manifesting arrangement. The \textit{serek} texts were acts of testimony to God’s wisdom, and to the secrets of the prophets—knowledge that the covenanters described as \textit{nistar}. In the face of adversity, they are the foundational documents of the community that narrate their past, present and future, all of which are come under the rubric of $\textit{serek}$—the divine arrangement.
In this manner, the term *serek* can be seen as part of the scribal sociolect of the covenanters—a neologism that parallels in uniqueness the term *pesher*.

At this point, however, we have only looked at the root `םךירא in isolation. While the contextual, semantic analysis of this root provides a wealth of information about the *serek* texts, it is imperative to go further in order to understand the *serek* texts as cohesive documents. The next step will be to look at the *serek* texts at the textual level, moving our gaze up to the broader literary elements of structure, narrative and theme. This will allow us to understand the *serek* texts as more than just documents that happen to use the root `םךירא *in situ*, to understand them as a unified textual group with more fundamental correlations.
CHAPTER 2
Textual Level: Textual Features within the Serek Texts

1 Introduction

As pointed out in the introduction, one of the difficulties in analyzing the serek texts is that we have no other texts that use the term serek from the Second Temple period or from before that we can use as direct points of comparison; serek texts seem to appear as lonely islands in the literature of the period. Despite this, as shown in Chapter 1, the root סַרְק is used in S, Sa, M, and D in a deliberate and specific manner to organize four types of information: spatial, hierarchical, martial and procedural. This gives us clues to their overall purpose, and I would argue that the fact specific types of information are organized by the term points on its own to a specific purpose, unifying the serek texts. Within this conceptual framework, it appears that the scribes were creating compilations of sorts that gathered specific types of information, a fact reflecting the core meaning of the term as established in Chapter 1, being ‘arrangement.’

In addition to the phenomenon of compiling, however, there are other features that also unify S, Sa, M and D at the textual level.

171 See discussion on the term serek in Chapter 1.

172 I must justify my use of the term ‘compilation’ to describe the structure, over the other obvious choice I would have had, being ‘anthology.’ The use of the term ‘anthology’ to describe the serek texts would be reminiscent of Fitzmyer and the scholars of his generation who coined the phrase ‘le style anthologique.’ In Fitzmyer’s words: “In both the Qumran literature and the New Testament we frequently find what has been called le style anthologique, the working of Old Testament expressions and phrases into the very fabric of the composition.... Such a style anthologique involves an implicit exegesis and is usually due to thorough acquaintance with and a reverent meditation upon the Old Testament,” see Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," NTS 7 (1960-61): 299. However, at the textual level, the serek texts do not demonstrate this phenomenon. Thus, for the purposes of this section, I am justified in describing the phenomenon of assembling various types of texts together in the serakhim as ‘compilation’ building, rather than as anthologies.
At first glance, it might not seem that one should be able to say a great deal about any unifying thematic or narrative structures within the serek texts, especially since S, Sa, M and D seem to be, at least on the surface, relatively different types of texts ostensibly pointing in the case of S and D to separate communities. However, if we turn this point around, we might say that a peculiar structural feature of the serek texts is that they are so incredibly diverse in terms of their construction. On its own, this could be considered a structural feature of the serek texts, and if looked at in this way, then we can proceed to ask whether there are any other textual features unifying the texts within these collections of various genres. For example, do certain themes and the arrangement of the diverse passages possibly point to a unifying narrative that the compilers of the texts wanted to create? To answer these questions, this chapter will undertake a textual analysis of the serek texts, examining four features—the structure, narrative, a central theme and a philosophical tenet—which are present in the serek texts. These analyses will help us to understand the serek texts as more than a collection of disparate text-types containing a semantically curious term—going beyond the philological analysis of Chapter 1—to understand them as compilations containing a global narrative.

There are important connections between the textual elements described in this chapter and the semantic features analyzed in Chapter 1. That is, the textual features described in this chapter parallel in an interesting manner the spatial, hierarchical, martial and procedural dispositions of Chapter 1. These parallels are summarized in the table below:

173 See, for example, the comments in Metso, The Serekh Texts, 7-14.
Table 2: Comparison of Semantic & Textual Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Level</th>
<th>The Root סְרֵכ</th>
<th>Textual Level</th>
<th>The Serek Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spatial Disposition</td>
<td>Hierarchical Disposition</td>
<td>Martial Disposition</td>
<td>Procedural Disposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organize information in a general manner as a plan or layout</td>
<td>Describes rank, hierarchy, class or ranking</td>
<td>Describes forces, battalions, armies</td>
<td>Describes teachings, procedures or lists of instructions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Serek Text</td>
<td>“Compilation”</td>
<td>“The Eschaton”</td>
<td>“Enemy Other”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particular types of texts are organized into compilations consisting of narrative, hymnic and instructional texts</td>
<td>A strong narrative thread emerges about how the end time will come to pass. Movement from present (lower rank) to future (higher rank)</td>
<td>Constant inimical force at work in the universe</td>
<td>God organizes the world in a particular order for the future. How God acts in history</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in this table, each of these four categories answers similar parallel questions at the semantic and textual levels. First, on the semantic level the term serek as a spatial disposition organizes general information, creating the question: ‘What is being organized?’ At the textual level we see an interesting structure emerge; that is, the compilation. The serek
texts are compilations that organize accounts, instructions and liturgic materials together, each of which will be discussed in detail below. Second, on the semantic level the term *serek* as a *hierarchical disposition* describes information according to ranking, hierarchy, or class. Thus, we see information organized according to a qualitative system—from lower to higher. This disposition creates the question: ‘In what manner?’ Or, parsed out more: ‘What is inferior and what is superior?’ In a similar way, at the textual level we find a *narrative* thread within the *serek* texts that describes a movement from the present, representing a lower ranking time, to the higher ranking future time in which the evils of the present will be either corrected or eliminated. Thus, we see an expression in a textual narrative of the hierarchy of history itself and the movement that will occur across a value-laden trajectory from the present to the future. Third, at the semantic level the term *serek* was used to describe a particular *martial disposition* meaning army, battalion or forces. We see an interesting parallel at the textual level in a *central theme* present in all of the *serek* texts—the theme of the ‘enemy other.’ These enemies are the constant inimical forces at work within the universe and answers the question: ‘Who?’ Finally, perhaps the most important disposition identified at the semantic level was the *procedural disposition*, introducing teachings, procedures or lists of instructions. At the textual level, I have identified an important parallel in the *philosophical tenet* of ‘divine design.’ This tenet describes the manner in which God organizes the world for the future times, and the fact that this design is predetermined. At both the semantic and the textual levels, the question that comes to the forefront is: ‘By what means?’ Or, ‘How will it come to pass?’ The instructions provide an answer to this—‘These instructions must be
followed unequivocally!'—and are organized by the term *serek* as a semantic rubric. At the
textual level, the question of ‘How?’ is expressed in the *serek* texts by a strong pretense for
predeterminism and for demonstrating how God’s divine design is expressed in history.

Taken all together, these textual features form a unified ideological backdrop for the *serek*
texts, and essentially become the conceptual scaffolding for a homogeneous story; a story in
which the scribes of all the *serek* texts—S, Sa, D and M—tell us about the eschaton. This is a
story that—while predicted in ancient times—starts in their present and continues into the
near future. That is, the *serek* texts collectively account for the beginning of the end time, and
conclude with the eschaton.

2 Structure—The Compilation

2.1 Preamble

Before I begin, a few words must be said about the compositional nature of the *serek* texts in
general. Scholars have shown that all of the *serakhim* have complex redactional histories, and
by this very nature, they are complex compilations. While this fact on its own may connect
all of the *serakhim* together, this phenomenon on its own cannot be said to be unique to *serek*
texts. Work on the books of the Hebrew Bible after the discovery of the DSS have all shown
scholars that many if not all of the biblical texts themselves had complex redactional histories,

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not to mention other texts.\footnote{This phenomenon is well known in the Hebrew Bible and in the New Testament; see, for example, the discussion on redaction criticism in Barton, \textit{Reading the Old Testament} (Louisville: The Westminster John Knox Press, 1984), 45-60.} However, the purpose of this section is to show that the types of texts collected by the various \textit{serakhim} are similar despite their individually complex redactional histories.

2.2 The Compilation

If one opens up any introduction to S, Sa, D or M, one will see a description of the various text-types or ‘genres' represented by each document.\footnote{Given my reservations in the introduction about using the term ‘genre,' I will use rather ‘text-type' in describing the various texts that have been compiled. For a further description of the limitations of the term ‘genre' in biblical studies, see Najman, “The Idea of Biblical Genre: From Discourse to Constellation,” in \textit{Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature}, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 307-08.} These have been variously described— as introductions, instructions, liturgies, hymns and treatises. However, on the whole the \textit{serek} texts compile three primary texts-types together, texts that I call the \textit{account}, the \textit{instruction} and the \textit{liturgy/prayer/hymn}. These are summarized and colour-coded in the table below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Account:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction; title and prolegomenon demarcating the boundaries of the community</td>
<td>Liturgy: Ceremonial Liturgy – covenant renewal ceremony</td>
<td>Account:</td>
<td>Instruction: Rules for community in general; rules of conduct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Treatise on the Two Spirits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hymn: Ceremonial Liturgy or Eschatological prayer? – for recitation at a major event?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa &amp; Sb</td>
<td>1QSa 1:1-5</td>
<td>1QSa 1:6-2:22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1QSb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Account:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction &amp; preamble</td>
<td>Instruction: Rules for those disqualified from service; on officials; eschatological council; rules for messianic convocation &amp; eschatological banquet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prayer: Eschatological prayer – blessings recited by a sage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Account:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction; title and summary of the enemies for the War-time period; further narration of stages of the War</td>
<td>Instruction: Rule of trumpets, standards, deploying of battalions etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prayer: Eschatological prayer – to be recited before and after battles</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>CD A 1-8 &amp; CD B 19</td>
<td>4Q266f5-6; 4Q270-272; CD A 15-16; 9-14</td>
<td>4Q266f1 &amp; 4Q268f1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Account:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prolegomenon; call to separate from transgressors; Admonition</td>
<td>Instruction: Practical matters of law and communal organization</td>
<td>Liturgy: Ceremonial liturgy – Expulsion ceremony</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of these individual text-types will be discussed in the sections devoted to them below. It must be pointed out that my classification of text-types does not always correspond to the
work done by scholars in textual redaction criticism. Nevertheless, the categories can be justified based upon their content.

2.3 The Account
The first text-type identified I have described as the ‘account,’ for these sections give account and context to the rest of the *serek* in which they are placed. Thus, these texts are both introductory and philosophical; they both admonish and they give overviews of how events are coming to pass. If these texts were originally from other contexts before they were compiled, we might say that in these original contexts they functioned both like wisdom literature and historiography. They give philosophical and historical contexts to the instructions and liturgies that will also be collected and compiled. One interesting observation that can be made about this material is that—as it is presented—it appears to be broken into two distinct timeframes: that of the present and that of the future. It would not make sense to quote in full each of the sections presented in the chart above, as in so doing one would have to rewrite all of the *serek* texts in full. Rather, I will present a summary of each of these sections including what information each of these text-types presents.

The first section to be discussed comes at the very beginning of S (1QS 1:1-15). Here we have a description of the ideal community in general terms, and further we see a brief discussion of the role taken by the instructor as a teacher for the community.\(^{177}\) Thus, what we have in this account is a text that has been taken and incorporated into the *serek* to give context to the

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\(^{177}\) See commentary in Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 77-87.
rest of the compilation, and the context that is given is for the present times. After a liturgic interlude, we find another account in 1QS 3:13-4:26, known as the 'Instruction on the Two Spirits,' in which we are given a philosophical exposition of the two spirits. While this account is more general in nature, and not connected to a particular timeframe, we are still told who is good and who is evil and further why people sin and why the good suffer. This is a philosophical framework that will apply to the entire eschatological drama that is described in the serek texts. The treatise ends by describing the struggle of good and evil and good's ultimate triumph. This section may well have had a life before it was taken into S; in any case, it presents a further backdrop for the author of the serek, giving a context for the instructions that will follow. In Sa, a text that was originally appended to 1QS, we find another section at the very beginning of the compilation (1QSa 1:1-5) that gives a brief introduction and preamble to a new eschatological context, followed by an admonition to live by the laws. This text may not have existed as a separate entity before the composition of 1QSa, but it any case, it was compiled or written as an account in order to give context to the instructions that were brought together which follow.

In M, we find a long account at the beginning of the text (1QM 1:16-2:15) that describes the eschatological war in two stages and the annihilation of the Sons of Darkness. This section ends with a statement about service to God. Once again, this complex section serves to give its

178 Collins includes the Instruction on the Two Spirits under a section on ‘Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ and states that the Instruction on the Two Spirits “provides a nice focal point for comparison of Ben Sira and Qumran wisdom. Despite the startling novelty of the Community Rule, we can now see its formulation in the context of an ongoing debate in the wisdom schools of Judea in the second century B.C.E.,” see Collins, Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1997), 130.
readers an account of the war, and to provide them with context for the instructions that will follow. After the instructions of M are laid out, we find near the end of the compilation (1QM 15:4-18:9) another account of the war given as a description of the final battle (first to sixth engagements and then the final seventh, victorious engagement). This section reads as if it were a ‘historiography’ for the future—events are depicted before they have happened. Finally, at the very end of M (1QM 19:9-14), after several prayers are laid out, we find a final account in the form of a description of a ceremony that will take place after the final victory. This is the final account and context for the eschatological drama.

In a similar manner at the beginning of D (CD A 1-8 & CD B 19) in a long section known famously as the ‘Exhortation’ or ‘Admonition’ we find a plethora of background information collected to give context to the rules that will follow. Amongst other topics, we see how God punishes the wicked, and how there will exist a righteous remnant that is meant to lead an exemplary life. We are presented with the Man of mockery and told how the ‘present age’ is under the power of Belial. Belial’s ‘traps’ are described and we are told how God punishes sin and provides for the faithful. Finally, in Col. 19, we see that the fulfillment of prophecy is a fact, and we are told that God will remain faithful. While this is a very large portion of D on the whole, there is no doubt that this section is of a particular text-type. Once again we see philosophical wisdom mixed with historiography, and all of this information gives account

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179 For a good synopsis, see B. Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). Schultz’ synopsis will also be dealt with further below.
and provides a context for the rules that will follow. Without this account, the rules would have little meaning in the fabric of D.

2.4 The Instruction

This is perhaps the central text-type present in all of the serek texts.¹⁸⁰ One might say that the purpose of the compilations in general was to provide context for the instructions that were gathered. The instructions are on a variety of topics; however, the common denominator is that they provide guidelines for the entire duration of the end time. That is, they provide a strategy for how the Children of Light must act in the present, and in the near eschatological future of the final battles and for the final victory.

In S (1QS 5:1-11:15a) we find at the centre of the document a large section containing many instructions that pertain primarily to the ‘present’ time: rules for the conduct of the community, general foundational precepts; examination of initiates; meals; public meetings; two-year process of admission; penal code; fraud & grudges; public indecency, spitting, and so forth; rebellion against community; rules for community discipline; manifesto; rules for the instructor.¹⁸¹ The general thrust of these instructions is that they are all for the ‘present’ moment of the end time in the unfolding of the eschatological drama, even though by the end of S—for example in 1QS 9:11—we find that two messiahs of the end time have already made

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¹⁸⁰ Not surprisingly, the serek texts are often classified as legal texts, reflecting the emphasis on the instructions in the texts. See, for example, VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2002), 210-21.

¹⁸¹ For a description of these laws in more detail, see Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 101-22.
their appearance. However, in the majority of the instructions in S, there is an immediacy with little discussion about what will come to pass in the future. If we have begun to see the end time unfold by column 9 of S, by the time we reach Sa (1QSa 1:6-2:22), we are within a very different timeframe: rules for education of troops; rules governing eligibility for service of congregation and army; those excluded from assemblies. Here in what would have originally been the addendum to 1QS, we find a sequel of sorts that presents instructions for a future time period in which a war is unfolding.

In the instructions of M (1QM 2:16-10:9), one covers ground related more to Sa as regards the timeframe. We are brought into the eschatological battles and given precise martial instructions for the types of trumpets to be used during the war; the banners that will be hoisted; the shields that will be wielded. In addition, instructions are given for the arming of divisions, the deployment of cavalry and the recruitment of soldiers. Finally, there are instructions for the ministry of priests and Levites and the maneuvers of the battle divisions. Thus, while these are not socially specific instructions—that is, if we only had M it would be difficult to determine how the covenaners would have lived their daily lives—the instructions are *chronologically* specific. In other words, what is set out is a strategy for a very particular time, and thus plays a very important role in the unfolding of the eschatological drama.

D provides us with an extensive list of laws. For example, in 4Q266f5-6 and 4Q270-272 we find various instructions that parallel very closely the Hebrew Bible. These concern leprosy; skin
Chapter 2: Structure—The Compilation

Disease; bodily discharges; purification after birth; harvest regulations; measurements and offerings; corpse impurity; Gentile meat and so forth. In a similar manner in CD A 15-16 and 9-14, we find a large section of laws dealing with those living in camps, many laws of which are modeled closely after the Hebrew Bible. Perhaps the most interesting phenomenon of the instructions in D is the contexts that is given for them; that is, that some rules are for those who live in city, and some for those in camps. In the context of the other serek texts—in particular M—such instructions would make most sense chronologically in the later time of the eschatological drama after the final war had begun. The notion that the chosen ones will be living in Jerusalem as well as in war camps, makes most sense in this timeframe. More of this notion will be developed below.

2.5 Hymn, Liturgy & Prayer

One interesting phenomenon in the serek texts is the presence within each compilation of interspersed hymnic/liturgic materials. These texts fall into at least two categories: the ceremonial liturgy and the eschatological prayer.182

We see, for example in 1QS 1:16-2:25 a ceremonial liturgy for initiating new members into the community. Embedded within the ritual is a series of blessings and curses that were envisioned to be recited during the ceremony. As has been pointed out by several scholars, this ceremony is likely modeled after Deut 27, and can be divided into five parts: Praise of

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God; Description of God's deeds; Blessing of the righteous; Cursing of the wicked; and, Cursing of the insincere.\textsuperscript{183} While this ceremony may well have taken place, perhaps the greater importance of this sort of text in the serek is its direct evocation of the divine. The ceremony is justified through its evocation of the divine. It thus functions as a testimony to the righteousness of God as interpreted by the scribes of the serek texts.

At the end of S (1QS 11:15b-22) we also find a hymn.\textsuperscript{184} The content of this section comments upon the greatness of God and human unworthiness. This is really a paean to God, in which the author—speaking in the first person—recalls the perfect calendar as is divinely determined, the good conduct of the blessed as allowed by God, and God's overall omnipotence, amongst other topics. Again, we see this evocation as a testament to the glory of God and his righteousness.

In the Rule of the Blessings (1QSb)—originally appended to the end of Sa\textsuperscript{185}—we find a collection of prayers/blessings for the end time. Within this section, we find a blessing to be recited by the faithful; a blessing for the Zadokite priests; a blessing on the messianic high priest; and, a blessing for the Prince of the Congregation. Given the eschatological overtones of the blessings, the editors suggested that the chief priest and prince in question are the

\textsuperscript{183} See Knibb, \textit{The Qumran Community}, 84.

\textsuperscript{184} It is interesting to note that Chazon does not mention the end of S in her description of psalms, hymns and prayers amongst the DSS; see Chazon, "Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers," 710-15.

messiahs of Aaron and Israel respectively, and like Sa, Sb is also intended for “the end of days.” According to Schiffman, Sb:

[...] is a set of hymns to be recited as part of the mustering ceremony to be held in the end of days. [...] At this mustering there would no longer be a need to recite blessings and curses for there was no reason to utter the previously customary imprecations. At this end of days, it would only be necessary to praise the sect and its leaders, for the ultimate perfection had dawned, and they had been its harbingers.

As can be seen, the context for these hymns parallels chronologically the end of M.

Furthermore, there also exists a deep connection to M in these hymns as regards their content. Here God is evoked in the context of war, to praise the perfection that had been achieved by the ultimate divine plan for the future.

In M (1QM 10:9-15:3), perhaps not surprisingly, we also find eschatological prayers in the context of the final war. In this section, there is a prayer to be recited by the chief priest; a blessing of the war recited by all the leaders after the victory; and, finally, a blessing for the morning before the battle. In a similar manner at the end of the scroll (1QM 18:10-19:8), we find an eschatological prayer of thanksgiving for the final victory. Each of these prayers evoke once again God as a testament to His ultimate power over the situation, and act almost as if they were formulaic talismans to effectuate the eschaton.

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186 See ibid.

In Cave 4 fragments of D (4Q266f1 & 4Q268f1) we also find a sort of ceremonial liturgy—what has been called an expulsion ceremony.\(^{188}\) This section appears to be a ritual for the expulsion of those who reject the laws in which the priest recites a blessing that praises God for choosing the forefathers and for allowing the other nations to stray. Once again, the judgement of the person is made as a testament to the righteousness of God.

2.6 Summary

As discussed in the introduction, both at the semantic level and here at the textual level, we encounter the *serek* as a phenomenon describing spatial organization and structure answering the question: What is being organized? In the case of the *serek* texts at the textual level, we find that each *serek* is a compilation of several text-types; that is, compilations of accounts, instructions and of prayers, hymns or liturgies. Thus, in a physical, ‘spatial’ sense, *serek* is the act of arranging different materials together into one. However, beyond this, it can be shown that the *serek* is not just random in the way it compiles, but rather that there is a similarity of structure for each *serek* text in their natures as compilations. The ultimate purpose of this structure can be summarized as the following: each of these text-types brings an essential quality to the *serek* as a whole. First, the accounts give philosophical and historiographical context to the *serek*; they give account of this backdrop. Upon this backdrop are the instructions themselves which are collected into the fabric of, and act ultimately as the core of the *serek*. Onto this backdrop, the instructions are given along a chronological

\(^{188}\) See Chazon, "Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers," 710.
continuum beginning in the present (at the beginning of the end time) and ending after the
final battle and messianic banquet of the eschaton. Finally, there exist interwoven hymns/
liturgies/prayers that evoke the divine, testifying to His righteousness. Whether one is being
expelled from the community, whether the divine is being praised or thanked, the evocation
of God plays a key role in anchoring the serek into the divine. The serakhim point to a
chronological trajectory; this trajectory is perhaps most apparent in the narrative that is
presented in the serakhim, which will be taken up next.

3 Narrative—Trajectory to a Better Future

Up to this point, we have seen several structural features common amongst the serek texts. In
addition to these commonalities, I believe it is also possible to describe within the serek texts
a unified narrative that will be described in the following section.\(^{189}\) This is a narrative that
describes how God’s plan has been fulfilled in the present, and it goes on to describe and
predict how matters will come to pass. As laid out in the introduction, this trajectory parallels
in many ways the hierarchical disposition of serek as laid out in Chapter 1; that is, the serek
organizes at the semantic level a movement along a chronological hierarchy of sorts, in which
the present is far less desirable than the future. Thus, we see at the textual level an expression
in a narrative framework of serek as a hierarchy.

\(^{189}\) There is no doubt that the serek texts were written at different times, and that there exist different recensions
of each of M, S, and D, all with their own histories. Despite this, the fact that they have many common features
gives me reason to believe that they were eventually read together as a whole, and understood together as a
whole.
3.1 The *War Scroll*—The Basis of a Narrative

In order to begin to understand this narrative thread, it is best perhaps to look to M. Of all the *serek* texts, it is the text with the most clearly defined narrative, and in order to understand this narrative, I will follow the work of B. Schultz. Schultz has revived and further nuanced the theory that M can be read as a cohesive document describing a two-stage conflict. The first stage—called the War of the Kittim (*מלחמות בכתיים*)—is described in col. 1 and uses Dan 11:40-45 as its structural and historical basis. The presumption, according to Schultz, is that this stage will endure for seven years; seven years in which the covenaners live in exile from Jerusalem. During this first stage, seven military rounds are to pass—presumably one *per* year—three of which the Sons of Light will conquer, and three of which the Sons of Darkness will conquer. Finally, in the last round, the Sons of Light prevail and will be restored to Jerusalem. In this first battle, the Sons of Darkness—the ‘apostate’ Jews—are finally destroyed (*1QM 1:10*). However, this is not the final battle for the Sons of Light. After this victory, a second stage will commence in which the Sons of Light will be restored to Jerusalem for an additional 33 years (29 fighting years and 4 sabbatical years) of a great war, the goal of which will be to

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190 According to Davies, the *War Rule* is a "...[c]omposite document, whose originally independent sources have nevertheless been organized in a way that offers a generally coherent if sometimes puzzling picture. [...] The *War Scroll*...] thus combines, by means of the arrangement of its parts and a prefatory outline (i) a nationalistic scheme of world conquest by Israel with a seven-stage dualistic confrontation between the forces of light and darkness. The balance between fantasy and reality is precarious: the dualistic battle proceeds as if minutely choreographed, where the enemy falls after a single throw. The ‘nationalistic’ sections (ii-ix) contain some apparently more realistic data, though the idea of world conquest, with even enemy combatants observing sabbatical years, is hardly credible," see Davies, "War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: OUP, 2000), 965.

191 See Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered*, 392. I have summarized his chronology in Chapter 3, Table 4.
destroy all the foreign nations of the world. These final years of fighting—called the War of the Divisions (מלחמה המחלקות)—are described from col. 2 until the end of M. In this drawn-out final stage, the 12 tribes will be restored to Jerusalem, and the ‘true’ priests will renew sacrifice in the temple (1QM 2:1-2). Also, within this newly established, ‘post-exilic’ Israel, there will live together the covenanters and their wives and children—as life will have to go on for the remaining 33 years (1QM 7:3-4), albeit only in accordance with the strictest scriptural guidelines. In addition to living in Jerusalem and in other cities throughout Judaea, the warriors of the Sons of Light will dwell on the peripheries in military camps (מחנות) as the foreigners are slowly conquered over the 33 years. Women and children—including others disqualified by blemishes—will not be allowed in these camps, lest they spoil the war (1QM 7:1-5). The next years of fighting will take place on Israel’s borders as it ever expands, with the ultimate divine purpose being the conquest of the entire known world. The entire, great eschatological war will finally take place over a forty year period (7 years + 33 years), the whole of which constitutes the end of days (אחרית הימים).

Laid out in this manner, we can see a clear story being told; a story that is linked very carefully to a hierarchical, narrative timeline. While many of the details are missing in M, one can still describe this as a complex, chronological narrative. All of the information organized under the

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192 See ibid., 394.
193 See ibid., 395.
194 On the use of אחורית הימים in these texts, see A. Steudel, "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," RevQ 16 (1993).
rubric of serek is done so carefully within this narrative framework. The question is: Do the serakhim S and D tell a similar ‘story’ about the end time?

3.2 The Community Cycle (S, Sa & Sb)

When S, Sa and Sb are read as contiguous whole—what I will call the ‘Community Cycle’—I believe the work can be read as a complex, chronological narrative that parallels M. It is possible to understand all three documents as forming a cohesive, albeit compiled and redacted narrative, a version which would date paleographically to 100-75 B.C.E.195 Given the similarity of content in Sa and Sb and the fact that both texts were originally copied on the same scroll as 1QS, one can take the conglomeration of S, Sa and Sb to have been at one time a single, purposeful scribal compilation.196 As has been pointed out by several scholars, Sa and Sb describe the Yahad community during the end time,197 whereas S—despite its complex redactional history—appears to describe the Yahad community during a ‘present’ age moving toward the eschatological future.198 If we take S, Sa and Sb together as a single Community Cycle, then it becomes possible to parallel this conglomerate with M in a congenial manner. S

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196 Milik was the first to point out that S, Sa and Sb were originally part of the same scroll; see Milik, "Qumran Cave 1," 118. Also see R. North, "Qumran 'Serek a' and Related Fragments," Or 25 (1956): 90-91.

197 See, for example, Schiffman, The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls. See also Schiffman, "Rule of the Congregation," in Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: OUP, 2000). This is also described in Collins, Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 52. For a brief introduction that also mentions this fact, see Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, "Rule of the Congregation (1QSa)," 108. It must be pointed out that Stegemann and others have problematized this assessment, stressing that the ‘end of days’ (אחרית הימים) refers to the time in which the covenaners believed they were already living; see, for example, H. Stegemann, The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 113. See also Metso, The Serekh Texts, 51.

198 For example, in 1QS 9:11 we see that S brings in the two eschatological messiahs.
describes community life during the first stages of the end time, when the Sons of Light saw themselves still to be in exile, anticipating their eventual and ‘soon-to-come’ restoration to Jerusalem. In this manner, S would parallel the time of the War of the Kittim in col. 1 of M when the apostate Sons of Darkness still had not been entirely conquered. On the other hand, in Sa and Sb, the covenanters begin to describe community life in the final stages of the war after the 12 tribes have been restored to Jerusalem and the War of the Divisions ensues. This stage of the war would include women and children as it does in 1QM 7:3-4. To quote Sa (1QSa 1:4-11):

As they arrive, all the newcomers shall be assembled—women and children included—and read[...]{a}ll the statutes of the Covenant. They shall be indoctrinated in all of their laws, for fear that otherwise they may sin accidentally. The following is the procedure for all the troops of the congregation, and it applies to every native-born Israelite. From [early ch]ildhood each boy is to be instructed in the Book of Meditation. As he grows older, they shall teach him the statutes of the Covenant and [he will receive] instruction in their laws. For ten years he is to be considered a youth. Then, at age twenty, [he shall be enrolled] in the ranks and take his place among the men of his clan, thereby joining the holy congregation. He must not approach a woman for sexual intercourse before he is fully twenty years old, when he knows [right] from wrong.

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99 This is an adaptation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 137–38. In this instance, they translate serek as ‘policy.’ I have emended it to ‘procedure’ in accordance with the procedural aspect of serek described in Chapter 1 (summarized in Appendix I).
When spelt out in this way, Sa begins to look very much like a text that was written for times of war in an eschatological narrative framework. Further on, we find a discussion in Sa—as might be expected in a document anticipating a future war—about the rules governing eligibility for service in the army (1QS a.1:12-17):

At age twenty-five, he is eligible to take his place among the pillars of the holy congregation and to begin serving the congregation. When he is thirty years old, he may begin to take part in legal disputes. Further, he is now eligible for command, whether of the thousands of Israel, or as a captain of hundreds, fifties, or tens, or as a judge or official for their tribes and clans. Command appointments shall [be decided by] the Sons of Aaron, the priests, advised by all the heads of the congregation's clans. Anyone so destined must take his place in service publicly, and likewise go forth to battle and return while the congregation looks on.200

No scholar has disputed that this section is speaking about instructions for an ‘army’ life or martial scenario. However, it is interesting to note that these passages have not been tied to M in a decisive manner before. Thus, if we take S and Sa as forming a contiguous document that is connected to M, then it would appear that Sa could have been added to S in order to create a chronological narrative that mirrored M. S forms a body of information that applies to the time of the beginning of the War of the Kittim (beginning of the end time) and Sa and Sb apply to the War of the Divisions and to the conclusion of the end time, including the messianic banquet. Seen in this manner, the Community Cycle as well as M both map
progressions from the present, through to the final stages of the War of the Divisions, and on to the arrival of the Messiahs paralleling the narrative in M.

3.3 The *Damascus Document*

Since D also makes extensive use of the term *serek*, it is crucial to understand what the relationship is between it, M and S as regards its narrative. It has been assumed by many scholars up until the present—in accordance with the so-called Groningen Hypothesis—that the community behind D was a different community from that which lived at the settlement now known as Khirbet Qumran. However, this blank assumption has been questioned, notably by J. Jokiranta who emphasizes that the documents (S and D) stress the activities of the movement rather than particular forms of communities and organizations. The research undertaken in Chapter 1 and the present chapter forces one to conjecture a new hypothesis regarding D. This new hypothesis would maintain that D—as a cohesive compilation—does not describe a ‘sister’ community related to the community described in S. Rather, it

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202 See J. Jokiranta, "An Experiment on *Idem* Identity in the Qumran Movement," *DSD* 16.3 (2009): 309-10. This approach is in contrast to scholars such as Alexander who states: “[...] *Serekh* is not a literary form, save in the vague sense that it is, by definition, an orderly statement. It is a genre defined by its content, and that content primarily has to do with community organization and practice," see Alexander, "Rules," 437-38. Through this analysis, if we look to Alexander’s quotation above, I hope to go beyond describing only the ‘community organization and practice’ that can be discerned from the *serek* texts. While the work done on community organization and practice in the *serek* texts is very important, concentrating only on this side of the *serek* texts may impede our understanding of the *serek* texts as a whole.

203 Grossman has already stated that D ought to be read as an ideological construction of history rather than as a historical source; see Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study*, 200-11.
describes the life of the Children of Light during the second stage of the war known as the War of Divisions. I will give four examples—all of which have to do with the content of D—why it makes more sense to read D as following a narrative similar to that of M, in which it describes instructions for the second stage of the eschaton.

First, D presupposes that there is a functioning temple, presumably in Jerusalem (e.g., 4QD$^*$ 5 ii 1-16; 4QD$^b$ 5 iii 1-8; 4QD$^b$ 2:1-2; 4 I 5-11; CD A 11:17-18), which is likely referred to in CD 11:18b-12:1a as the House of Worship (בית השתחות):

No one should send a whole burnt offering, cereal offering, incense offering, or wood offering to the altar through anyone impure by any of the impurities, thus allowing him to defile the altar; for it is written, “The sacrifice of the wicked is abhorrent; but the prayer of the righteous is like an offering received with favor” (Prov. 15:8). No one who enters the house of worship shall enter in impurity, with garments requiring ritual laundering. When the trumpets for assembly are blown, let him go earlier or later so that they do not need to stop the whole service, for it is a place of holiness.

In M we see that after the Children of Light are restored to Jerusalem in the wake of the War of the Kittim, they will initiate sacrifice in the Temple under chief priests (1QM 2:1-6). Thus, it is

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204 As such, it might be dated earlier than has previously been assumed. While I do not agree with his entire thesis, B. Z. Wacholder has recently made a convincing argument that an earlier dating for CD is possible; see Wacholder, The New Damascus Document: The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3.

205 Translation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation, 72.
only during the long War of Divisions that the temple service returns as a primary concern for the covenanters. It is only in this time that they will officiate again.

Second, D describes a community of Jews that contains women and children (e.g., 4QD* 6 i-iii; 4QD* 41-8; CD 12:1-2):

A man may not lie with a woman in the city of the Temple, defiling the city of the Temple by their uncleanness.206

This passage has been taken by some scholars as proof that D describes a different community that contained women as opposed the supposed celibate community described in S. However, if we look at this passage as a particular point along a narrative chronology, we can see this description as taking place during the War of the Divisions when women and children would have been included in the community, as described in 1QM 7:3-4 and 1QSa 1:4-11. In M, the assumption is that women and children will be living amongst the Sons of Light during the War of Divisions, although they are explicitly forbidden during this time to enter the camps (i.e., war camps), lest they defile the process of the battles (1QM 7:3-4):

No youth nor woman shall enter the encampments from the time they leave from Jerusalem to go to battle until their return.

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206 Translation from ibid., 73.
Thus, here as well, there is a presumption that there will be women present, and that there must be strict regulations about how they may interact with the men during this sacred time of war.

Third, D makes use of terms that are found almost exclusively in the Sa and M such as עדה and קהל to describe the community. It can be argued in the context of the other examples given here that the community described is a stage of the end-time community that would form during the period of the War of Divisions. For example, in CD 10:4-8 it states:

This is the arrangement of the judges of the Congregation (עדה). They shall be ten men in all chosen from the Congregation (עדה) at the proper time: four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and from Israel six men learned in the Book of Meditation and in the basic covenant principles, from the age of twenty-five to sixty. No one above the age of sixty shall hold the office of judge of the Congregation (עדה) ...

This use of עדה to describe the community has many direct parallels in M and 1QSa.

Finally, the fact that D contains many laws pertinent to war—a concern which would have been of utmost importance in a document describing the War of Divisions—means that it is

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207 Also see CD 15:17.

208 See, for example: 1QSa 13, 6, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20x2, 23, 24, 25, 28; 25, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16x2, 21; 1QSa 3:3 5:20; and 1QM 1:10, 20: 2:3, 3, 5, 7, 9; 3:2, 4, 11, 13; 4:9x2, 15:5:2; 12:7, 9, 15; 15:9; 19:7. While this study will serve as a start in expounding the interconnectivity between S, Sa, Sb, D, and M, more investigation will be needed to show conclusively that D refers to the eschatological community after the ingathering of the chosen to Jerusalem and the subsequent ‘world’ war.
best understood in light of the M narrative of the War of the Divisions. For example, D
contains several sections describing the ‘camps’ (e.g., 4QD* 7 ii 1-10; CD 12:22b-13:7a; CD 13:7b-
14:2; CD 14:3-18a) that are best understood as ‘war camps.’ As we see in CD 12:22b-13:7a:

This is the arrangement209 for those who live in 23 camps, who live by these rules in
the era of wickedness, until the appearance of the Messiah of Aaron Col. 13 1 and of
Israel: up to ten men at least, for thousands, and hundreds, and fifties, 4 and tens. For
every group of ten, a priest knowledgeable in the Book of Meditation should always
be present; by 3 his command, all shall be ruled. If he is not qualified in these rules
and a Levite is qualified in 4 them, then the allotment shall proceed in all its ways at
his command, all the members of the camp. But if 5 it is a case of the law of skin
diseases, then the priest must come and be present in the camp, and the Overseer 6
shall instruct him in the details of the Law, and even if the priest is ignorant, it is he
who must isolate the one suffering from skin disease, because that duty 7 is the
priests’ alone.

While it has been assumed that these ‘camps’ refer to “communal cells in the villages and
towns of the land,”210 the most straightforward manner in which to understand the
would be as a ‘military camp’ as it is understood in M, especially given the description of

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209 This is an adaptation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation, 74. In this instance, they translate serek as ‘rule.’ I have emended it to ‘arrangement’ in accordance with the spatial aspect of serek described in Chapter 1 (summarized in Appendix I).

thousands, hundreds and fifties. The concern regarding someone who has a skin disease, as described in the quoted section of D above, is reflected in 1QM 7:4 where the affected person must not go out to the camp to battle. These are concerns that would have been prominent for a writer concerned with the manner in which a sacred war would unfold. One has to bear in mind that the War of Divisions would occur over many years—or even over several generations. It would be inevitable that the Sons of Light would continue to procreate, that their children would have to be initiated, and that certain members of the community would have to deal with ailments like skin diseases. As we see further on in CD 13, we also see a situation in which the inhabitants of the camps are faced with doing business with ‘corrupt people.’ This would also have been an inevitable situation given that the camps would eventually conquer all of the known world and thus would have to interact with many non-Jews.

3.4 Summary

When read as a conglomerate, we see at the textual level within the serakhim the expression of a narrative progression that starts in the present and proceeds towards a perfect and whole future. This is a grand expression of the hierarchy of times and the human experience. The scribes saw mankind as proceeding from the imperfection into which they had descended, back to a primordial Eden of sorts. Thus, here at the textual level, we see an expression of

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211 Camps are spoken about in detail, and in several different military contexts; see 1QM 3:4-5; 3:14; 4:9; 6:10; 7:3; 7:7; 7:7; 10:3; 14:2; 14:19; 16:3; 18:4; 19:8-9. There are many other examples which can be brought forth. For example, the fact that CD mentions regulations concerning a priest who is captured by gentiles (4QD* 5 ii 4-14), is important in the context of a future, international war that would be directed against gentiles.
qualitative concerns that not only parallels the hierarchical disposition at the semantic level, but also emphasizes the importance of time within the *serek* texts. There is an immediacy of time that has not often been emphasized.

4 Central Theme—The ‘Enemy-Other’

Perhaps one of the most important themes in the *serek* texts is the clear polarity between the covenaners and their perceived opponents; in other words, each of the *serek* texts lays out a clear dichotomy between the ‘in-group’ and the imagined ‘other.’ I say *imagined*, because the terms of their ‘otherness’ is often described in esoteric language despite the fact that there existed real conflicts underlying the creation of the dichotomy. Even if this theme is not written on every column of each *serek* texts, its message is so strong that it colours the entire worldview of the text in a profound manner. While this theme can be seen in other texts from the period, it can definitely be called a unifying theme within the *serek* texts—a theme that gives very important ideological texture to the overall fabric of each text. This theme parallels

212 The theory of in-group language was expounded in H. Tajfel’s social identity theory. According to Tajfel (and his student J. Turner) people identify with their own group in opposition to other groups in a manner to maximize positive distinctiveness. This group offers two facets for the participant’s own identity formation: (1) identity: answering the question “who am I?” and (2) self-esteem: to make us feel good about ourselves; see Tajfel and Turner, “The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior,” in *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1986), 7-10. In the texts mentioned in this section, the theme of the ‘enemy other’ has the rhetorical function of identifying the sympathetic reader/listener in a negative fashion; that is, we are not them. In ancient Jewish literature, the theme of the ‘enemy-other’ is most commonly delineated in terms that describe certain ‘nations’ that are against ‘us.’

213 It must be emphasized here that while there were certainly many ‘real’ enemies that the *serek* texts describe, this study is concerned with the enemy other as a literary trope. On the multiple enemies see the article, for example, by H. Eshel, “The Kittim in the War Scroll and in the Pesharim,” in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ, 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 29-44. This is also reworked in Eshel, “The Changing Notion of the Enemy and Its Impact on the Pesharim,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2008), 169-90.
in an important manner the martial disposition that was described at the semantic level, and answers the question: “Who?”

4.1 The Community Cycle

If we look to S, we see in the opening description of the aims of the ideal community, a clear statement calling for a separation between the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness (1QS 1:7-11):

They shall admit into the covenant of love all those incited to observe the statutes of God, so that they may be joined to the counsel of God and may walk perfectly before him in accordance with all the things that have been revealed at the times appointed for their revelation; and so that they may love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in the plan of God, and may hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in the vengeance of God.

Here we encounter a complex narrative that hints not only at a dualistic framework, but also portrays a deterministic outlook on life. Beyond this, we encounter for the first time in S the great enemy of the covenanters: i.e., the Children of Darkness. The identity of the enemy in this passage is obscure and the language describing it is ominous. The child of darkness has erred, and thus is guilty—he has erred, and thus will encounter the wrath of God. The

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214 This is an adaptation of Knibb, The Qumran Community, 79. In this instance, he translates הרוביו as ‘those who willingly offer themselves.’ I have emended this to ‘those incited’ in accordance with the arguments laid out in Stauber, ‘Determinism in the Rule of the Community (1QS): A New Perspective,’ 345-46.

215 It should be pointed out that there is also a dualistic blessing and cursing ‘liturgy’ present in both S & M (1QS 2:1-18; 1QM 13:1-6) see the analysis of 1QM 13:1-6 below. However, it should be emphasized that while dualism is prominent in both S and M, it is not laid out as explicitly in M as it is in S.
terminology of ‘Sons’ or ‘Children’ of either ‘Light’ or ‘Darkness,’ as pointed out by M. Knibb, reflects similar terminology in 1QM 1:1-2.\textsuperscript{216} As we will see later on, D will use a slightly different dichotomy when describing the enemy-other.

In addition to this statement, we see in the famous dualistic ‘Instruction on the Two Spirits’ a complex explanation of the origin and final fate of this enemy-other (1QS 3:20-23):

\begin{quote}
20 בַּדּ וּבִיד מֶלֶךְ בְּיָד שָׁר עֹרֶב הַמֵּשָּׁלִית יֵלֵךְ בַּדַּרוּי בְּיָד צִדְקֵיוּנִי
21 וּבִיד מֶלֶךְ בְּיָד שָׁר מֶלֶךְ בְּיָד צִדְקֵיוּנִי יֵלֵךְ בַּדַּרוּי
22 בִּלְחָנוֹן בַּדַּרוּי בְּיָד צִדְקֵיוּנִי יֵלֵךְ בַּדַּרוּי
23 בֵּין חֵטָא אֹתָם בְּיָד צִדְקֵיוּנִי יֵלֵךְ בַּדַּרוּי
\end{quote}

The authority of the Prince of Light extends to the governance of all righteous people; therefore, they walk in the paths of light. Correspondingly, the authority of the Angel of Darkness embraces the governance of all wicked people, so they walk in the paths of darkness. The authority of the Angel of Darkness further extends to the corruption of all the righteous. All their sins, iniquities, shameful and rebellious deeds are at his prompting, a situation God in His mysteries allows to continue until His era dawns.\textsuperscript{217}

It should be pointed out here that the ‘Instruction on the Two Spirits’ is more than just an expression of dualism, although this is an important aspect of the passage.\textsuperscript{218} It is also a clear expression of a dichotomous enemy-other who will be destroyed at the end of time. The author concedes that the Angel of Darkness is the cause of two phenomena. First, the Angel of Darkness is the progenitor of the wicked; by virtue of their innate iniquity, the wicked are

\textsuperscript{216} See Knibb, \textit{The Qumran Community}, 81.

\textsuperscript{217} Translation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook \textit{The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation}, 120.

\textsuperscript{218} As pointed out by Duhaime, dualism is ‘more than dichotomy, polarity, or dualism: Dualism properly exists only when pairs of opposites are understood as ‘the principles responsible for bringing the world into existence,’ that is, when cosmogony and anthropology is involved,’ see Duhaime, “Dualism,” in \textit{Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls} (New York: OUP, 2000), 215-16. Dualism is an important component of the Treatise, but it is not the only component.
direct products of the Angel of Darkness. There is no hope for their salvation. In addition to this, the Angel of Darkness fulfills another role; that is, he is able to corrupt those who are inherently righteous, thus making them err only temporarily. This situation will be rectified when God’s era dawns. Thus, this passage solves a philosophical problem that the scribes of S must have had; that is, how can inherently ‘good’ persons (‘good’ by determination) err? Here we are given a narrative that hints at the destruction of this enemy-other. Furthermore, we see that this enemy is not only expressed in individual ‘wicked’ persons, but is also reflected cosmically in the notion of the Angel of Darkness.

4.2 The War Scroll

M begins with an introductory section describing the beginnings of an end-time war; the battle is launched by the Children of Light (Levi, Judah and Benjamin) against the Children of Darkness (Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia and the Kittim of Asshur). Here we see the same terminology of light and darkness used in S. By the end of M, in wake of a seven-year battle, this enemy-other is finally annihilated with the accompanying Schadenfreude of the victors.

Throughout the text, an omniscient narrator relays information in a matter-of-fact manner (1QM 1:1-4a):

1. המלחמה ראשית יד בני אור ליהל המלחמה בגדודי אדום ומ֯
   ואב ובני עמון
2. וח֯° פֹלַש וּבָדָד מִתי אֲשֹּר עָמָה בֹּפור מְרֵשִׁיעי בַּרְיָה יְלַלַלְוֹ הָאָדָם לְבֵית גֵּיאָמַן
3. בַּמּוֹדְרִי לַחֵלֶם בְּבֵית כָּלָל גָּרְשָהוֹ מֵאֲשֹּר עָמָה לְבֵית גֵּיאָמַן נַלְגַּן
4. לְבֵית כָּלָל בְּבֵית כָּלָל הָאָדָם לְבֵית גֵּיאָמַן
For the Instructor, the arrangement of the War. The first attack of the Sons of Light shall be undertaken against the forces of the Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial: the troops of Edom, Moab, the sons of Ammon, the Amalekites, Philistia and the troops of the Kittim of Assyria. Supporting them are those who have violated the covenant. The sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin, those exiled to the wilderness, shall fight against them with all their troops, when the exiles of the Sons of Light return from the Wilderness of the Peoples to camp in the Wilderness of Jerusalem. Then after the battle they shall go up from that place and the king of the Kittim shall enter Egypt.

The first theme that is evoked in this section is that of the ‘enemy-other.’ The scribe is clear to lay out the opposers in a categorical manner; these enemies can be broken into three categories: Israel's neighbours or traditional enemies (Edom, Moab, Ammon and Philistia), the Kittim of Asshur and finally ‘the offenders against the covenant.’ This trifold list of antagonists is subsumed under two broader titles; namely ‘the sons of Darkness’ and ‘the army of Belial,’ the first appellation paralleling the usage in S. This group is pitted against a second positively-styled group called the “Sons of Light” or the “Exiles in the Wilderness,” again using language reminiscent of S.

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219 Translation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 147. In this instance, they translate serek as ‘rule.’ I have emended it to ‘arrangement’ in accordance with the spatial aspect of serek described in Chapter 1 (summarized in Appendix I).

220 The theme of the ‘enemy-other’ has analogous counterparts in several classical biblical texts; for example, in the Book of Joshua, Israel is pitted against rivals whom God will either subjugate or destroy with the proviso that the Israelites keep His covenant. In the following excerpt, a scribe recounts how the prophet Joshua is informed directly by God that an obedient Israel will be exalted, and Joshua turns to his people to speak on behalf of his God (Josh 3:10):

יואמר יהושע בזאת תדעון כי אל חי בקרבכם והורש יוריש מפניכם את והאמר והיבוסי:

By this you shall know that among you is the living God who without fail will drive out from before you the Canaanites, Hittites, Hivites, Perizzites, Girgashites, Amorites, and Jebusites.

Here, seven indigenous enemies are listed; this might be called the standard list of the seven ‘antagonistic’ peoples of Palestine: the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Perizzites, the Girgashites, the Amorites and the Jebusites; see G. McMahon, "Hittites," in *ABD* (New York: Doubleday, 1996, c. 1992), 231-33. When Moses is
As far as the overall effectiveness of the theme is concerned, it would have made little difference which specific nations were mentioned by the scribe of M, although they had precise reasons for his choice, tempering his 'enemy-other’ to fit his own unique historical circumstances. Familiar names were often repeated, but the essence of this commonplace—knowing God's enemy—is what was drawn upon as precedent for re-

making his final revelation to the tribes of Israel, he spells out the same list of seven enemies-to-be (Deut 7:1). Deuteronomy and Joshua were likely composed around the same time in the 7th cent. B.C.E., possibly by a similar scribe, and thus their repetition of the selfsame 'enemy-other' is understandable (For a dating of Deuteronomy to the 7th century B.C.E.; see Weinfeld, "Deuteronomy, Book of," in ABD (New York: Doubleday, 1996, c.1992), 174. Although the Book of Joshua is more difficult to date, scholars have long pointed out that it has 'Deuteronomistic' characteristics, and thus may be written/compiled around or just after Deuteronomy; see R. G. Boling, "Joshua, Book of," in ABD (New York: Doubleday, 1996, c. 1992), 1007. I am not concerned with tracing a line of development from Deuteronomy/Joshua through to Isaiah and beyond. I am concerned with exploring only the basic theme of the 'enemy other'). It is an interesting point to make that both Moses and Joshua act as divine emissaries to bring the word of God to the Israelites: this word catalogs particulars about the fate of an 'enemy-other.' Thus, one of the significant and urgent revelatory messages that God has to offer to his servants the prophets, which is to be relayed subsequently to his people, is against whom they must define themselves in their campaigns.

In a similar manner, albeit in a different context, the scribe of First Isaiah reports several scenes in which he collocates two enemy camps: Israel and the other nations (It may be impossible to say whether this section from First Isaiah is early (8th cent. B.C.E.) or much later. There is much divergence in the scholarly literature; see Seitz, "Isaiah, Book of," 472. In one of these vignettes, labeled 'Homecoming and Salvation' by Wildberger, the scribe reports how Isaiah make a prophecy about a united Ephraim and Judah who would come together in order to subdue their adversaries; see H. Wildberger, Isaiah 1-12, trans. Thomas H. Trapp (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 486. The passage is in Isa 11:14:

וַיִּשְׁמַע חֹרֶם פָּלָשִׁים וְאֵלֶּה הַעֲבָדֵי אַדַּם כַּרְבּוֹת מִצְרָיִם אֲשֶׁר יָרַהוּ אָדָם אִם הַעֲבָדֵי אַדַּם יָרַהוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֵת מַשָּׁל יִשְׂרָאֵל:

They shall swoop down on the backs of the Philistines in the west; together they shall plunder the people of the east. They shall put forth their hand against Edom and Moab, and the Ammonites shall obey them.

The enemies in this vignette are different from the ‘standard’ seven of Deuteronomy and Joshua, but the effect is much the same. The text makes a clear statement of revealed knowledge: whether unveiled to Moses, Joshua or Isaiah, God's plan includes information about who the 'in-group' is and about who the 'other' is.

221 For a brief justification for the list of enemies in IQM; see H. Michaud, "Une apocalypse nouvelle: La guerre des fils de lumière contre les fils des ténèbres," Positions Luthériennes 3 (1955): 64-76.

222 Yadin points out several places in the Hebrew Bible where Edom, Moab, Ammon and Philistia are mentioned as Israel’s enemies: Isa 11:14, which will be looked at below, as well as 2 Kgs 24:2; Deut 11:41; 2 Sam 8:12; 1 Chr 18:2 and Ps 80:7-9. He also draws attention to latter Second Temple sources which enumerate enemies: 1 Macc 5:3 and Jub. 37:6ff; although in Jubilees, the sons of Esau call for help from Aram; see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 21-22.
invention. In the case of M, it is likely that the primary locus of reference and inspiration for the covenanters came from the Book of Daniel.223 One might point in particular to Daniel 10-12, called by J. J. Collins “The Final Revelation.”224 The section is too large to quote in full, but I will summarize: a celestial figure reveals to Daniel that one will arise who will seduce those who acted wickedly against the covenant הָרִים בְּרוּיָה (Dan 11:32). During his reign he will be attacked by an enemy called the כָּהַתִּים—in context likely referring to any nation beyond Cyprus (i.e., the West)225—and finally it is disclosed that the Edomites, the Moabites and the Ammonites will escape his power (Dan 11:41). Within the context of Daniel, it is hard to know who exactly the ‘enemy-other’ is; all the same, at the end of the revelation Daniel is told that the Archangel Michael—the Archangel in charge of the good ones of the people226—will arise to sort out matters (Dan 12:1-4). The list of enemies in M, although similar, is not exactly parallel to Daniel 10-12. The scribe in M adds the Philistines and the ‘good’ side is spelled out in detail: Levi, Judah, Benjamin, the Exiles of the Wilderness. Thus, in M, the end time brings together the traditional enemies of Israel: Edom, Moab and Ammon in addition to the Kittim and the unnamed leader; all are pitted against the Archangel Michael. One could say that at

223 To see how this ‘enemy-other’ changed in historical terms over time, see Eshel, "The Kittim in the War Scroll and in the Pesharim," 163-90.


226 In Daniel, the Archangel Michael is called בני עמך-העמד על. In the Book of Enoch, he is given the epithet: "who has been put in charge of the good ones of the people," see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 294.
the point where Daniel’s revelation ends, M begins. The description of the end-time war in M could be dubbed an extension and expansion of the Danielic revelation; however, the scribes take this Danielic revelation and change it. Here, the theme of the enemy-other is given a particular flavour; the enemies are the Children of Darkness in their manifold manifestations.

The second occurrence of the enemy-other to be examined in M comes in a section that lists blessings and curses to be recited by the leaders after a moment of victory in the War of Divisions (1QM 13:1-6):

1 והוים והלויים וכל חカード עמו וברכו על עומדם את אל ישראל ואכל מלאכי לו
   על ואת כל רוחי גורלו וענו ואמרו ברוך אל ישראל בכול מחשבה והאמון
2 והamd עוהיgowיהויםוהלויים וכל ח็ด עמו וברכו על עומדם את אל ישראל ואכל מלאכי לו
   על ואת כל רוחי גורלו וענו ואמרו ברוך אל ישראל בכול מחשבה והאמון
3 כי אם יזקמו ואמרו בליעל במחשבת משטמה וזה עוהבית ואסרים כל רוחי גורלו
   במחשבת הפך עוהיgowיהויםוהלויים וכל חרוד עמו וברכו על עומדם את אל ישראל
4 והאמון
5 ישועת טובים להם יבשוד נ희 סמאתו כי אותם יזקמו רבים יזקמו ...
6 [עולה]}

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228 In sum, it is probable that the scribes who penned M were most directly influenced by Daniel and by their own impulse to complete the Danielic revelation. Daniel provides a clear stepping stone and invitation for such. Nevertheless, the ‘enemy-other’ in Daniel 10-12 and M—a united tripartite enemy of foreigners and breakers-of-the-covenant—follows a familiar and ancient Jewish revelatory theme which is seen in and likely gleaned from other ‘authoritative’ texts such as Isaiah and Exodus. It is very difficult to say which text the covenanters held to be ‘authoritative.’ Without postulating the existence of a canon, I would venture to say, given the presence of pesharim at Qumran, that the books of the Prophets were considered authoritative, although there is no compete peshar to Isaiah. Also, although it cannot be proven, I assume that the Pentateuch was also considered authoritative; see in particular Chapter 1 of Barton, Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile, 13-34. This theme functions as a careful delineation by God of who the opponents of Israel are. When the ‘enemy-other’ is described in a text, it can serve as one hallmark that the information being cited is the revelation of God, and that the scribe knows, implicitly from God, who is in each camp.
[...] and his brothers the [p]riests, the Levites, and all the elders of the army with him. They shall bless, from their station, the God of Israel and all His works of truth, and they shall curse Belial there and all the spirits of his forces. And they shall say in response: “Blessed is the God of Israel for all His holy purpose and His works of truth. And blessed are all those who serve Him righteously, who know Him faithfully.” And cursed is Belial for his contentious purpose, and accursed for his guilty dominion. And cursed are all spirits of his lot for their wicked purpose. Accursed are they for all their impure unclean service. For they are the lot of darkness, but the lot of God is light.

Here we encounter a list of blessings and curses that parallels in many ways those set out in 1QS (2:1-18), although in the latter, the context is a covenant ceremony for entry into the community. In M, we are brought into the context of the eschatological battle, and in this context the enemy-other is still clearly defined: ‘Belial,’ the ‘spirits of his lot’ and the ‘lot of wickedness.’ Again, the emphasis upon this enemy-other is their erring ways; regardless of their name, what defines them is their antithetical purpose. Their very purpose is corrupt and contrary.

4.3 The Damascus Document

Finally, if we look to D, we see a variation on the use of the theme of the ‘enemy-other’ (CD 2:2-9):

2 ומעוה שמה אלי כז ברת ואנסלה אנכס ברדרי
3 רשתות על א버 לדת החניך וחניך ענכי לע ירוש
4 עillez עזר חכמה ומשי חכמהRand Paulו מזון综合体
5ġלפף בך משפי חזון ו bufsize חחוב זוזה综合体 ישלב
6יב לכMALALCH ילב על סירד ודר ממעתיות מק לאן שבירה
7ופלטינה למלים כי לא חזר אל בות מקדש על סירד ונס פי ים
8אתי מאשישים ומעשו אמרות ודרות [כ]למרות ימיים ומיי מויי
9מי יב חומך ...

229 Translation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation, 159.
So now listen to me, all members of the covenant, so I can make plain to you the ways of the wicked. God, who loves true knowledge, has positioned Wisdom and Cleverness in front of Him; Cunning and True Knowledge wait on Him. He is very patient and forgiving, covering the sin of those who repent of wrongdoing. But Strength, Might, and great Wrath in the flames of fire with all the angels of destruction shall come against all who rebel against the proper way and who despise the law, until they are without remnant or survivor, for God had not chosen them from ancient eternity. Before they were created, He knew what they would do. So He rejected the generations of old and turned away from the land until they were gone.

This section is described by Knibb as the ‘Essene Teaching about God.’ It has been pointed out that this section is unique in D in that it portrays an enemy in such a clear manner, whereas the rest of D appears to list laws without polemic. On this topic, Hempel states:

The concept of a time of wickedness corresponds more closely to the ideological position of the Admonition than the bulk of the Laws. The Laws themselves state diverse halakhic and communal prescriptions in a neutral fashion. One never gets the impression that the writers responsible for the Laws of the Damascus Document polemicised against opponents, be it opponents outside the movement or backsliders from within the movement. Only occasionally is the wickedness of the masses outside the movement referred to, and I would argue that these exceptional passages go back to a later redactor who tried to bring the Laws into line with the Admonition.

Despite Hempel's reservations, it cannot be dismissed that the Admonition in D, of which this passage is a part, was deliberately added to the Laws. The passage quoted above does not use the exact same language as S and M; nevertheless, it creates a parallel, dichotomous enemy-other under the name of the ‘wicked.’ While this will be taken up later in more detail, it has to be emphasized that the Laws must be read with this important literary nuance. The laws of D,

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230 Translation from ibid., 53.
231 See Knibb, The Qumran Community, 25.
Chapter 2: Central Theme—The ‘Enemy-Other’

at least for the redactor of CD A in the form we have it, must have read this opponent into the text. D speaks about those ‘who rebel against the proper way,’ and this is the common denominator of the enemy-other in the *serek* texts. There exists an opponent who does not act the way he is supposed to, and this opponent is connected at the most intimate level with a divine drama that is unfolding.

In a second example from D, we see that a familiar name comes forth in describing the enemy-other (CD 4:12-19):

> בְּכֵל הַשָּׁמָּעַה הֲאָלָה יְהוָה  
> בָּלֵילָה מְשֻׁלָּה בֵּיתָא בֵּית בְּרָאשָׁא בֵּי דָּוִד יְשׁוֹעַ הַנְּגוּד בֶּן  
> אָמּוֹן לָאָמְר מִזֶּה וַחֲקִים לְעָשָׁא וַחֲקִים לְעָשָׁא  
> שְׁלֵשָׁת מְשֻׁלָּה בִּלְיָלָה בֵּית בֵּית אָמְר לְעָשָׁא וַחֲקִים לְעָשָׁא  
> אָשָׁר הָיָה הָגֹפֶּה בְּמַעֲשָׂא יִשְׁרָאֵל וְהָגֹפֶּה פָּנָה לְשָׁלְחָן מִי  
> הָצָוְתַה הַרְאָשֹׁתָה הֲזָא הָגֹפֶּה הָשַּׁעְנַת הַיָּיוֹן לְשָׁלְחָן  
> שַׁצָּה הָגֹפֶּה הָשַּׁעְנַת הֲזָא הָגֹפֶּה הָשַּׁעְנַת הֲזָא הָגֹפֶּה הֲזָא הָגֹפֶּה הֲזָא הָגֹפֶּה הֲזָא הָגֹפֶּה  
> בּוֹז […]  

[…] But in the present age Belial is unrestrained in Israel, just as God said by Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, saying, “Fear and pit and snare are upon thee, dweller in the land” (Isa 24:17). The true meaning of this verse concerns the three traps of Belial about which Levi son of Jacob said that Belial would catch Israel in, so he directed them towards three kinds of righteousness. The first is fornication; the second is wealth; the third is defiling the sanctuary. Who escapes from one is caught in the next; and whoever escapes from that is caught in the other.

Here we encounter a description primarily of Belial, the source of the wickedness in the present age. His effect on those who are not wicked appears to be his ability to tempt them into fornication, wealth and the desecration of the sanctuary. These are likely rooted in real differences between the Qumran sect and their perceived enemy-other; that is, their opposition to polygamy, to the accumulation of wealth and to their particular priestly vision.
for the temple. However, outside of Belial’s power to cause the righteous to err, it is emphasized in the text that his power ‘in the present age’ is ‘unrestrained.’ Thus, we have another portrait here, in a general sense, of the enemy-other who meddles with the world of the covenanters. Each of these sections creates a strict dichotomy between ‘us’ and ‘them.’ In all of these texts, the chosen ones of God are clearly defined, and the other is clearly demarcated.

4.4 Summary

It can be argued that a central preoccupation of the serakhim is the pervasive ‘enemies’ who rear their ugly head at every turn. I have defined this as a central theme in the serek texts—arguable the central theme of the serakhim. At the semantic level, we saw that the term serek in context contains an important range of meaning encompassing military organization: the army and the battalion. At the textual level, we find a central concern connected to this in the shape of the enemy other. This theme created a central psychological barrier for the scribes aimed at their perceived enemies. These enemies are literally ‘demonized’ or ‘belial-ized,’ and the scribes and their group are juxtaposed as their antithesis. This theme affords us a clear picture of who the players in this eschatological drama are.

The theme of the enemy-other comes forth in the serek texts in an important manner, and forms a framework that stresses ‘us’ versus ‘them.’ This tension is apparent in the texts and

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233 These particular concerns may apply best for the time in which the covenanters envisioned themselves as being restored back to Jerusalem. See below in the section on narrative.
must be considered when analyzing other passages within the serek texts, even if they do not explicitly mention enemies. While it is apparent that the serek texts have all gone through redaction, the fact that this theme runs through each of them shows a common connection between the texts. The texts are an important testament to and depiction of a great conflict.

5 Philosophical Tenet—Divine Design

The last textual feature to be taken up can be described as the philosophical tenet of ‘Divine Design.’ Under this rubric, God’s intervention in the world is described. In general, the thrust of this pretense is not a complete picture of a movement from the past to the future, but rather the description of history unfolding along a continuum as determined by God; God’s plan comes to pass according to His precepts. Here I will look at passages that evoke on their own a description of the divine design; that is, passages that show how circumstances move along according to the divine plan. There is an important connection at this textual level to the procedural disposition described at the semantic level. The term serek introduced individual sections filled with instructions, and here at the textual level, we see the serek texts evoking a precept that encompasses the essence and purpose behind such instructions. The instructions are God’s divine design for humans to follow, in order to realize the final eschaton.

5.1 The Community Cycle

In S, we find a statement at the beginning of the so-called ‘Instruction on the Two Spirits’ that describes the manner in which God acts in history (1QS 3:15-17):
All that is now and ever shall be originates with the God of knowledge. Before things come to be, He has ordered all their designs, 16 so that when they do come to exist—at their appointed times as ordained by His glorious plan—they fulfill their destiny, a destiny impossible to change. He controls 17 the laws governing all things, and He provides for all their pursuits. 234

Once again we are within an account, which in this case provides a philosophical context for the serek. The section quoted above has generally been described as a statement proclaiming God's predetermination of all things. As Knibb states regarding this passage: “God, the source of all existence, has predetermined everything that happens in the universe. This determinism [...] is here presented within a cosmological framework.” 235 While it is important to recognize and describe this passage as a statement about predetermination, one can also ‘parse’ this predetermination to mean God's divine and unchangeable ‘plan.’ We see God described as the God of knowledge—אל הדעות—an entity who knows all that has been and will be. The description is of a God who has a blueprint for all that comes to pass; that is, the world as it is in all of its manifestations is a fulfillment of this plan—in the words of S, מחשבת כבודו. This plan is impervious to change. The theme of God's design and plan for the world is often passed over and not emphasized in discussion about S, while the philosophical discussion regarding determinism is stressed. The importance of parsing this determinism out in this manner is that it brings S out of a philosophical discussion, and makes it understandable as a tangible

234 Translation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation, 120.

235 See Knibb, The Qumran Community, 96-97.
expression of God's ‘plan.’ This passage from S is making a concrete statement about how God reveals his plan for the world.

If we look to the end of S we see, in a final prayer, the following statement (1QS 11:17-20):

Surely apart from You the way cannot be perfected, nor can anything be done unless it please You. You teach all knowledge and all that shall be, by Your will shall it come to pass. Apart from You there is no other able to contest Your counsel, fathom the design of Your holiness, penetrate the depth of Your mysteries, or apprehend Your wonders and surpassing power.

This passage comes at the very end of what is designated 1QS, and is generally described as a hymn of sorts, similar to the Hodayot. While on the surface, this appears to be merely a hymn extolling the greatness of God, the thrust of this passage is also God's plan: “Surely apart from you the way cannot be perfected.” What pleases God—that is, His will—is surely the ‘plan’ (הмыслמה) of which was spoken above in column 3. In addition, we hear again about God's ‘design.’ There is a distinct movement in these texts towards what God wants—towards what God wills. In other words, his divine design and purpose for his Children of Light are being expressed.

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236 Translation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation, 135.

237 See Knibb, The Qumran Community, 144.
5.2 The *War Scroll*

Another manner in which the scribes of the *serek* texts evoke the theme of ‘divine design’ is to describe God’s direct involvement in allowing history to come to pass according to his will. In the next extract from M, the scribe presses this theme into service by speaking of God’s appointed time of wrath (1QM 1:4b-7a):

In his time he shall go forth with great wrath to do battle against the kings of the north, and in his anger he shall set out to destroy and eliminate the strength of Israel. Then there shall be a time of salvation for the People of God, and time of dominion for all the men of His forces, and eternal annihilation for all the forces of Belial. There shall be great panic among the sons of Japheth, Assyria shall fall with no one to come to his aid, and the supremacy of the Kittim shall cease, that wickedness be overcome without a remnant. There shall be no survivors of all the Sons of Darkness.

Here we encounter the word several times; that is, the ‘appointed time.’ According to God’s plan, He will Himself finally intervene to allow this plan to come to pass. He will unleash His anger against those who have been long-time objects of scorn as the eschatological drama unfolds. Within this passage, we see God as a direct actor within the divine drama.

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238 Translation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 148.

239 There are many examples of God’s intervention in M. Another clear instance of divine design in M comes in a prayer meant for the chief priest (1QM 11:1-7):

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One of the key words seen above for evoking God’s purpose in S was מחשבה. The same term is also used in M in a section that doubly evokes the enemy-other (13:2-3):

בָּרֹךְ אלֹהֵי בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָלָ֣ם מחַסְבַּתּוֹ קְדוֹשָׁה וְמַעֲשֵׂי אֱלֹהִ֣י בָּלָ֑הַם
3 כלּ מֹשֶׁלֶתָיו בְּצִדְקֵי צָרָאָ֛ה בְּמַעֲשֶׂהְוָ֖ם

Blessed is the God of Israel for all is holy purpose and His works of truth. And blessed are those who serve Him righteously, who know Him faithfully

Here we see God’s ultimate purpose described using the root חשב. In addition to this, there is a unique occurrence of מחשבה in M that may be clarified using this conceptualization of the divine plan. Four broad arrangements or ‘dispositions’ are given within M: the Arrangement of the Trumpets סרך החצוצרות (2:16); the Arrangement of the Ensigns/Banner סرص האותות (3:12); the Arrangement of the Ensigns/Banners of the Congregation סרכב אותות העדה (4:9); and, finally the Arrangement for the Order of the Standards of the War סרכב לסדר דגלי המלחמה (5:3). These arrangements likely draw on Num 2:2, which describes the camps of Israel in the

Truly the battle is Yours, and by the strength of Your hand their corpses have been dashed to pieces so that no one can bury them. Indeed, Goliath the Gittite, a mighty warrior, 2 You delivered into the hand of David, Your servant, because he trusted in Your great name and not in sword and spear, for the battle is Yours. 3 He subdued the Philistines many times 4 because of Your mercy: not according to our works, for we have acted wickedly, nor for the acts of our rebelliousness. The battle is Yours, the strength is from You, 5 it is not our own. Neither our power nor the strength of our hand have done valiently, but by Your power and the strength of Your great valour. Just as You told us in time past, saying: “There shall come forth a star from Jacob, a scepter shall rise out of Israel, and shall crush the forehead of Moab and tear down all sons of Sheth, 7 and he shall descend from Jacob and shall destroy the remnant from the city, and the enemy shall be a possession, and Israel shall do valiantly” (Num. 24:17).

Within this passage, the priest is describing in his prayer the God of history; God has intervened many times in the past in order to allow his plan to unfold. On the surface, this passage appears to emphasize that human kind is not powerful enough to make any great deed in the world come to pass—such things require the might of God. However, the manner in which this is set up in the context of M, it can be argued that this is a statement extolling God’s divine plan for the world. The last evocation of Numbers brings this home: “Just as you told us...” here, God’s plan, as revealed by prophetic statements has come to pass.
In general, this strange depiction of weapons is unique to M and has thus far proved challenging for scholars. As described by Y. Yadin, it may be the case the measurements of the weapons were magical formulae meant to correspond to several of the holy vessels mentioned in the Pentateuch. Nevertheless, there are no direct parallels in any known ancient Jewish literature that reports weapons in such a paradigmatic manner. Perhaps the most striking detail of the description is that the weapons are constructed from precious materials: gold,
silver, bronze and 'white' iron (likely steel). In addition to these precious metals, gem-stones are inlaid into the spears in complex patterns: the 'ear-of-corn' (שבולת) design is likely a reference to Isa 27:12 where God threshes and winnows all the people like the ears-of-corn, separating the grain (the 'obedient') from the chaff (the 'disobedient'). In a similar manner, the engraved and jewel-laden patterns on the spears of M must have served as talismans to evoke the wrath of God (i.e., the spears will beat the enemy as an ear-of-corn is winnowed).

It is difficult to know what the precise nature of the weapons was to be; if they were actually meant for a practical war, how could the covenanters have produced them? If they had the resources to produce them, then why were no such objects found or mentioned otherwise? Are we to assume that the Romans confiscated them? Another way to explain these extravagant descriptions is to look to the scribes' use of the term מחשבת. The uses of the term in the highlighted phrases above have generally been translated as something like 'skilled.' For example, Abegg translates “the work of a skilled craftsman.” However, if we take this as an instance of the theme of 'divine design' (as in 1QS 13:2-3 above) we can take this as a marker of God's plan for the war. In this sense, the patterning of the weapons, their very nature, comes from the blueprints as laid out by God. Thus, the future appearance of these weapons at the appropriate time during the war must have been predetermined. If the weapons had been

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243 H. Michaud describes these weapons as praiseworthy, apocalyptic arms: “Ensuite on nous décrit la composition de l'armée, sa formation de combat et les armes de chacun; ces dernières surtout sont décrites avec un grand luxe de détails artistiques: sertissages d'or, d'argent, de bronze et de pierres précieuses ne sont pas ménagés; les armes eschatologiques sont admirable,” see Michaud, "Une apocalypse nouvelle: La guerre des fils de lumière contre les fils des ténèbres," 71. While I would say that these weapons are other worldly (as he describes them as apocalyptic) I believe that the term cannot be used due to its imprecise use in much scholarship.

244 See Abegg, "The War Scroll," 152-53.
‘predetermined’ by God, He would surely materialize them at the correct time. In the same manner that Bezalel was given divine plans and materials, so too the covenanter-artisans would be provided for allowing them to fashion the weapons at the appropriate time. All of these details unfold according to God’s plan.\textsuperscript{245}

5.3 The \textit{Damascus Document}

While we do not have the use of \textit{מהרשנה} in D, we still find passages that evoke the theme of ‘Divine Design’ and feature the God of predetermination; a God who has established exact times in which things will come to pass (CD 2:7-13):

\begin{center}[...]
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{245} As regards specifically the category of divine paraphernalia, there exists a close parallel to 1QM that comes in the Exodus narrative. While the objects which are revealed in this section are not weapons, they bear striking resemblance in material and construction. In this extract, Moses is commissioned by God to take the ‘blueprints’ of the Holy Ark, the Mercy Seat and the furnishing of the tent, and for the execution of this task, Bezalel son of Uri is commissioned as an artistic prophet ‘to translate’ the divine blueprint into physical form. In other words, Bezalel is to create the divine paraphernalia from earthly materials such as gold, silver, bronze and jewels (Ex 31:1-5):

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textbf{1} The Lord spoke to Moses: \textsuperscript{2} See, I have called by name Bezalel son of Uri son if Hur, of the Tribe of Judah: \textsuperscript{3} and I have filled him with divine spirit, with ability, intelligence, and knowledge in every kind of craft, \textsuperscript{4} to devise artistic designs, to work in gold, silver, and bronze, \textsuperscript{5} in cutting stones for setting, and in carving wood, in every kind of craft. \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Here Bezalel is filled with the ‘Spirit of God’ as a prophet; although his message is not in words but rather in art. The objects he is commissioned to build can be described as marvels: fit more so for God than for a king.

In 1QM, no artisan-prophet is mentioned; as the keyword סרך suggests, this document describes and specifies how a particular ‘arrangement’ of weapons will look at some later eschatological time. In other words, the scribe is relating a vision of future events rather than a ‘recipe’ book for how to craft the items. There are no imperatives used in this section: no one is being instructed to construct the items. One might venture to guess that the covenanters believed a figure like Bezalel would craft the weapons and deliver them to the group at an end-time. If one does not want to contrive as much, one might conjecture that the covenanters believed simply that God would render these weapons unto them during the eschatological battle. In any case, the spears have amongst them the air of the marvelous; fine metals, precious stones and carefully rendered ajour-work.
8 And he likewise hid his face from the earth [ו] but 9 turned away from the land [ע] as far as the years of 10 the generations went forward. For he turned away from 11 the generations until they had gone. He knows all the 12 times of appearance and the number and times of 13 everything before it happens in the proper time, for all the 14 years of eternity. And in all of these times, He has arranged 15 that there should be for Himself people called by name, so that there would be survivors on the earth, replenishing the surface of the earth with their descendants. He taught them through those anointed by the holy spirit, the seers of truth. He explicitly called them by name. But whoever He rejected He caused to stray.246

On the surface, this passage can be described as a statement of hard determinism; that is, God determines the fate of each of his creations. However, this hard determinism can also be parsed here further to be described as an expression of the theme of divine design. Directly under the surface, this passage can be read as a philosophical statement that expands upon how God works in history. The language of this passage deals with time: ‘proper time,’ ‘eternity,’ and ‘times.’ The scribes are not merely making a statement about how God determines his creatures, they are also making a clear declaration about how the history of the covenanter is unfolding according to a particular plan. There is clear movement in this passage: the old are rejected and the new replenish in their place, and this entire divine plan has been revealed by those ‘anointed by the holy spirit,’ presumably the prophets (and possibly including the Teacher of Righteousness).

246 Translation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 53.
In another passage in D, we see a similar explication of God’s plan as it is to come to pass in
the near future (CD 8:1-10):

And such is the verdict on all members of the covenant who do not hold firm to
these laws: they are condemned to destruction by Belial. That is the day on which
God shall judge (4Q268 adds: as He has said), “The princes of Judah were those (B:
like Boundary-Shifters) on whom I shall pour our wrath (B adds: like water)” (Hos.
5:10). Truly they were too sick to be healed; every kind of galling wound adhered to
them (B adds: Truly they had entered the covenant repenting) because they did not
turn away from traitorous practices; they relished the customs of fornication and
wicked lucre.247

Here we have a wrathful God as in M above, the author describing for us the appointed day for
divine wrath on which these wicked persons will be destroyed. While this passage mixes the
theme of the enemy-other, at its heart we get the sense that the theme of the divine plan is the
scaffolding upon which the rest of the information of this passage rests. The theme is almost
silent because it forms this backdrop. A divine drama is being unveiled, and the theme of
‘divine design’ functions as a part of the accepted rules of the covenanters for how to read the
events in their lives.

5.4 Summary

The philosophical tenet of Divine Design is pervasive in the serek texts, and acts as a sort of
backdrop to the events portrayed. This is the case not only in D, but also in S and M. This is a

247 Translation from ibid., 59.
direct interaction as God intervenes. The scribes describe this involvement as a movement from the past to the future and history unfolds in this sense along a continuum as determined by God. There is an important connection to the procedural disposition described at the semantic level in that the root ח"ש introduced individual sections filled with instructions, and here at the textual level, we see the serek texts evoking a precept encompassing the essence and purpose behind those instructions. The instructions are God’s divine design for humans to follow, in order to realize the greater design. There is an understanding that God will allow for events to manifest and even for objects to materialize at the appropriate times. All of these occurrences will follow strict guidelines that have been predetermined by God.

6 Conclusions

If we take the structure, narrative, central theme and philosophical tenet studied in this chapter, I believe a picture emerges in which S, Sa, Sb, D and M can be viewed as related on a textual level that is deeper than their respective semantic uses of the term serek. These texts are each compilations in that they collect similar types of information. This raw act of collecting text-types is not random in the serek texts, but rather, follows a clear pattern: accounts, instructions and liturgic materials are collected, each complementing the other. In addition, this act of collecting is reflected at the semantic level in the spatial disposition, under which general information is gathered.

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248 These insights bolster the work of researchers such as Jokiranta who has argued that S and D ought to be compared in terms of the activities each of these texts describe, rather than in terms of the communities scholars postulate could be behind each of these groups. See Jokiranta, “An Experiment on Idem Identity in the Qumran Movement,” 328-29.
Going beyond ‘serek as compilation,’ we can say that this information is also organized within a similar framework and backdrop in each of the serek texts. In the forefront of this backdrop of assumptions is a narrative about how this divine plan will look as it unfolds. The narrative comes out more clearly in terms of its chronology in M, and is mirrored quite clearly in the Community Cycle (S, Sa & Sb) and in D. Each of these documents points to various stages in this end-time narrative, collecting various instructions for the Children of Light for these various stages. There exists in this narrative a clear presumption about the quality of these times—that is, that one is moving from worse times to better times (and ultimately to the best times). In this manner, the serek texts mirror the hierarchical disposition that was described at the semantic level.

There are also certain principles at work in the serek texts that further develop into a unified worldview within the serek texts: there is a clear and emphasized dichotomy within the texts between the ‘in-group’ and the ‘other.’ This is brought out by the scribes’ use of the central theme of the enemy other—a central theme that mirrors the martial disposition of the semantic level. Furthermore, another fundamental principle that is brought into relief through the study of the philosophical tenet of the serek texts, is that there exists in the texts a clear presumption about how God works in history, and how He will allow His plan to come to pass. This tenet I have labeled ‘Divine Design’ and it rests upon the assumption within the serek texts that God has predetermined peoples and events in the world by His design. At the semantic level, this is reflected in the use of serek as a procedural disposition in that the instructions give a practical map for this divine plan.
Thus, looking at the broader Qumran context, we can conclude that the *serek* texts in this light can be read as a cohesive whole, if we look away from trying to understand them as particular forms of communities and concentrate on the similarities that abound in the texts. In this manner, the *serek* texts do not have to belong specifically to a group that lived at Qumran, in the towns and villages of Palestine, or in Jerusalem. The *serek* texts describe life as it is unfolding, and thus are better understood as the expressions of a chronological progression of events. Seen as unified literary entities, the instructions can be seen as being meant for several periods of time, as the eschatological drama unfolds, and not necessarily for specific communities that differ.

At this point, there remains another important question to answer. After looking at several unifying structures of the *serek* texts in isolation, is it possible to go further to understand them in the broader context of the Second Temple period? Is it possible to justify the eschatological narrative as it begins to emerge at the textual level? Perhaps one of the most interesting conclusions raised by this textual study is the fact that all of the *serek* texts can be read along a certain chronological continuum. What is the justification for this narrative? Is the justification internal, or do the scribes use techniques to anchor their texts outside of the internal narrative? The next chapter will explore this by looking at the hypertextual level—a level at which the scribes evoke other texts in their *serek* texts to justify their chronology.
CHAPTER 3

Hypertextual Level: The Scribal Technique in the Serek Texts

... the movement which was responsible for collecting the Qumran library claims to have looked to the scriptural past for its appreciation of its own prophetic activity rather than to the phenomena of prophecy in the Greco-Roman world.

George J. Brooke\textsuperscript{249}

[...] a driving force of Second Isaiah’s rhetoric is the recollection, or re-collection, of other, already familiar texts into its own poetry. By reusing words known to the exilic community, Second Isaiah reapplied the “former things of old,” shaping them into a “new thing” for a society in a radically altered situation, a people reevaluating their national self-understanding in the wake of the destruction of their capital city, monarchy, and temple.

Patricia Tull Willey\textsuperscript{250}

1 Introduction

The previous two chapters aimed at building a descriptive and amalgamated picture of all of the serek texts, looking first atomistically at the root ס"ך in a semantic analysis and then building upon this basis with a textual analysis of the structure, narrative, major theme and philosophical tenet present in all of the serek texts. The conclusion up to this point is that there is good evidence to suggest that the serek texts are unified significantly and intrinsically in their worldview and that they present collectively a coherent picture of the end time. The


present chapter will expand upon this basis in order to enlarge our purview to include the greater world of the Second Temple period. In order to do this, the analysis will examine how the *serek* texts interact with other textual traditions from the cultural milieu of ancient Judea. As such, this analysis will concentrate on how the scribes of each *serek* text alluded to scriptural traditions that came before. In so doing, they made use of a well-established

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251 As a matter of clarification, what sets allusion apart from quotation is the former's lack of explicit identification to the referenced text; see M. H. Abrams, "Allusion," in *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (Orlando: Harcourt Brace, 1999), 9. In this manner, the function of allusion in literary texts is similar to more explicit forms of citation in texts such as the *pesharim*, where the scribes explicitly identify their base text through simple formulas, and then proceed to give an interpretation of that base text. In the case of texts which prefer allusion, for example the book of *Jubilees* or M, the base text is alluded to but is not explicitly cited through a formula. As explained by the literary critic Abrams: "Since allusions are not explicitly identified, they imply a knowledge that is shared by an author and the audience for whom the author writes. Most literary allusions are intended to be recognized by the generally educated readers of the author's time, but some are aimed at a special coterie" (ibid., 10.) This of course begs the question: Can one ever retrieve the allusions if they are never cited? Abrams points out that in *Astrophel and Stella*, Sir Philip Sidney makes punning allusions to Lord Robert Rich who was married to the Stella of the sonnets, and such references would only have been understood by people with whom they were intimate. In terms of M or *Jubilees*, one can safely assume that the audience for which the texts were written would have been intimately aware of the base texts to which the new texts were referring. This is particularly true for a group who prizes particular religious texts; see comments by E. Miner, "Allusion," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger and T. V. F. Brogan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 39. Just a few comments regarding the work of Abrams are in order. While his remarks above are intuitive, he does not discuss how an allusion functions in its new literary context. Z. Ben-Porat, for example, argues that allusion must be distinguished from literary allusion, where the latter describes the simultaneous activation of two texts. Her definition is as follows: "... literary allusion is a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts [where 'text' = a closed recorded system]. The activation is achieved through the manipulation of a special signal: a sign (simple or complex) in a given text characterized by an additional larger 'referent.' The referent is always an independent text. The simultaneous activation of the two texts thus connected results in the formation of intertextual patterns whose nature cannot be predetermined," see Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 1 (1976): 108-09. This definition accounts for not only the general meaning of allusion as a 'hint to a known fact' but also shows how such a 'hint' can function in a literary text. According to this definition, if one can identify the 'sign' which creates a link to another independent text, one should be able to describe how this connection forms an intertextual pattern, and thus the function of the allusion within its new context.
Second Temple scribal technique that can be described in modern terms as hypertextuality, a technique that already had its roots back into First Temple times.  

2 From Intertextuality to Hypertextuality

Perhaps the seminal work on inner-biblical allusion remains M. Fishbane's work, Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel. The main purpose of Fishbane's work was to describe systematically how biblical 'exegesis' has its precedence within the Hebrew Bible—a phenomenon that had already been noticed and described by scholars from at least the late 19th century. Fishbane sought to describe categorically—in terms of scribal, legal, aggadic and mantological exegesis—how early biblical scribes read, re-read, wrote and re-wrote biblical texts. In his study, Fishbane uses the term 'exegesis' exclusively throughout his work to refer to this phenomenon. Despite the fact that his study was in many respects ground-breaking—especially since it put even more emphasis on the polyvalence of Scripture—it has subsequently been criticized. Despite these criticisms, the book re-opened an important

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254 For example, Kugel has criticized Fishbane for his inconsistent use of 'traditio' and 'traditum,' (the former referring to the secondary text and the later referring to the primary text); for his insistence on using the categories scribal, legal, aggadic and mantological to classify his examples, even when they do not fit easily into such categories; his tendency to skip over primary sources from the Second Temple period to concentrate principally on the connections between biblical and rabbinic exegesis; and finally, for his indiscriminate use of the term 'exegesis;' see Kugel, "The Bible's Earliest Interpreters," Proof 7 (1987): 269-83. As regards Fishbane's use of exegesis, Kugel states: "Is the relationship between two texts, even when undeniable, necessarily an indication of 'inner-biblical' exegesis? For example, in Jer 31 [its use of Deut. 24:1-4 ...] is an important phenomenon, and very telling with regard to Fishbane's overall subject, the 'scripturalization' of Scripture and its reuse as such within the biblical period. But I believe these are the terms [i.e., 'scripturalization'] in which it ought to be
line of inquiry, and has been a point of reference for many scholars working subsequently on hypertextuality in the Scriptures and in Second Temple literature more broadly.\footnote{One of Fishbane's students—Sommer—has taken the lead from his Doktorvater and has worked on intertextuality in the context of Deutero-Isaiah, examining the influence of Jeremiah and other biblical sources on the scribes who created the prophecies of Isaiah 40-66. While Sommer proceeds conceptually in much the same direction as his mentor, he nuances his methodology in a manner more sophisticated than that of Fishbane. The first chapter of his work contains a succinct introduction entitled “Literary Theory and the Study of Inner-Biblical Allusion and Exegesis” in which he distills for his reader matters of nomenclature within literary theory which are not discussed in detail in Biblical Interpretation. This oversight in Fishbane's work is taken to task in the first chapter of Sommer's work: “As biblical authors evoke, interpret, paraphrase, and otherwise employ compositions by their predecessors, they forge textual links of a sort that has been subject to intense consideration among literary theorists in the past quarter century. Before we turn to biblical examples themselves, it will be useful to survey the varied approaches to questions of influence, allusion, and intertextuality current in literary theory and to decide which approaches are relevant to the project at hand [...]. Such a reformulation is relevant not only to my work on Isaiah 40-66 but to the study of the subject generally,” see Sommer, A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66, 6. Sommer first draws his reader's attention to the fact that within literary theory there are two broad categories by which the relationship of separate literary texts can be described. The first is via influence or allusion, and the second is via intertextuality. According to his distillation: “Intertextuality is synchronic in its approach, influence or allusion diachronic or even historicist. Intertextuality is interested in a very wide range of correspondences among texts, influence and allusion with a more narrow set. Intertextuality examines the relations among many texts, while influence and allusion look for specific connections between a limited number of texts” (8). For Sommer, it is crucial that one have this distinction in mind before proceeding with any study that purports to trace the influence of one work upon another. For example, in a study that concentrates on the intertextuality present between two texts, it would not matter whether the author of text B were aware of her reliance on text A. Sommer takes his definition from J. Clayton and E. Rothstein, "Figures in the Corpus: Theories of Influence and Intertextuality," in Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 31 n. 3. To quote Sommer: “From the vantage point of intertextuality, 'a resemblance or parallel is seen as inhering in the mind of the reader in the first place,' [quoting Clayton and Rothstein] so that the intertextual critic 'does not need to worry about whether the author really read, remembered, and imitated a specific precursor' [quoting again Clayton and Rothstein]” (9). This is because intertextuality—according to many theorists—exists only in the mind of the present-day reader rather than in the mind of the author. On the other hand, when analyzing a text for traces of allusion or influence, one is interested in tracing a specific connection between those two texts that would point to motivation stemming from the author. Thus, if one is dealing with a case of allusion, the author of text B will have alluded to text A because he wanted to make a specific point about his own text. A further innovation Sommer makes in his work, in comparison to that of Fishbane, is his careful distinction between 'exegesis' and 'allusion.' Where exegesis is an attempt to explain the meaning of an older text by explicitly citing it—as in the case of the pesharim—allusion is more broadly the implicit, yet purposeful, evocation of a previous text. Thus, Sommer provides one with a new manner in which to categorize Second Temple texts; namely, either as exegetical or as allusory. While Fishbane uses the term 'exegesis' to refer to any case in which one biblical passage borrows from or is based on another, Sommer uses the term in a more constrained manner to refer specifically to the explicit citation and explanation of an older text. Of course, the boundary between these two definitions is not always clear and exact, but Sommer's approach provides a useful and nuanced framework for the study of intertextuality in Second Temple literature.
Much has been written of late on the subject of intertextuality and inner-biblical interpretation within the Hebrew Bible, and a definition of intertextuality is given in a simple manner by P. K. Tull in her chapter in *To Each its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms*:

In a general sense, intertextuality simply refers to the interconnections among texts. These connections can be as general and indirect as shared language, or sound as specific and direct as the footnoted quotation of one text in another. What makes intertextuality interesting, however, is that the shared webs of meaning and association that enable communication between people are never fully and completely shared.

Tull admits that these general parameters are themselves debated by scholars; however, the phenomenon is recognized, and recently much work has been done to go beyond mere recognition of intertextuality to understand how intertextuality functions. In a study on intertextuality in Second Isaiah, Tull states:

Many literary critics now see intertextuality as basic to all communication. It is no longer enough to ask, therefore, whether or not Second Isaiah reuses previous texts. Rather, it becomes more fruitful to inquire whether any of the texts it uses are still available to us, what kinds of texts it uses, how it uses them, and how the use contributes to the message.

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More recently, the phenomenon of intertextuality in ancient Near Eastern literature has been taken to task by the Institute of Jewish Studies and the Institute of Classical Archeology of the University of Vienna, which organized an international, interdisciplinary symposium in 2007 entitled “Palimpsests: An International Symposium on Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature.”

The underlying purpose of this symposium was to assess literature in the ‘second degree;’ that is, to understand—“without anachronism and without a theological rhetoric that presupposes a canonical status for the base text”—how texts in the ancient Near East and Mediterranean world reused previous texts. For the purposes of the symposium—as their title indicates—the organizers used G. Genette’s now-famous study *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* to provide a theoretical framework. In this work, Genette distinguishes five types of ‘transtextual’ relationships:

*Intertextuality:* “a relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts: that is to say, eidetically and typically as the actual presence of one text within another.”

B. Sommer points out that this ‘copresence’ does not exist necessarily in the mind of the author, although it can be pointed out by a ‘paralogue’ (i.e., the reader of a given text).
**Paratextuality**: "a title, a subtitle, intitules; prefaces, postfaces, notices, forewords, etc.; marginal, infrapaginal, terminal notes; epigraphs; illustrations; blurbs, book covers, dust jackets, and many other kinds of secondary signals, whether allographic or autographic." 264

**Metatextuality**: "is the relationship most often labeled ‘commentary.’ It unites a given text to another, of which it speaks without necessarily citing it (without summoning it), in fact sometimes even without naming it." 265

Here one can place texts such as the *pesharim*, despite the fact that they cite the prophecies that they claim to interpret. In any case, they stand as early ongoing commentaries of particular biblical texts:

**Hypertextuality**: "By hypertextuality [Genette] mean[s] any relationship uniting a text B (which [he calls] the *hypertext*) to an earlier text A ([which he calls] the *hypotext*), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not a commentary." 266

And finally:

**Architextuality**: "By architextuality [he] mean[s] the entire set of general transcendent categories—types of discourses, modes of enunciation, literary genres—from which emerges each singular text." 267

For the purposes of this chapter, the fourth category—‘hypertextuality’—will be the most useful for our exploration into the uses of scriptural citationality in the *serek* texts. 268 At the simplest level, any casual reader of the *serek* texts will notice that the use of Scripture within

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265 See ibid., 4.
266 See ibid., 5.
267 See ibid., 1 and 4-5.
268 For more on the term ‘citationality,’ see M. Juvan, *History and Poetics of Intertextuality*, trans. T. Pogačar (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008), 144-78.
them—while sometimes explicit, other times implicit—has behind it the particular purpose of commenting upon the circumstances in which the covenanters found themselves, or towards which they believed themselves to be heading. Strictly speaking, the use of citationality within the serek texts is not that of a commentary, since in a commentary one assumes that the comments should illuminate the text that is being quoted, and not something else.\(^{269}\) In the case of the serek texts, the relationship between Scripture and the covenanters' work always comes with an explicit agenda—even when they allude rather than explicitly cite texts—and this agenda is to comment upon how Scripture is affecting the current and future circumstances of the covenanters.\(^{270}\)

2.1 Hypertextuality in the Serek Texts

There have been several attempts to collect the allusions to and quotations of Jewish Scriptures in the DSS. Up until 2011, there was no comprehensive list available, and scholars still had to collect individual citations from lists given in several publications.\(^{271}\) However, as of

\(^{269}\) I would argue that the serek texts are similar to the pesharim as regards their purpose, and that one should be careful in categorizing the pesharim as explicit commentaries. The pesharim are not meant to illuminate Scripture, but rather to illuminate the covenanters' own worldview.

\(^{270}\) In my preference for the term 'hypertextuality' over 'intertextuality' in describing the phenomenon of Scriptural citationality in the serek texts, I am at odds with Lange who appears to prefer 'intertextuality'; see Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 21-24. I have used Clayton and Rothstein to nuance my definition of intertextuality; see Clayton and Rothstein, "Figures in the Corpus: Theories of Influence and Intertextuality," 31 n. 3.

\(^{271}\) These have been collected, although not systematically in Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," 297-333. An additional collection can be found in Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study*, 2 ed. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 205-37. A further list can be found in J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texts vom Toten Meer: Einführung, Zeitrechnung, Register und Bibliographie*, vol. 3 (München: Reinhardt, 1996), 161-82. Finally, a list can be found in VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and
2011, a new list has been compiled by A. Lange and M. Weigold entitled *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*. This work will be sure to serve as a starting point for any study of allusion and quotation in Second Temple literature in the years to come. In it, not only have Lange and Weigold provided a list of quotations and allusions that have been gleaned from previous secondary sources, but they have also compiled—with the help of Oaktree’s software Accordance—many more allusions and quotations that had hitherto not been identified by scholars. Their use of the INFER command in Accordance has been particularly productive. In the words of Lange:

> [Accordance] includes since version 8.0 the newly created ‘INFER’ command. This command compares texts with each other to identify parallel phrases. The new INFER feature of Accordance allows for the first time for a systematic search of quotations of and allusions to Jewish Scriptures in Second Temple Jewish Literature.272

Thus, with this new tool, it is possible to examine a relatively comprehensive list of biblical allusions and quotations in the *serek* texts which can serve as a starting point for any discussion about the function of such hypertextuality.273

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273 For Lange and Weigold, the base definition of allusion is given in this manner: “Allusions are employments of anterior texts in which the anterior text is still linguistically recognizable in the posterior text but not morphologically identical with it”(25). They go on to say that “any parallel of at least three words to another text [is classified] as an implicit allusion.” In this guise, an explicit allusion would be characterized by “a reference to a given text or a quotation formula in addition to which a given text is paraphrased or a keyword or theme of a given text are employed”(26). As regards quotations, Lange and Weigold explain that “[w]hile allusions are characterized by their morphological difference to their anterior texts, [in quotations the anterior texts] are morphologically identical with them.” Ibid. Thus, quotations can also be explicit or implicit: explicit if introduced by a quotation formula, or implicit if not. The greatest question that this definition might beg is how one
2.2 The Scribal Technique of Hypertextuality in Deutero-Isaiah

Perhaps the most compelling reason for comparing the scribal technique of hypertextuality from Isaiah to that in the serek texts is that of all of the biblical texts found at Qumran, Isaiah is by far the most prevalent with twenty-one copies having been found.274 One cannot deny that Isaiah was likely one of the most important prophetic texts at Qumran. In addition, one also becomes quickly aware that there exists a strong link between the serek texts and in particular Deutero-Isaiah in the fact that both groups allude back extensively to older prophecies. This scribal technique has been explored in several studies, including those by Tull and by Sommer mentioned above; the scribes who wrote Isaiah 40-55 continually alluded back to more ancient prophecies contained in Jeremiah, First Isaiah, the Psalms and other sacred texts.275 Sommer’s conclusions regarding the general attitude towards prophecy in the post-exilic era are as follows:

As prophecy faded, new ways to ascertain or articulate YHWH’s will arose. Scribes collected, edited, and perhaps revised existing records or prophetic discourse, and in so doing they presented the material in a way relevant to their own day. Later in the

accounts for various biblical traditions? This system assumes that in the case of quotations, that the author is referring to an established text, and ‘quoting’ it directly. For this reason, I lean towards using the term ‘allusion’ in my analysis, assuming that there were at least several biblical textual traditions which had variations amongst them (any of which the covenanters could have been using). However, I accept Lange’s and Weigold’s conception that if a text such as M, S or D contains at least three consecutive words (or in rare cases two) that can be traced to Scripture, such a phenomenon would constitute an instance of allusion to that anterior scriptural text; see ibid., 25. I believe this applies in particular in the Qumran context as the covenanters were so imbued with Scripture.


275 See Willey, Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah. See also Sommer, A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66, 315-31. Sommer does not call the allusions to the psalms as references to ‘prophecies’ however, given the status of David as a prophet, it is likely that they may have been seen as prophetic allusions. On David as a prophet, see Kugel, “David the Prophet,” 45-55.
Second Temple period, people who composed religious documents came increasingly to attribute their work to older, recognized figures, such as the patriarchs or Jeremiah's secretary, Baruch. This turn towards pseudepigraphy discloses a feeling that revelation or divinely sanctioned religious instruction must come from the mouth of a pre-exilic authority.276 [...]

Deutero-Isaiah's allusivity discloses (and responds to) a crisis of prophetic authority. This crisis generated new forms of expression later in the post-exilic era. Those who wrote religious documents after the outset of the Second Temple period either attributed them to authoritative figures from the past or limited themselves to composing interpretations of older texts. Jews seeking the word of God increasingly consulted not an individual with special access to the divinity but to the words of earlier figures which were thought to have meaning for the present. Deutero-Isaiah precedes this development; he is still a prophet, and he identifies his utterances as pronouncements of YHWH. But close examination shows that to an extraordinary degree these pronouncements consist of revisions of earlier ones. Thus, Deutero-Isaiah is a pivotal figure in the movement from the predominantly oracle-based religion of ancient Israel to the more hermeneutically based ones of the Second Temple period and later.277

Sommer's comments are instructive, although they may reveal his own bias regarding the definition of a prophet. However, putting the issue of prophecy aside, one can say that his insights are keen. During the post-exilic period a shift had begun that would develop into several new types of sacred literature, based primarily upon a dialogue which looked back to already established sacred texts. The question as to whether these new revelatory texts should be categorized as 'prophetic' or as something else has been taken head-on by several scholars.278 However, the concern here for the moment is not about appellation, but rather

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277 See ibid., 181.
278 See, for example, the collection of articles in Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism, (London: T&T Clark, 2006).
about how an early allusive text from the post-exilic period functioned. The matter of function is described by Sommer in his conclusions:

Deutero-Isaiah’s was a peculiar sort of prophetic inspiration. He experienced the presence of the divine voice by ruminating on divine voices from the past. More than his pre-exilic forerunners, Deutero-Isaiah based his prophecies on older texts, recasting their words in order to create new but derivative oracles for his own day. Thus he augured what was to come, for writers in the Second Temple period and later fashioned themselves as interpreters and imitators of prophecy. Deutero-Isaiah’s reuse of older texts, then, comes to bear not only on the nature of inner-biblical allusion but on the history of prophecy and the rise of hermeneutically based religion.

Sommer is making several striking points here, but again his restricted view of prophecy may be limiting how he conceptualizes prophecy in the Second Temple period. What he has discovered through his analysis of Deutero-Isaiah is that the phenomenon of allusion had already become accepted as a method of inspiration by the time of the composition of Isaiah 40-66. He leaves the scribes of the Second Temple period in a category of ‘interpreters and imitators of prophecy’; nevertheless, he seems reluctant to put Deutero-Isaiah into the same category. However one might want to categorize Deutero-Isaiah, it does appear to be a seminal text in regard to the extent to which it recycles Scripture. The scribes who composed this piece alluded to prophecies that came before—especially to Jeremiah—and were able to reinterpret those prophecies by turning them on their head. Much of the reason this technique was able to function was that the audience for the new prophecy would have been so familiar with the alluded texts, that explicit citation may have been redundant in many

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279 See, for example, the study by L. Grabbe, "The Social Setting of Early Jewish Apocalypticism," *JSP* 4 (1989): 27-47. Also see Grabbe, "Introduction and Overview," in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships*, JSPSS 46 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 2-43.
Chapter 3: Analysis of Hypertextuality in the Serek Texts & in Deutero-Isaiah

ways. However, through allusion the scribes were able to bolster their text with the authority of what came before. Given that their allusions came from texts that were sacred, then it is reasonable to assume that copying this technique meant that they hoped to follow in the same ‘prophetic’ tradition.

3 Analysis of Hypertextuality in the *Serek* Texts & in Deutero-Isaiah

I will proceed in the following section to analyze several occurrences of the scribal technique of hypertextuality in the *serek* texts, using Deutero-Isaiah as a point of comparison for the same technique. Note that Appendices A through to H summarize all of the instances of hypertextuality in M, the Community Cycle (S, Sa and Sb) and D, in addition to providing the full colour-coded texts in Hebrew, labeled as either allusions of fulfillment or reprediction.

I would argue that in general, whether through direct or indirect revelation, scribes who used this technique hoped to demonstrate at least two aspects of how the divinity worked in history: (1) What lead up to the present events (and how these have been presaged); and, (2) How events will unfold in the future. In the case of the same scribal technique in Deutero-Isaiah, these two aspects were expressed—although not exclusively—through fulfillment and reprediction for the future.280 In other words, many aspects of the current circumstances in

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280 Sommer shows in his study that Deutero-Isaiah related to older prophecies in several manners: through *historical recontextualization*, *reprediction*, *reversal of meaning*, *fulfillment of earlier prophecies* and through *typologies*. These are the categories under which he divides each of his sections; see his first chapter ‘Deutero-Isaiah’s Use of Jeremiah’ in Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66*, 32-72. The first of these—*historical recontextualization*—refers to the process by which Deutero-Isaiah would allude to a prediction from an earlier prophet, and then transform the older prophecy by relating it in a new context to a similar but separate
which the Isaian scribes found themselves were seen as being the fulfillment of the words of
the prophets that came before; in addition, visions for the future were also often seen as
presaged by those same prophets, their words cast in the form of re-predictions for the future.
This reprediction for the future brought back to life old words that had been written
previously for a different context. Thus, we might break down the scribal technique of
hypertextuality into two separate subcategories: the scribal technique of fulfillment and the
scribal technique of re-prediction. Both fulfillment and re-prediction for the future can be seen
as a development of the ‘revelatory’ that began at least in the late First Temple and early post-
exilic periods to answer the following questions: How do the words of our Prophets from the
past effect our present? And, how will the future unfold given the words of the past? This
intense concern for understanding prophecies, expressed in one manner through the scribal
technique of hypertextuality, would have become one of the hallmarks of revelatory literature
by the Second Temple period. In the context of this analysis of the serek texts, it must be
emphasized that it is specifically the scribal technique of Deutero-Isaiah rather than the text of
Deutero-Isaiah that is the focus.

set of events or to a new group altogether. Reprediction constitutes the allusion to an older text where the
message in the new context does not differ from the context of the older text; thus, the allusion is basically a
restatement. In reversal of meaning, the new text alludes to an older prophetic text, but in the new context the
meaning of the older prophecy is reversed altogether. Fulfillment of earlier prophecies constitutes an allusion to
an older prophecy where in the new context it is made clear that the older prophecy has come to pass in some
way. Finally through typologies—which function in a manner similar to recontextualization—the scribe would
posit a correspondence between people, events and places by showing that one can be understood in light of the
other. Each of these correspondences, as expounded by Sommer, can be reduced at their core to two primary
forms of allusion. The first I would call fulfillment, and the second I would call Reprediction; these two terms
correspond to a particular chronology. That is, while the scribes of Deutero-Isaiah, in alluding to previous
prophecies, could relate them to their new text in different manners, the primary purpose for those allusions
would with be to demonstrate that the older prophecy had been fulfilled, or that the previous prophecy was yet to
be fulfilled in the future.
3.1 Fulfillment in the *Serek* Texts and in Deutero-Isaiah

The first aspect of this scribal technique of hypertextuality, as described above, can be called fulfillment—a 'looking-back' of sorts that finds inspiration and ultimate authority in the *fulfilled* words of authoritative figures from the past. In this sort of hypertextuality, the words of the ancient prophets are not taken and recast to tell the future, but rather they are taken in order to show how their message has now been fulfilled in the present. In nearly all cases, the prophetic primary text is taken out of its original context and brought to bear on a completely new secondary text. The overall effect of this scribal technique is to give authority not only to the new texts that evokes the old, but also bolsters the authority of the older text to which the scribe alludes. The new text claims that those words—while not ostensibly fulfilled—were meant for and would be fulfilled in a different time and context. Thus, the technique of using ‘fulfilling’ hypertextuality confers a double authority. Hypertextuality of fulfillment could take at least two different forms; first, the scribe could take the older prediction meant for a different context, and transform it by placing it in a new context thus giving the text a new historical contextualization. Second, the scribe could choose a text from the past without a specific prophetic context, and recast it in a manner that could be described as prophetic. However the scribe cast it, the hallmark of the scribal technique of fulfillment was that the prediction was seen to have already taken place in the new context. Thus, the prophecy of old was completed and stood as a testament to the veracity of the ancient prophets.
3.1.1 Fulfillment in Deutero-Isaiah

There are many instances in which Deutero-Isaiah uses the scribal technique of fulfillment, alluding to older previous prophets by showing how their prophecies had already come to pass in his day. For example, one sees in Isa 40:2 an allusion to Jer 16:18 that demonstrates this scribal technique.\textsuperscript{281} The allusion is to a twofold punishment that would be meted out to the Israelites and comes in a passage located at the very beginning of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 40:2):\textsuperscript{282}

\begin{quote}
inci נרצה עונה \\
מלאה צבאה \\
וקראו אליה כי \\
dברו על-לב ירושלם \\
כי נרצה שנה
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Speak tenderly to Jerusalem, / And declare to her / That her term of service is over, / That her iniquity is expiated; / For she has received at the hand of the LORD / Double for all her sins.
\end{quote}

The scribes of Deutero-Isaiah have made a clear allusion to an older Jeremianic text (Jer 16:18):

\begin{quote}
כפלים בכל-חטאתיה \\
כי לקחה מיד יהוה
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Lo, I am sending for many fishermen / -declares the LORD- / And they shall haul them out; / And after that I will send for many hunters, / And they shall hunt them / Out of every mountain and out of every hill / And out of the clefts of the rocks. \textsuperscript{17} For my eyes are on all their ways, / They are not hidden from My presence, / Their iniquity is not concealed from My sight. \textsuperscript{18} I will pay them in full—/ Nay, doubly for their iniquity and their sins—/ Because they have defiled My land / With the corpses of their abominations, / And have filled My own possession / With abhorrent things.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{281} This section is an expansion based upon the examples and expositions presented in ibid., 57-60.

This section of Jeremiah comes within a small collection of utterances (Jer 16:1-17:18) attributed to Jeremiah, all miscellaneous in nature. In its more immediate context, it constitutes a part of the second of three small prophecies, called by J. R. Lundbom: (1) New Exodus, New Oath (16:14-15), (2) No Refuge for the Wicked (16:16-18) and (3) New Day, New Knowledge of Yahweh (16:19-21). While the compositional history is debated by many scholars, the general consensus is that all three oracles were written in the period of the first exile around 597 B.C.E. The second oracle is an oracle of judgment—complete judgment—addressed in all likelihood to Judah.

The images are striking: the oracle presents fishermen and hunters although it is not clear what their prey is. One cannot help but succumb to the impression that it is the Judeans themselves who are being pursued and hunted by a foreign enemy. However, in the end it is Yahweh who is the arch-pursuer. The oracle leaves not only the identity of the pursuers in the dark, but it is also reticent about the nature of their iniquities. Whatever the referents, one must assume that the scribes who wrote the oracle had a particular scenario in mind, even if that scenario was not spelled out in detail and has been lost in the mists of time. In any case, as time passed—given the enigmatic images present in the oracle—it became more and more open to interpretation from various communities.

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284 See ibid., 765.
285 On the range of views regarding the composition of these three oracles, see ibid., 766.
This passage from Jeremiah is evoked in what might be called the *prologue* to Deutero-Isaiah of which Isa 40:2 is a part; however, there is some debate as to how this opening should be understood. For example, J. Watts describes the scene in 40:1-11 as the ‘Hall of Voices’ in which “YHWH and the members of his court are present and speak sometimes amongst themselves and sometimes to Judah and / or Jerusalem as well as to the nations.”\(^{286}\) J. Blenkinsopp is more cautious, however, and decides to describe the opening more broadly as an *apologia* by an anonymous seer in which “those addressed are given a commission involving three commands: comfort the people, speak consoling words to Jerusalem... and proclaim good news.”\(^{287}\) However one takes these lines, the message in the prologue is clear: it announces a new purpose for Israel, a highway and a new *exodus*. Within this jubilant report, it announces that Jerusalem has paid double for all of her sins and thus she has been absolved. As shown by Sommer, the allusion to the oracle in Jeremiah is striking and unmistakable given how the words have been recycled.\(^{288}\) Where Jeremiah's oracle—in a rather obscure context—had looked forward to a foreboding and uncertain future, here is it evoked and made to stand as a truthful instance of fulfillment. The precise nature of the ‘double’ punishment is not unpacked in detail; nevertheless, it is assumed by the scribe of Deutero-Isaiah that the prediction of Jeremiah had been fulfilled.


The second example of the application of the scribal technique of fulfillment in Deutero-Isaiah comes in the scribe’s use in Isa 40:17-23 of the Book of Psalms. Sommer, in his study, classifies this instance of allusion as ‘Repetition and Echo;’ however, as will be seen below, I would classify this as an instance of a fulfilling allusion. This psalm is evoked by Deutero-Isaiah through a cunning string of allusions in Isa 40:17-23, and it is repeated in a manner that shows the fulfillment of the psalm in Deutero-Isaiah’s present time:

It is likely that Sommer does not consider this to be an instance of fulfillment because he does not consider the psalms to be prophetic in nature. However, as discussed above, it is certain that David, and by extension the Davidic Psalms, would have been seen as prophetic by the post-exilic period, and likely even before. The psalm alluded to here—Ps 82:5-8—is attributed to the prophet David and speaks about ‘divine beings’ (אלהים) who are being judged:

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289 This section is an expansion based upon the examples and expositions presented in ibid., 122-27.
It is nearly impossible to isolate the specific cultic situation in which this particular psalm would have been written. Nevertheless, scholars have been able to devise the setting in general terms and to date the text within an early archaic period, when there would have existed a heated debate within the Jewish cultic sphere surrounding polytheism. The psalm has been recognized for its prophetic qualities in that it predicts the judgment of the individuals who support such polytheistic cults. Because of this, and because it is attributed to David the Prophet, one can deduce that the scribe of Deutero-Isaiah saw this psalm as an appropriate prophetic text to evoke. Within the psalm’s original context, David as the psalmist deems the judicial systems that derived from the polytheistic cults as being corrupt; the judges representing those gods favored wrongdoers over those who were righteous, and thus they fostered grave injustice. David the psalmist describes the highest Judge—Yahweh—as coming to call those acting under the authority of these deities to account for their bad rulings. The deities are likened to demonic and wicked powers; the ‘they’ referred to in line 4 are the wicked persons who have been left to go free through unjust rulings—free to wreak havoc...

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291 See ibid., 154.
upon the lives of the meek. Here the psalmist evokes Yahweh for the purpose of making all of these wicked ones accountable for their sins.

The use of fulfillment as a scribal technique in this portion of Deutero-Isaiah functions as an attempt to convince the Judeans that Yahweh has all the power, and is mightier than the empires surrounding them. The genre of this section has been described as a disputation speech in form-criticism. As regards the overall motif of this passage, the prophet ridicules idol-worship in a manner which ties it indirectly to Ps 81; also, in addition to these similar motifs, the passage is tied even more intimately to the psalm by its repetition of rare key phrases making the allusion unmistakable. The scribal technique is meant to persuade the audience of the supreme power of Yahweh by asking several rhetorical questions; as pointed out by Blenkinsopp, these questions follow in good measure the didactic-sapiential tradition. However, the subject of the allusion is simple. David, in his psalm, evokes God to act: “Arise, O God, judge the earth, / for all the nations are Your possession.” As much as this is a supplication, it can also be seen as an oracle. David predicts that God will arise to judge the nations; a right he alone holds because inevitably all nations belong to him. The scribes allude to this Psalm in order to demonstrate that David’s words were fulfilled in their present time; by so doing, the scribes have utilized a technique that serves to evoke in their listeners a

292 For a summary of the work done on this section analyzing its genre, see Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 620-21.
293 For further argumentation about this instance of allusion, see Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66*, 122-27.
294 Blenkinsopp cites Job 38:4-7 as a point of comparison; see Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55*, 191.
rhetorical question: ‘Did you not hear?’ (Isa 40:20), thus calling them to recognize the fulfillment of David’s words.\(^{295}\)

### 3.1.2 Fulfillment in the War Scroll

A similar type of scribal technique—as in Deutero-Isaiah described above—is evident in M. The first lines of M constitute a complex set of allusions to the words of several ancient prophets, and they set the stage for the first seven-year stage—the so-called War of the Kittim—of the 40-year eschatological war described by the covenanters. The section of M under examination is as follows (1QM 1:1-2):\(^{296}\)

\[

tלְלֵל’绵阳 בָּנָי אָמָר לְיהוָה בָּנָי נוֹשֵׂךְ בָּתי מִלַּעֲלֵי בְּנֵי אֲדֹם וּמֹאָב וּבְנֵי עָמֹן

tוֹחַ מְסָמָךְ בְּני עֵמֶר וּבְגֵדְדֶת כֵּתֵי אָרֹן וּבְגֵדְדי כֵּתֵי אָשֶׁר וָעָם עָם עָמִיתָם בְּרִית בְּנֵי לֹוי וּבְנֵי יהודה וּבְנֵי בְנֵי יְחֵי הָעָלָה וּבְגֵדְדֶת מִסָּמָךְ

tוֹלֵם בָּם
\]

For the [structor, the Rule of] the War. The first attack of the Sons of Light shall be undertaken against the forces of the Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial; the troops of Edom, Moab, the sons of Ammon, the Amalekites, Philistia and the troops of the Kittim of Assyria. Supporting them are those who have violated the covenant. The sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin, those exiled to the wilderness, shall fight against them [...]

Each of the prophetic allusions in this section has a particular context from which they are taken; the prophetic context is often similar in some way to the context of M, but it is taken from this older context and used to describe a separate, new set of events in M. Thus, the ancient prophets’ words are taken and given a new historical recontextualization by the author of M, serving to build the overall fabric of the new text. In addition, the older prophetic


\(^{296}\) The transcription for M comes from Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 80-203. All translations of M are taken from Abegg, “The War Scroll,” 146-70.
text is used in a context that would have been seen by the covenanters to have already been fulfilled in history. The first stage of the war, which is the subject of this first example, would have been seen by the covenanters to have already taken place; thus, in this manner several of the allusions in this section of M can be seen as examples of fulfilling allusions.297

In the first line of M, the enemies of the Sons of Light are enumerated as follows: “the forces of the Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial; the troops of Edom, Moab, the sons of Ammon, 2 the [Amalekites,] Philistia and the troops of the Kittim of Assyria. Supporting them are those who have violated the covenant.”298 This allusion may be to several texts from Scripture; each must be considered in turn as it is likely that the author of M had all in mind when composing these complex lines. The first is to in the words of the seer Asaph (Ps 83:7-9), a man described as one who prophesied under David (2 Chr 25:1), siring his own line of prophets. The second is to Isaiah’s prophecy of homecoming (Isa 11:11-16) in which he describes a return of banished Jews from the four corners of the earth. The final allusion is to Daniel’s description of Antiochus Epiphanes’ campaigns against Egypt, followed by the usurper’s persecution of the Jews and his final demise (Dan 11:30-45). The scribes of M alluded to these texts, weaving them


298 This section is given in Hebrew below; the underlined words constitute the allusion in the other prophetic texts.

299 He is described as a seer in 2 Chr 29:30.

300 The sons of Asaph are described, along with the sons of Heman and Jeduthun, as being ones who prophesied with the accompaniment of lyres, harps, and cymbals in the service of David. According to Johnson, this is likely an indication that during the time of the Chronicler, the music guild functioned as a ‘fraternity’ of cultic prophecy; see A. R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel, 2 ed. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962), 69-71.
together seamlessly into a new text which was able to distill a complex historical
recontextualization of the older prophets’ words.

The names of the enemies that M enumerates are given in a very similar manner by the
prophet Asaph in Ps 83:7-9 (the parallel words that constitute the allusion are underlined):

7 האהל אדום וישמעאלים וחפר וארם ועמלק פלשת טל
8 גבל ועמון ועמלק פלשת טל-
9 נמלת והגרים נמלת טל-
 Selah

This psalm contains five of the six nations mentioned in M; it is missing the Kittim of Assyria,
and also contains an additional four nations: the Ishmaelites, the Hagrites, Gebal and the
inhabitants of Tyre.301 While the names enumerated were peoples who existed in the post-163
B.C.E. period after the rededication of the Temple—i.e., Idumea (Edom), Moab (Be’on),
Ammon and Philistia (Jamnia, Azotus)—it should be pointed out that M, in enumerating the
Sons of Darkness, is likely drawing upon a list of traditional enemies of Israel rather than
referring concretely to specific enemies.302 These enemies are listed in several places in the

301 It is important to note that there are two sets of enemies presented in M. The first is the list given in 1QM 1:2-2
and the second comes in col. 2. Schultz has shown convincingly that the first set represent enemies which are
geographically close to Israel; that is, Israel’s immediate neighbours. The second in col. 2 has to do specifically
with the War of the Divisions which will involve foreign nations farther abroad; see Schultz, Conquering the
World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered, 183.

302 Yadin states that “the names of the enemies of the Sons of Light who dwell within the Biblical boundaries of
Palestine are mentioned many times in the Bible, in various periods and in much the same order. The early and
later Maccabees also fought against them, and in the descriptions of the war in Jubilees they are mentioned a
number of times in a similar form;” see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of
Darkness, 21-22. Yadin does not connect the list of enemies to any particular event in history, however, Gmirkin
has recently claimed that these names refer to specific events which would have taken place in period of the
Maccabean revolts, see Gmirkin, "Historical Allusions in the War Scroll," 172-214. His claims build upon
Hebrew Bible and it is for this reason that this first section of M is quite complex; oftentimes it is difficult to say for certain if the scribes were indeed alluding to particular texts, or whether they were creating a pastiche. However, Ps 83 is a convincing candidate given that the same names are given in the same order as stated in M.

The allusion to a psalm of Asaph is significant given the Psalm's broader content. It acts as a magical formula of sorts by which the prophet Asaph invokes the Lord to destroy the wayward nations who threaten Israel: the surrounding nations join together in order to destroy the people of God, and Asaph counters them through direct divine intervention. In the psalm, the enemies have not begun any sort of advance; rather, they conspire around Israel. Asaph states: “Your enemies rage, Your foes show defiance. 4 They plot craftily against Your people, take counsel against Your treasured ones. 5 They say, ‘Let us wipe them out as a nation; Israel’s name will be mentioned no more” (Ps 83:3-5).

Thus, there is reason for a preemptive strike; and while it may be serendipitous, M also states that the Sons of Light will be the first to

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VanderKam’s work on Jubilees; VanderKam shows how the enemies enumerated in 1 Macc 5:1-68 and Ant. 12:327-353 are reflected in the list given in Jub. 37-38, and he claims that this likely represents an historical gloss to those specific events; see VanderKam, Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 235-38. While I do not find it convincing that these lines refer specifically to the Maccabean revolts, I agree with Schultz that the list of enemies do accurately portray the political climate of the early Hasmonean period; see Schultz, Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered, 126-27.


Commentators do not agree whether Ps 83 can be assigned to a specific historical context. For a summary, see Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 161-62.

In the JPS translation of verse 3, the idiom נשאו ראש is rendered as ‘assert themselves.’ I prefer to render the Hebrew idiom as ‘show defiance’ because this represents better the nuances of the Hebrew. The idiom in Hebrew does not mean that the enemies physically ‘assert’ themselves—which ‘assert’ tends to mean in English—but rather, as Ps 83 shows in context, the enemies are planning treachery before they invade; see The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, vol. 5 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2001), 760.
attack the Sons of Darkness—אֲשֶׁר מְשַׁלְחָה יְהוָה אֵל בֵּית אֵרֶץ חוֹרָא לִמְכַוָּה (1QM 1:1).

Furthermore, the conclusion of the psalm matches the overarching tone that will come to light as the war described in M is spelled out; that is, judgment will be meted out and by virtue of such judgment, the rebels will be eternally abandoned: “May they be frustrated and terrified, disgraced and doomed (יָאָבדו) forever” (Ps 83:18).306 Thus, the Psalm is similar to M in tone, although it deals with a completely different set of historical events. The scribes of M would likely have seen these words of Asaph to be like an oracle that had to be recontextualized in order to be understood in their present time. In the covenanter's mind, the frustrated and doomed ones of the Psalms did not refer only to the historical context in which Asaph lived, but rather they were a prediction for the אחרית הימים in which the covenanters found themselves. The allusions in the first two lines of M are complex because the primary concern of the scribes who wrote them was to enumerate the enemies whom the Sons of Light must first attack; these scribes would have been well aware that there were several models in the prophetic books for the enemies of Israel.

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306 The choice of a psalm of Asaph may have conjured a broader link for the covenanters to a story about a descendent of the prophetic house of Asaph—Jahaziel ben Zechariah ben Benaiah ben Jeiel ben Mattaniah of the sons of Asaph—who was called before Jehoshaphat to prophesy amongst the representatives of Judah and Jerusalem during a time of war (2 Chr 20). In this martial story, not all of the enemies listed in 1QM 1-2 are mentioned: the text speaks of the “Moabites, Ammonites, together with some Ammonim” (2 Chr 20:1) who wage war against Jehoshaphat. However, once again, the miraculousness in how the story unfolds is reflected on the whole in M. The prophecy of Jahaziel stresses how God would intervene on behalf of Jehoshaphat in order that he might win the battle, stressing: “do not fear or be dismayed by this great multitude, for the battle is God’s, not yours” (2 Chr 20:15). Once Jehoshaphat’s armies arrive at the battlefield, they are astounded to see that the ground is covered with corpses. They need only bless the Lord and return to Jerusalem in jubilation, playing harps, lyres and trumpets (2 Chr 20:24-30).

On the meaning of the gentilic “Ammonim” see the discussion in S. Japhet, I & II Chronicles: A Commentary (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 785. Japhet translates the Hebrew ממעונינו as Meunites, correcting the MT against the LXX Μιναίων; while their identity is controversial, the term may refer to a tribe of wandering Arabs.
The second locus to which the scribes alluded is a passage attributed to the prophet Isaiah (Isa 11:12-14):307


12  /VES/מעשו מי ירו / ונפהו ירא / ומגרש נפוח אדרים / וסף בנות אוספים

13  /veau 14  / puedo בנות פלשתים

12 He will hold up a signal to the nations / And assemble the banished of Israel / And gather the dispersed of Judah / From the four corners of the earth. 13 Then Ephraim's envy shall cease / And Judah's harassment shall end; / Ephraim shall not envy Judah, / And Judah shall not harass Ephraim. 14 They shall pounce on the back of Philistia to the west, / And together plunder the peoples of the east; / Edom and Moab shall be subject to them / And the children of Ammon shall obey them.

This section contains four of the six enemies mentioned in M: Philistia, Edom, Moab and Ammon; in addition, it adds a broader category of ‘the peoples of the east.’ A further link to M is its use of משלות, a term that the sectaries pick up and reuse. In a similar manner to Ps 83 above, the themes of this passage become important groundwork upon which the narrative of M is built. Isa 11:11-16 is concerned with the return of the exiles and the overcoming of jealousy between “Ephraim” and “Judah;” that is, the reconciliation between the former northern kingdom of Israel (Ephraim being the geopolitical centre) and Judah.308 In M this is immediately picked up and rewritten into the narrative: “The sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin, those exiled to the wilderness, shall fight against them” (1QM 1:2).

This foreshadows the eventual reuniting of the twelve tribes after the War of the Kittim.

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307 It is agreed upon by most scholars that these verses did not originate with Isaiah since he could not have anticipated a return from Assyria; see Wildberger, Isaiah 1-12, 489. However, I am attributing this passage to the prophet Isaiah because this is how the covenanters would have perceived this passage.

308 The former kingdom of Israel is referred to as Ephraim in several passages: cf. esp. Isa 7:2, 5, 8, 9, 17; 9:8, 20; 11:13, etc.; see also Jer 3:19, 18, 20; Ezek 37:16, 19; see S. Herrmann, "Ephraim in the Bible," in ABD (New York: Doubleday, 1996, c.1992), 551.
The next two allusions in 1QM 1:1-2 come from the prophet Daniel (Dan 11:30-42) in a final revelation given by an angel:

30 Ships from Kittim will come against him [...]
31 Forces will be levied by him [...]
32 He will flatter with smooth words those who act wickedly towards the covenant, but the people devoted to their God will stand firm [...]
41 he will invade the beautiful land, too, and many will fall, but these will escape his clutches: Edom, Moab, and the chief part of the Ammonites [...]
45 [...] and he will meet his doom with no one to help.

The context of this passage in Daniel is quite different from the previous two given by Asaph and Isaiah. While the latter two were speaking about specific wars, the details surrounding those wars were in more general terms. Here in the passage from Daniel, it is very specific in its detail and the historical references are much more blatant. The angel tells Daniel several things: he gives a long ex eventu regnal prophecy which spans from the Persian era, through the career of Alexander the Great, the Ptolemies, the war between Egypt and Syria, the career of Antiochus III, Seleucus IV and finally Antiochus Epiphanes. The section ends with Antiochus Epiphanes’ demise, and within Dan 12:1-3 a small eschatological prophecy is given, stating that the archangel Michael will arise; those written in the book will be delivered; the dead will rise; and, the wise and righteous will live eternally. As has been pointed out by several scholars, it is possible to trace the events in Dan 11:1-39 with relative certainty; however, the final events given in 11:40-45 involving the final campaign and fall of Antiochus
Epiphanes would have remained unfulfilled at the time of Daniel's composition. Here, it appears that several communities—especially the group that wrote 1 Maccabees—rejected Dan 7-12 as a forgery given the problematic oracles in this section.

D. Flusser's work on M has also shown convincingly that col. 1 follows closely the wording of Dan 11:32—12:1, to which it repeatedly alludes later. Nevertheless, the same column from M also diverges from the text of Daniel by way of gleaning allusions from elsewhere in Scripture. Flusser points out how both M (lines 1-2) and Daniel mention Edom, Moab and Ammon in the same order, but that the scribes of M also include the 'sons ... of Philistia' in addition to 'the Kittim of Assyria.' These nations were seen above in Ps 83:7-9 and Isa 11:14. Flusser believes that the connection between Daniel and M contains more than literary influence; it is a rather "conscious attempt on the part of the author to enumerate as enemies all the nations in whose midst lived Jewish communities." He goes on to state that true Philistines no longer existed as a nation at the time, but that the term 'Philistia' is reused from Scripture in the same sense as in 1 Maccabees (3:41; 4:22; 5:66, 68); that is, to describe the cities of the coast such as Ashdod, Ashkelon and Gaza. On the whole, while Flusser's observations are meant to

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310 As stated by J. A. Goldstein: "the author of First Maccabees seems to take delight in proving the oracles of Daniel false," see Goldstein, I Maccabees (New York: Doubleday, 1976), 42-45.

311 See Flusser, "Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll," 143.

312 See ibid., 144.

support a different agenda, his analysis actually opens up M to surprising new insights. It shows how in this section, the scribes have made use of the scribal technique of fulfillment by anchoring their text into Scripture thereby creating a historical recontextualization. The scribes used various scriptural lemmata to answer particular questions pertinent to their own vision of the end time. In this case, the scribe might have asked: Why is not Philistia present in Daniel when mention is made of Edom and Moab, and yet it is present as a trio—Edom, Moab and Philistia—in Psalms and Isaiah? The simplest answer is that for the scribes of M, it was not important for the prophet Daniel to mention it, because it is already mentioned in other prophetic texts. Thus, the anchors ‘Edom and Moab’ ensure for the scribes that all the three passages from the prophets Asaph, Isaiah and Daniel are written as a description of the eschatological battle. In a scribal technique akin to those functioning in the pesharim, the scribes utilize the ancient prophets as messengers who did not know the true content of their prophecies. As the expansion above shows, not only is 1QM 1:1-2 a paraphrase of Dan 11:34 and 41, it is also a prophetic compilation of Ps 83:7-9 and Isa 11:14. The scribes weave together three prophetic texts into one compilation with an absence of explicit citation formula. The result is a new text which attains authority through its prestigious anchoring in a prophetic primary text. In addition to such scriptural anchoring, the overall narrative of M also goes on to create a sort of ‘aggadic’ exegesis. Not only are scriptural lemmata added together and compiled, their original meanings are transformed into a new context to create a new text. Similar to the explicit pesharim, the new text becomes an implicit commentary on the original texts used to build the narrative.
A second example of the scribal technique of fulfillment in M also comes at the beginning of the scroll, where the scribes recount the first stages of the war that will entail a seven-year conquest of the land of Israel—six years of fighting plus one sabbatical year (1QM 1:3):

לכל גדודיהם בשוב גולת בנ י어서 ממדבר העמים לחנות במדבר ירושלים

...against their troops, when the exiles of the Sons of Light return from the Wilderness of the Peoples to camp in the Wilderness of Jerusalem. Then after the battle they shall go up from that place...

As shown by R. Gmirkin, the scribes likely saw this portion of the overall vision of the end-time war as already having come to pass after the first stages of the Maccabean revolts.314 The text that M alludes to here comes from Ezek 20:35:

והבאתי אתכם אל-מדבר העמים והשבתי אתכם שם פנים אל-פנים

...and I will bring you into the wilderness of the peoples; and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face

Ezek 20:32-44 is called 'Judgment and Renewal' by W. Eichrodt.315 The passage comes after a rebuke and a threat are given by God to the sinful people of Israel. In its original context, the overarching issue is one of worship; that is, Ezekiel has come to know that the Judeans intend to organize regular sacrificial worship in Babylon. The threat and rebuke are cast in terms that reflect the days of the great exodus, suggesting a new period of 40 years in the desert. In its


original context, according to the opening verse 20:1, the prophecy should date approximately to the year 591 B.C.E.\textsuperscript{316}

As has been pointed out by H. Bardtke and J. P. M. van der Ploeg, the expression מדבר העמים—as a fixed religious term in M—is a schematic new coining of Ezekiel’s line in 20:35.\textsuperscript{317} The expression was not current in normal geographical terminology; thus, it must be maintained that the term had special meaning for the end time connected directly with Ezekiel’s words. If it can be maintained that the covenanters believed this portion of the war had already taken place in wake of the beginning of the Maccabean revolt, then this allusion to Ezekiel’s ‘wilderness of the people’ can be considered an instance of the scribal technique of fulfillment at work. Ezekiel had predicted a new ‘Exodus’ that would entail a gathering of the nations from the wilderness; according to the scribes of M, these words from Ezekiel had been fulfilled at the beginning of the Maccabean revolts.

The examples discussed here demonstrate that the scribal technique of hypertextuality under the guise of fulfillment, as used in Deutero-Isaiah, is also detectable in M. This technique, as used by the scribes in this context, aims at reassuring their audience that the words of Scripture are being fulfilled for the covenanters in their present circumstances as the Maccabean revolts had demonstrated.


\textsuperscript{317} See Bardtke, "Die Kriegsrolle von Qumrân übersetzt," 401. Also see J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "La Règle la Guerre, traduction et notes," \textit{VT} \textbf{5} (1955): 375 & 94.
3.1.3 Fulfillment in the Community Cycle (S, Sa & Sb)

The first example of the scribal technique of fulfillment to be discussed in the Community Cycle comes at the beginning of Sa (1QSa 1:1-3):

This is the rule for all the congregation of Israel in the Last Days, when they are mobilized [to join the Yahad. They must live by the law of the Sons of Zadok, the priests, and the men of their Covenant, they who ceased to walk in the way of the people. These same men of His party [His design/plan? ]who kept His Covenant during evil times, and so atoned for the land (my italics and suggestion).

Here at the beginning of Sa, one finds a statement that gives “general instructions for the final incorporation of all Israel into the Yahad.” The scribes who originally wrote this section named it the “Rule for all the Congregation of Israel in the Last Days,” and it appears to be written for a time period after the ‘evil times.’ These ‘evil times’ in their present context, presumably correspond to the days of exile and the War of the Kittim, had occurred right before this current period. The passage is likely military in scope given its use of ‘ingathering’ (בהספם) in 1:1, the same term of which is used in the same binyan on one of the courses of trumpets in 1QM 3:2. Although Sa is likely geared towards the War of the Divisions, it makes a reference within this context to the times before the restoration—what would have been the present time for the scribes who wrote the text—in the form of a flashback. The scribes achieve this by speaking about the ‘men of his counsel/party’—that is, the Sons of Light—who

318 On the use of ‘Community Cycle,’ see Chapter 2 above.

319 See Wise, “Charter for Israel in the Last Days,” 137.
had kept God’s covenant during the evil times. The evil times are the scribes’ present time that lead up to War of the Divisions. Essentially, while Sa as a whole describes the future War of the Divisions, the expression ‘men of his party’ in this particular line looks back to the scribe’s present, and to the beginning of the struggle between the Sons of Light and Darkness. The allusion under question comes from Isa 46:11:

11 I summoned that swooping bird from the East; / From a distant land, the man for My purpose. / I have spoken, so I will bring it to pass; / I have designed it, so I will complete it.

This greater section in Isaiah from which these lines are taken was originally crafted as a testimony to the destruction of Babylon, and is referred to as “Yahweh’s Plan” by K. Baltzer. While the section preceding the lines quoted above does describe the destruction of Babylon, the line in Isa 46:11 comes in a transition passage. The focus turns from Babylon to Israel, and the consequences of Israel’s misbehaviour. It is clear in the original context that the “man for My [God’s] purpose” is Cyrus the Great. In the context of Isaiah, Cyrus is used as a pawn by God to inflict judgment upon the Babylonians.

The phrase אנשי עצרות has been translated in several manners. Above, Wise translates “men of His party,” emphasizing the fact that this 3rd person, masculine, pronominal suffix likely refers to God. Knibb translates “the men of his counsel,” choosing to translate עצרות in a manner

closer to the meaning given in the Hebrew Bible. Generally, the word belongs to a semantic field that can be represented by the words *counsel, plan, purpose* and the like in English.

However, given the passage in Isaiah quoted above, one might want to push our understanding of this allusion further. If one takes the meaning of the term *עַצֶּה* as it is used in Isa 46:11 meaning ‘purpose’ or ‘plan,’ and impose it onto Sa, then one sees that this passage is referring to the Children of Light as the ‘Men of His [i.e., God’s] design/plan.’ In this sense, this passage becomes a recasting of Isa 46:11, where in Sa the covenanters repredicted the words of Isaiah and used them to apply to the Children of Light themselves as instruments of God, fulfilling God’s divine design.

The second example of the scribal technique of fulfillment to be discussed in the Community Cycle comes in a particular expression that is used twice in the *Serek ha-Yaḥad.* The first occurrence is in 1QS 3:20-23b:

20 The authority of the Prince of Light extends to the governance of all righteous people; therefore, they walk in the paths of light. Correspondingly, the authority of the Angel of Darkness embraces the governance of all wicked people, so they walk in the paths of darkness. The authority of the Angel of Darkness further extends to

322 See Knibb, *The Qumran Community,* 146.
323 See *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew,* vol. 6, 528-31.
324 One sees that Milik had already pointed this out in *his editio princeps:* “L. 3: אַנַּשְׁיָּה עַצֶּה: cf. IQpHab ix 10. Ici le suffix 3ᵉ pers. sing. ne peut designer que Dieu, et on a une allusion à Isa 46:11 (selon le ketib et IQIsa) où l’expression a une valeur eschatologique;” see Milik, “Règle de la Congrégation (1QSa),” in DJD 1 (1955), 112.
325 The transcriptions for S in this chapter come from Qimron and Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community (1QS),* 1-51. The translations in this chapter for S come from Wise, *Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association,* 112-35.
the corruption of all the righteous. All their sins, iniquities, shameful and rebellious deeds are at his prompting, a situation God in His mysteries allows to continue until His era dawns.

This section is part of what Knibb calls “The Teaching of the Community.” As he notes, it describes in an explicit manner the nature of humanity during the end time; that is, that they are made up of parts of light and parts of darkness. This exact explanation of the nature of man is set out in the ‘Instruction on the Two Sprits.’ Here, the ‘paths of darkness’ are mentioned once again, the same expression occurring in 1QS 4:9-11b:

The expression ‘to walk in the ways of darkness’ and its variants are rather rare in the Hebrew Bible. There are only two clear occurrences of the expression; the first, which includes the

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326 See Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 93.

327 It is possible that the scribes were alluding to a passage from the Parables of Enoch (1 En. 41:8):

For the shining sun (5v, b30) makes many revolutions, for a blessing and for a curse, and the path of the journey of the moon (is) for the righteous light, but for the sinners darkness, in the name of the Lord who has created (a division) between light and darkness, and has divided the spirits of men, and has established (5v, b35) the spirits of the righteous in the name of his righteousness.

entire phrase, can be found in a Proverb of Solomon, Son of David (Prov 2:11-15):

11 Foresight will protect you, / And discernment will guard you. / 12 It will save you from the way of evil men, / From men who speak duplicity, / 13 Who leave the paths of rectitude / To follow the ways of darkness, / 14 Who rejoice in doing evil / And exult in the duplicity of evil men, / 15 Men whose paths are crooked / And who are devious in their course.

This excerpt comes from a Proverb that M. Fox calls “The Path to Wisdom.” In this section, a father is speaking to his son, admonishing him to listen to his words. One of the principal precepts that this ‘father’ speaks of, is that the son must have knowledge of and fear before God. Beyond this, the proverb describes something more specific: the benefits of wisdom, and more importantly for our discussion, the fact that wisdom will save the son from the ways of wicked men.

On the surface, one might not imagine that this instance of allusion is predictive. The covenanters found themselves in a world in which they believed evil men had arisen—men from whom they needed to guard themselves. The following statement from the Serek ha-Yaḥad attests to this fact: “Correspondingly, the authority of the Angel of Darkness embraces the governance of all wicked people, so they walk in the paths of darkness” (1QS 3:20b-21). This unfortunate circumstance was already present in their lives—it had come to pass, and the

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covenanters were forced to battle these men, if only with words before actual fighting would commence. However, was this circumstance thought to have been predicted from earlier times? The answer to this is determined by how the covenanters would have seen Solomon, the purported author of this proverb. There is no doubt that the covenanters would have believed Solomon authored this proverb. However, would it have been a common belief in the period that Solomon was a prophet? While one does not have direct evidence in the scrolls that Solomon was seen as a prophet, as one does for David his father, there is good evidence from the Hebrew Bible that Solomon was considered to be one who spoke with God. Given that he had the ability to speak directly with God, one must conclude that Jews in the Second Temple period would also have seen him as privy to divine information, which could be used to predict events.329 For example, one sees in 1 Kgs 3:5-15, shortly before Solomon succeeds to David’s throne, that he has a dream vision:

5 At Gibeon the LORD appeared to Solomon in a dream by night; and God said, “Ask, what shall I grant you?” 6 Solomon said, “You dealt most graciously with Your servant my father David, because he walked before You in faithfulness and righteousness and in integrity of heart. You have continued this great kindness to him by giving him a son to occupy his throne, as is now the case. 7 And now, O LORD my God, You have made your servant king in place of my father David; but I am a young lad, with no experience in leadership. 8 Your servant finds himself in the midst of the people You have chosen, a people too numerous to be numbered or counted. 9 Grant, then, Your servant an understanding mind to judge Your people, to distinguish between good and bad (לָהַבֵּן בֵּית דָּוִד לָאֹר;) for who can judge this vast people of Yours?

This section is important for two reasons. First, the fact that Solomon is speaking directly to God puts him into the unique category of being a prophet. Only a prophet could properly

speak to God in such a direct manner. Second, Solomon is credited with asking God to give him the power to distinguish between good and evil, a distinction that was of great importance for the covenanters as evidenced in the passages quoted above. If one can grant that Solomon would have been seen as a prophet—not only a prophet, but a spokesperson of God who had the unique gift of judging between good and evil—then the fact that the covenanters alluded to this proverb brings a significant depth of meaning to S. Not only were the covenanters evoking the great Solomon in their use of ‘ways of darkness,’ but they were making an important statement about the present. Solomon had predicted that there would be men who would forsake wisdom, that there would be a divide between those who had wisdom and those who did not. This divide, which was already quite apparent in the covenanters’ present time, was seen to have been fulfilled by their scribes.330

The examples discussed here further demonstrate that the scribal technique of hypertextuality, as used in Deutero-Isaiah, is detectable in the Community Cycle. Here the technique reassures the covenanters that their present circumstances in the world are a fulfillment of the words of Scripture.

330 It should be added that a similar use of דָּרְךָ חַשְׁךָ is also used in a Psalm of David in a manner that might lead one to conclude that S in the above cited sections, are doing double duty not only as instances of fulfillment, but through David’s Psalm, are making a statement also about the future doom of the evil men. The section is quoted here (Ps 35:4-6):

Let those who seek my life / be frustrated and put to shame; / let those who plan to harm me / fall back in disgrace. / 5 Let them be as chaff in the wind, / the LORD’s angel driving them on. / 6 Let their path be dark and slippery, / with the LORD’s angel in pursuit.
3.1.4 Fulfillment in the *Damascus Document*

The first example of the scribal technique of fulfillment to be discussed in D comes in a rather complex passage as regards hypertextuality. This small section—CD 1:11-18a— alludes to at least 12 different scriptural texts, interweaving them into a comprehensive history. While most of the passage is concerned with repredicting older prophecies, there is one case in this passage of hypertextuality that is utilized to show the fulfillment of a past prophecy. The passage is as follows:

So He raised up for them a teacher of righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. He taught to later generations what God did to the generation deserving wrath, a company of traitors. They are the ones who depart from the proper way. That is the time of which it was written, “Like a rebellious cow, so rebelled Israel” (Hos 4:16). When the Man of Mockery appeared, who sprayed on Israel lying waters, he led them to wander in the trackless wasteland. He brought down the lofty heights of old, turned aside from paths of righteousness, and shifted the boundary marks that the forefathers had set up to mark their inheritance, so that the curses of His covenant took hold on them. Because of this they were handed over to the sword that avenges the breach of His covenant.

This section has been titled “The Origins of the Essene Movement” by Knibb. One of the greatest moments in this history is the coming of the teacher of righteousness, a moment immortalized in the above passage. While the identity of the teacher remains unknown, it is apparent from here and from the biblical commentaries (1QpMic 8-10; 1QpHab; 4QPs b1:4),

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331 See Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 17.
that the teacher was an important figure. Within this survey of history, the scribe quotes Hos 4:6a as a proof-text for the existence at the present time of a “company of traitors”:

16 Ah, Israel has balked, / Like a stubborn cow [...] 

This particular image in Hosea comes in a section that H. W. Wolff calls “A Spirit of Whoredom in Israel’s Worship.”332 According to Wolff, the original context for this passage was as an accusation aimed towards the priests of Bethel on account of their forgetting the teaching of their God, and may be dated to around the final years of Jeroboam II.333 In D, this image is transformed and reapplied to the rivals of the covenants who were seen as their current threat.334

The second example of the scribal technique of fulfillment to be discussed in D comes in CD 3:17b-20. This section gives a resume of the evil generations:

17 [...] 

18 [...] 

19 [...] 

20 [...] 

21 [...] 


333 See ibid.

334 Most of the following allusions in this particular section of D repredict future events. For example the use of Man of Mockery, or Scoffer, alludes to Isa 28:14-15:

14 Hear now the word of the LORD, / You men of mockery, / who govern that people / In Jerusalem! 9 For you have said, / “We have made a covenant with Death, / Concluded a pact with Sheol. / When the sweeping flood passes through, / It shall not reach us; / For we have made falsehood our refuge, / Taken shelter in treachery.”
And although they had wallowed in the sin of humanity and in impure ways and said, “Surely this is our business,” God in His mysterious ways atoned for their iniquity and forgave their transgression. So He built for them a faithful house in Israel, like none that had ever appeared before; and even at this day, those who hold firm to it shall receive everlasting life, and all human honour is rightly theirs, as God promised them by Ezekiel the prophet, saying, “The priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok who have kept the courses of My sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed from Me, then shall bring Me fat and blood” (Ezek 44:15). “The priests”: they are the repentant of Israel, who go out of the land of Judah and the Levites are those accompanying them; “and the sons of Zadok”: they are the chosen of Israel, the ones called by name, who are to appear in the Last Days.

This section in D recounts what Knibb calls “The Establishment of the Covenant” and has received a reasonable amount of attention by scholars. The founders of the movement are seen as the faithful remnant, and the cited verse from Ezek 44:15 is given as a testament to the justification of the covenanters’ current existence:

But the levitical priests descended from Zadok, who maintained the service of My Sanctuary when the people of Israel went astray from Me—they shall approach Me to minister to Me; they shall stand before Me to offer Me fat and blood — declares the LORD God.

As pointed out by Knibb: “The author claims divine authority for the existence of the movement by presenting the building of the ‘sure house’ as the fulfillment of the promise

335 See Knibb, The Qumran Community, 32.
given in Ezek 44:15."\textsuperscript{336} In essence, there is a double interpretation of Ezekiel here. On the
surface, the verse from Ezekiel would seem to predict the future; that is, eventually, the
covenanters will be restored to Jerusalem and will renew the proper sacrificed. While it is
likely that this is what the covenanters saw, they also decided to interpret Ezekiel in a
contradictory manner. Their manner of showing how Ezekiel's prophecy had been fulfilled at
the current time was to interpret their own exile as the key to understanding Ezekiel: "'The
priests:' they are the repentant of Israel, \textsuperscript{3} who go out of the land of Judah and the Levites are
those accompanying them" (CD 4:2-3). Presumably, in this context, the maintenance of God's
sanctuary is not through the regular offerings, but must have been interpreted as their own
offerings of the lips. Thus, this present exile was, for the covenanters, foreseen by Ezekiel and
fulfilled in their personal exile.

The scribal technique of fulfillment provides in this section of D a direct interpretation of
Ezekiel's discussion about the laws of the sanctuary and the regulations for Levites and priests.
The current situation in which the covenanters found themselves—that is, being in exile—is
explained as being a fulfillment of Ezekiel. The scribes offer not only an explanation that
shows fulfillment, but also a reprediction for the future that explains the future appearance of
the "Sons of Zadok." They will be the Children of Light who appear in the last days.

\textsuperscript{336} See ibid., 36. Knibb also points out that scholars are unsure whether the scribes of D were reading a different
version of Ezekiel—their version adding 'the priests and the levites and the sons of Zadok'—or whether they had
modified the text. Also see the discussion in Grossman, \textit{Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A
Methodological Study}, 172-74.
3.2 Reprediction in the *Serek* Texts and in Deutero-Isaiah

When speaking about reprediction, I am primarily concerned with the chronology of the new secondary text. Thus, if the secondary text predicts events in the future and it uses an older oracle—the hypotext—as a part of its prediction, then I would classify this as an instance of the scribal technique of ‘reprediction.’ This scribal technique recasts and reuses the prophetic words of old to predict new events in a yet-to-pass timeframe. In many cases, the *serek* texts look forward to events that have not come to pass. Despite the fact that the covenanters envisioned themselves as living in the זמנים אחרית הי, there were many more years of conflict and tribulation that were seen as predicted yet to come. Thus, many of the hypertexts that are drawn forth within the *serek* texts are done so under the guise of the scribal technique of reprediction; the scribes weave them into their texts to illuminate a yet-to-unfold future. In a parallel manner, the scribes who wrote Deutero-Isaiah also used a similar technique; they looked back into the prophetic past—in particular back to Jeremiah—in order to recast similar prophecies from an earlier time for a yet-to-pass future scenario.

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337 Sommer describes reprediction in his book as an allusion to a previous text, without changing the older text’s overall message and he divides this category into ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ reprediction. For him, both of these categories constitute a reprediction which does not change the original text’s message; the terms positive and negative only refer to the content of the message. That is, if the prophecy in Jeremiah was about restoration and Deutero-Isaiah alluded to such a text, the reprediction would constitute a ‘positive’ reprediction. Or, if the allusion in Deutero-Isaiah is to a judgment oracle in Jeremiah, this would constitute a ‘negative’ reprediction; see Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66*, esp. 46 & 54. I will not use these terms because they refer to content rather than to the relation between the older prophecy and the alluding text.

338 One has to note that the difference between recontextualization and reprediction is slight, and has mostly to do with the content of the texts that are being alluded. In essence, any literary allusion can be seen as a ‘recontextualization’ of the text alluded to within its new literary context. However, in the context of our categories of ‘historical recontextualization’ and ‘reprediction,’ the difference is one of degree. If the text alluded to has a more concrete context, referring to specifics within that context, and it is brought to bear on a new historical context, then this would constitute historical recontextualization. If the passage alluded to had a vaguer historical context, yet it is chosen because of its strong message, then this should be seen as an instance of reprediction.
3.2.1 Reprediction in Deutero-Isaiah

Deutero-Isaiah contains several hypertextual segments that were created using the scribal technique of *reprediction for the future*. For example, in Isa 56:9-57:6, the scribe gives a long denunciation of the people in which he criticizes their idolatrous worship and blames false prophets for leading many astray. Accompanying this condemnation is a prophecy concerning the imminent fate of these wrongdoers. The scribes pick up this prediction in the following section (Isa 56:9-57:6):

This denunciation is a clear allusion to Jer 12:8-12 in which God calls on the nations to punish his people for their sins:

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339 This section is an expansion based upon the examples and expositions presented in Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66*, 54-57.
laid desolate, / But no man gives it thought. 12 ... For a sword of the LORD devours / From one end of the land to the other; / No flesh is safe.

This passage in Jeremiah is the first of a series of eight judgments against Judah with God speaking in the first person in a type of lament, expressing a great sense of loss. The greater unit (12:7-13) consists of two parts—Yahweh’s speech (12:7-11) and a judgment (12:12-13), which may come from Deuteronomistic editorial circles; however, the unit as a whole likely relates to the period between 598-587 B.C.E. J. Lindbom points out that the language in Yahweh’s speech points to a separation, if not a divorce, between Yahweh and the nation. The LORD abandons “house, land and his dearly beloved” as if after an annulment. After His protection has been withdrawn, the nation is left to the dangers that lurk, amounting to a death sentence. This message makes sense in the historical context in and around 598 B.C.E. when Jehoiakim revolts against Nebuchadnezzar and hordes of Chaldeans, Syrians, Ammonites, and Moabites are sent to overrun Judah (2 Kgs 24:1-2); however, it must have been seen as vague enough to have been re-appropriated by a later generation.

The overall prediction in Jer 12:7-13 is that Yahweh will abandon his nation, as if in a divorce, and this will lead to destruction and retribution. The passage in Deutero-Isaiah has been

340 For comments on this passage see Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 650-60.


344 See ibid.
entitled “The Dark Side of Jerusalem” by Watts. This particular unit is a complex set of statements relating to Yahweh’s announcement that Jerusalem is to be an open city, left to be raided and pillaged. The reasons for this abandonment are based on an indictment against the various leaders of the community; that is, the leaders have neglected their duties. P. Hanson describes the genre of the unit as a ‘hybrid form of the prophetic genre [...] the salvation-judgment oracle,’ and he proposes a date between 515-510 B.C.E. He also emphasizes—as fits his overall hypothesis in The Dawn of Apocalyptic—that this section reflects a post-exilic historical situation where a community had been divided into conflicting parties. Whether or not one accepts Hanson’s overall schema, one must recognize that the passage does emphasize the wrongs done by the leaders as opposed to the nation as a whole. And the prediction for the imminent future is not pleasant.

As Sommer demonstrates in his analysis of the two passages, there are several anchors from Jeremiah that Deutero-Isaiah imports into his new historical scenario (underlined in the texts given above). Sommer classifies the relationship between the two passages as ‘negative reprediction;’ that is, negative in the sense that Deutero-Isaiah has referred back to a pessimistic oracle of Jeremiah, which is in contrast to the overall optimistic tone of Deutero-Isaiah. However, there it must be emphasized that this case of allusion is repredictive in the

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345 See Watts, Isaiah 34-66, 823.
347 See ibid., 195.
348 See Sommer, A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66, 54-55. Here, he presents a complete analysis of these two passages.
sense that Deutero-Isaiah uses Jeremiah’s prediction to repredict new events to come.

Deutero-Isaiah picks up on a formula spelled out in Jer 12:7-13; that is, God will ‘divorce’ any of those who do not stay faithful, and the consequence of such abandonment will be destruction by outside forces. For Deutero-Isaiah in this passage, this period of punishment was yet to come, and it had already been foreseen by Jeremiah. Thus, here one has an instance in which an allusion is made to a text in Jeremiah that had a vaguer historical context; thus, the message could be seen and recast as a reprediction to take place during the time of Deutero-Isaiah. The basic gist of Yahweh’s speech and the judgment following it are brought into Deutero-Isaiah, and anyone familiar with Jeremiah would have been immediately affected by such a repetition of images.

The scribal technique of repredictive allusion can also occur when the older prophecy refers to a different context in a more explicit manner. This can be seen in the following passage (Isa 57:16-19):

For I will not always contend, I will not be angry forever: Nay, I who make spirits flag, Also create the breath of life. 17 For their sinful greed I was angry; I struck them and turned away My wrath. Though stubborn, they follow the way of their hearts, 18 I note how they fare and will heal them: I will guide them and mete out solace to them, And to the mourners among them heartening, comforting words: It shall be well, Well with the far and the near—said the Lord—And I will heal them.
The allusion is to Jer 3:12-14, 21-22:\textsuperscript{349}

12 Go, make this proclamation toward the north, and say: Turn back, O Rebel Israel—declared the LORD, I will not look on you in anger, for I am compassionate—declares the LORD; I do not bear a grudge for all time. 13 Only recognize your sin; for you have transgressed against the LORD your God, and scattered your favours among strangers under every leafy tree, and you have not heeded Me—declares the LORD [...]

21 [...] For they have gone a crooked way, ignoring the LORD their God. 22 Turn back, O rebellious children, I will heal your afflictions!

In its original context, Jeremiah is speaking to Israel, calling for them to return to Yahweh. Yahweh reaffirms that He will be faithful and He reneges on His past anger. Finally, Yahweh states that in order for Him to accept a return, Israel must confess its guilt and admit to its rebellion. As pointed out by Lundbom, the context for the oracles in this section likely comes after the exiles leave for Babylon in 597 B.C.E. The oracles are directed towards several people:

\textsuperscript{349} This section is an expansion based upon the examples and expositions presented in ibid., 52-54. In addition to the Jeremiah allusion, it has been pointed out by several scholars that Deutero-Isaiah (57:16-19) may also be alluding to Ps 103:9. (\textsuperscript{9} He will not contend forever, / or nurse His anger for all time.) This psalm is attributed to David; the line quoted above comes from within a song of thanksgiving given by a petitioner of sorts who has experienced forgiveness (see Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 290.) It is hard to date Ps 103; however, if one assumes that it was written before the era of Persian rule, then it is likely that Deutero-Isaiah was also drawing on this line. Sommer states the following: “A verse resembling 57:6 and Jer 3:5 appears in Ps 103:9 as well, and this might render my assertion that Deutero-Isaiah borrowed from Jer 3:5 dubious. However, the additional vocabulary shared between 57:18-19 and Jeremiah 3 makes it more likely that this passage in Deutero-Isaiah depended directly on Jeremiah,” see Sommer, A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66, 53. Despite Sommer’s argumentation, I would claim that such double allusion does not make the presence of other allusions doubtful. The writers and compilers of a text like Deutero-Isaiah had a wealth of material on which to draw, and it seems likely to me that they would have drawn on many sources simultaneously when they were able, and if it bolstered the overall fabric of their new work. While Blenkinsopp does not mention the Jeremiah allusion, he does expand on the allusion to Ps 103, see Blenkinsopp, Isaiah 56-66 (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 171.
exiles in Egypt, Babylon, Assyria and those who remained in the old territory of Northern Israel. The second portion of this set of oracles quoted above and beginning in verse 22 is a liturgy describing contra-banned cult activity of the high places. Jeremiah calls for those who have turned from Yahweh to return so that Yahweh can heal them. It is likely that the context for this liturgy comes during the reign of Josiah (ca. 640-609 B.C.E.) during his attempt to eradicate the high places. Thus, both of these portions of Jeremiah come in the wake of Josiah’s Reform, the last years of the Davidic kingdom and the subsequent exile to Babylon in 597 B.C.E.

The context of the passage in Deutero-Isaiah is harder to isolate exactly, because the text of Isa 56-66 is very difficult to date; however, it is likely that it comes from a post-exilic context. Most scholars claim that the text of Isa 56-66 was composed in Judah during the 1st century of Persian rule; i.e., during the reigns of Darius I (522-486), Xerxes I (486-465) and Artaxerxes I (465-424). The text is a salvation oracle (15b-19) that offers relief and well-being to those who follow the correct way, and the most striking difference between this passage and the Jeremiah passage quoted above is that the identity of the true Israel in Deutero-Isaiah is no longer identified with the people as a whole. While some of the claims in Hanson's book, I believe he rightly claims that this passage is evidence for a visionary group in Judah that did

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351 See ibid., 319-23.
352 See Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 42-54. For example, the lament for the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple (63:8; 64:9-10) and its rebuilding (61:4) may suggest that this section is well after the exile.
353 See ibid., 43.
354 See ibid., 173.
not see Yahweh’s promise of salvation as applying to the whole of Israel but rather only to the members of the visionary group itself. While the question of whether such a group did exist is highly speculative, the passage does appear to be claiming particularism akin to sectarianism. The verses in Jeremiah portray a more universal perspective that envisions a greater re-gathering of the people in the wake of great crisis. The passage from Jeremiah—while its original context likely comes from within the cult and within the intricacies of the thanksgiving liturgy—is brought new meaning as it is evoked in Deutero-Isaiah. That is, the salvation of the many, and the chance for the salvation of the many has become the salvation of the few. No longer will all of the children of Israel be healed; only the select few according to Deutero-Isaiah, will be healed and collected by God. In this way, Deutero-Isaiah has alluded to Scripture coming from very different contexts, and recontextualized and repredicted those passages for a new historical context. In this manner, the methods of the author look very similar to those of the serek texts; disparate passages from Scripture are alluded to, coming from very different contexts, and these are given new historical significance in light of new circumstances. Neither the serek texts nor Deutero-Isaiah is in a polemic with the older prophets; rather, they implicitly evoke authority from those older prophets, even though they recontextualize their message from its previous context.

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355 See Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 77-79.
Chapter 3: Analysis of Hypertextuality in the Serek Texts & in Deutero-Isaiah

3.2.2 Reprediction in the War Scroll

The scriptural allusions made in the banner-slogans that are to be used during the second stage of the eschatological war—the War of the Divisions—are described in 1QM 4:

When they draw near for battle they shall write on their banners, “The Right hand of God,” “The Appointed time of God,” “The Tumult of God,” “The Slain of God.” After these their names in full (1QM 4:7)

This passage comes in a section describing in detail the slogans that will be written on several banners to be used during the War of the Divisions (1QM 4:6-18). At the beginning of the arrangement of the banners (3:13-4:6), several more general banners, matching the overall structure of the congregation, are laid out. The first banner describes the congregation as a whole—named the grand banner (אות הגדולה). Next one is presented with a description of a banner for the heads of the camps, thereafter with a banner for the tribe; and finally, with seven other banners, all describing the physical makeup of various divisions (thousands, hundreds, fifties & tens) for the end time, based on the wilderness-organization of Numbers when the Israelites camped each with his standard (דגלו), under the banners (אות) of their ancestral house, around the Tent of Meeting (Num 2:2). The next section of this description

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356 There is at least one banner which cannot be identified because of a break in the text at 3:17. This first set of banners—of the whole congregation, of the heads of the camps of the three tribes, of the tribe, of the family, of the myriad, of the thousand, of the ten—has been described in detail in Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 38-64.

357 See Ibba, Il Rotolo della Guerra: Edizione Critica, 99. See also van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre: traduit et annoté avec une introduction, 81. For a commentary on Numbers 2, see Levine, Numbers 1-20 (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 143-50. This section may also be influenced by the description of the rods of the princes of the tribes in Num 17:17-18; see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 39.
of banners, however, goes beyond the physical makeup of this second wilderness-scenario and proceeds to describe the army of the sons of light: “when they go to battle […]” (4:6). The banners in this section appear to stretch the meaning of the noun אות to denote its fuller meaning—being ‘sign’—in the sense of being a communication from God as seen in Psalms (78:43 & 105:27) and Isaiah (8:18 & 38:7). For example, in Ps 105:27 one finds:

שם-בם דברי אותים ומפתים בארים-השם:

They performed His signs among them, His wonders, against the Land of Ham

The banners in M use the term אות in a similar, meta-military manner; they describe attributes of God in a military context, rather than describing merely a practical military unit. The importance of Psalms and Isaiah extends beyond the fact that they are alluded to in the aforementioned banner—for the scribes of M, the notion of a ‘banner/sign from God’ was more than a practical military implement. For them the banners/signs also constituted a direct evocation of the presence of God in a military context, a fact that was presaged by David and Isaiah. The slogans should be seen not only as talismans alluding to the powers of God, but also as a prophecy to be fulfilled in a ‘yet-to-come,’ end-time scenario.

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359 This point has not been emphasized by the commentaries. In Yadin’s section on banners (Ch. 3) he does not discuss at all 4:6-8 which gives the banners to be used during the battle. In a footnote ad loc. in his commentary he does give scriptural references to the allusions; however, they are not explained at all. He does recognize that the term אות can be connected to ‘magical concepts’ (64); he concludes that “the system described in the scroll denotes the end of this development [i.e., from magical concepts] and the point when banners actually changed into instruments of military and organizational technique,” see Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 63-64. Of course, his insistence on this point stems from his overall hypothesis that M is fashioned after late Roman tactical treatises.
The powers of God that are evoked in these allusions on the banners are anchored in several other phrases attributed to the prophets. The first banner looks back to the words of Moses in the Song at the Sea (Ex 15:6):

ימין יְהוָה נַעֲדֵר בּاء הָאָוֶר
ימין יְהוָה נַעֲדֵר בּאת מַעֲלֵה חֲיָל אָוֶר

6 Your right hand, O LORD, glorious in power, Your right hand, O LORD, shatters the foe!

The victory of God via Moses at the Red Sea is brought to serve in the new context of the victory of the Sons of Light over their foes in the War of the Divisions. The ‘right hand of God’ becomes a type of metonymy representing triumphant, divine victory over Israel’s enemies.

The image itself, as pointed out by N. Lohfink is not of a God who brawls with his enemy, but rather of a soldier who wields his sword in battle.\(^3\) The overall context of the song is one of victory-making and thanksgiving.\(^3\) The original context of the song is slightly convoluted; it is likely an earlier poem that was later inserted into the Exodus narrative.\(^3\) Despite this fact, the poem in its context in Exodus serves several purposes, as pointed out by B. Childs: first, it is a response of faith; in other words, the people had feared, yet they believed, and they were thus rewarded with salvation. Second, the poem offers an interpretation of the entire event.

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\(^3\) The Song of the Sea has been given several characterizations from a form-critical perspective; see comments in Cross and Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," *JNES* 14 (1955). It has most often been categorized it as a victory psalm.

Finally, the poem anchors the praise of God to a particular event in history. The overall spirit of this original context would have been very attractive for the scribe; given the relative similarities between the two events—peril, potential loss of faith, and trust in the divine power to harness victory—the allusion was easily taken over into the new context of the end-time scenario. Not only was it a source of inspiration but it was also used as a proof text for the manner in which the future War of the Divisions would unfold. The Song of the Sea is taken out of its original context and recast for the future.

The third banner in the same section (1QM 4:7) is an allusion to a different prophetic text, this time from Deutero-Zechariah (14:13):

\[
13 \text{In that day, a great tumult from the LORD shall fall upon them, and everyone shall snatch at the hand of another, and everyone shall raise his hand against everyone else's hand.}
\]

This passage comes from the so-called 'additions' to Zechariah. In general, while one must assume that it was written with a specific situation in mind, it is now impossible to know exactly for which situation or situations. The oracles themselves in chapters 12-14 are filled with inner-biblical allusions and are generally dated to the post-exilic period; the passage quoted above may be as late as the Hellenistic period. The broader section from chapter 12-14, into which the above quoted passage falls, contains an editorial line reading: "A

363 See ibid., 248-49.
pronouncement: The word of the LORD concerning Israel” (Zech 12:1). The overall text contains stock language and images that describe a siege of many nations, and a conflict that will take place in Jerusalem. The section quoted above comes near the end of the oracle and becomes more eschatological in content; the scene becomes more and more cataclysmic as Yahweh takes his place on the stage to defend his city, and his final appearance leads to the destruction of the enemy. The hypotext above is anchored into the hypertext of M by the relatively rare biblical phrase מחות-יהוה.\footnote{Zechariah 14:13 is very likely alluding itself to Deut 7:23, and the latter passage could well have served as inspiration for the text of 1QM 4:7.} While the overall series of oracles presented in Zech 12-14 are not repredicted by M as a whole, the small subsection in 14:13-14 is evoked in a manner that constitutes a prophecy for a future time. In Zechariah, the panic of the Lord is meant to fall upon the enemies to cause their destruction; an inevitable destruction of persons and of vast quantities of חיל or wealth (Zech 14:14), the root of which word is also echoed in the use of חללים in the fourth banner.\footnote{It is also possible that the covenanters were alluding more broadly to Ps 77:23 or to Ps 118:15-16. For example, Ps 77:23, written by the prophet Asaph, is a psalm that is also intimately tied to the slogan on the fourth banner: \begin{center} "And I said, “It is my fault that the right hand of the Most High has changed.”" \end{center} The psalm opens as a lament in the first person—the speaker states: “I cry aloud to God... In my time of distress I turn to the Lord” (77:3-2). This leads the speaker to reflect upon the days of old, and the deeds of God; thus, the psalm is a type of lament followed by a hymn to God, but as pointed out by Kraus, the individual in the beginning is a speaker for the community, and the second half acts as a retrospective concerning the deeds of God. While it is difficult to date this psalm precisely, the source of the anguish for the speaker concerns the fate of Israel most likely during the time of the exile. While this text was not originally written as a prophecy, given the fact that it was written by a prophet, the covenanters would have taken the words to be oracular. Thus, the message in the quoted passage above evokes the wrong-doing of the speaker: “it is my fault that the right hand of the Most High has changed,” to emphasize that the root used to denote the wrongdoing (חללים) is likely connected to the same root used in the fourth banner (חלל). While there is no extant pesher on this particular Psalm, it is possible that the covenanters would have seen this wrongdoer as connected to the slain; that is, it is those who have erred who will also be slain.}
banner by this rare phrase, and becomes a reprediction that explains how Yahweh will work in history during *אחרית הימים*.

For the purposes of this analysis, I have been very flexible with my definition of ‘prophecy,’ as in their writings the covenanters appear to consider any writing of a ‘prophet’ to have been prophetic and thus meriting the clout of an oracle or prediction. Furthermore, as was seen above in section 4.2.4, it appears that the covenanters were not adverse to seeing what might be called the ‘legal genre’ in the Hebrew Bible as also having prophetic qualities.\(^{367}\) As was discussed there, given that the covenanters conceptualized Moses as a prophet, it was not a great leap for them to see any of the writings attributed to him as prophetic. Thus, they were also able to interpret such texts as Leviticus in an apocalyptic manner that brought their new meaning and conceptualization into the end time. This is an instance of the scribal technique of reprediction in which the older legal text is taken to have special apocalyptic meaning for the present; for the covenanters, their present was the *אחרית הימים* and thus even legal texts would have to be recast for this imminent end.

In the next example, one sees how Leviticus is again evoked in a prophetic context. Within its original context, Leviticus would not have been seen as an oracle at all for any particular time; nonetheless, it appears to be taken over by the scribes of M and made to work in an entirely new eschatological context as if it were a prediction of sorts. Thus, once the scribes had

changed their own perception about what a legal text could be and how it could function, they were able to actualize texts such as Leviticus into predictions for their own times.

Furthermore, this type of allusion should not be seen as a subcategory of the scribal technique of reprediction, since the covenaners would have seen this sort of alluding as a general use for prophetic literature (into which category Leviticus would have participated). In addition, it must be emphasized that there is no direct parallel in the scribal techniques of Deutero-Isaiah for such allusion to legal texts; such a reconceptualization constitutes a development in the scribal technique as used by the scribes of the serek texts. However, such an allusion to a legal text in an eschatological framework still constitutes reprediction in our terms. 1QM 2:8-9 reflects the text of Leviticus as follows:

שנה השבעה שלושה שמות שלושה ושנה שבת... מנה לא ישראל בחמש ושבעים שivité עונש ועבירה וה䜀ו...

... But during the years of remission they shall not ready men to go out for battle, for it is a Sabbath 9 of rest for Israel. During the thirty-five years of service the war shall be waged...

The text of Lev 25:4 reads thus:

ובשנה השבעה שלושה שמות שלושה ושנה שבת... López ארון שבת להוה השך לא חותר וכרמך לא תמר.

4 But in the seventh year the land shall have a Sabbath of complete rest, a Sabbath of the LORD: you shall not sow your field or prune your vineyard.

This passage from Leviticus comes within a section described by J. Milgrom as "Jubilee, The Priestly Solution for Economic Injustice." This emphasis on social engagement is evasive; Milgrom charts the development that took place in First Temple times that saw the increase

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of rich landowners—acquiring new lands by debt defaults—who increasingly moved to the larger centres leaving indentured Israelite farmers.\textsuperscript{369} While it is not known for certain whether the law for the Jubilee Year was enforced at any time, the reasons behind the law’s creation were practical in nature, as pointed out by C. Wright.\textsuperscript{370} Given that the kinship structure of the Israelites—tribe, clan and household—was bound directly to the land, the land itself was seen as an inalienable right. Thus, while the usufruct could be given over to another in order to pay a debt, the land itself could never truly be ‘sold.’ By consequence, while a portion of the usufruct could be given over to the creditor, this would have to end in the Jubilee Year when the land would be ‘given back’ to the debtor.

Within this greater topic comes the line quoted above concerning the Sabbatical Year—occurring every 7\textsuperscript{th} year—which was to be a year in which the land was left to fallow.\textsuperscript{371} This same law comes up in other legal texts—namely Ex 23:10-15 & Deut 24:19-22—however, in none of these texts is it certain whether the Sabbath of Sabbaths (שַׁבת שַׁבָּתוֹן) will affect the daily work of the people. The only thing that will rest is the tillable land. As pointed out by E. Gerstenberger, it is likely that this was not meant to include all arable land, but rather only a portion. This land left to fallow could be gleaned by the poor.\textsuperscript{372}

\textsuperscript{369} See ibid., 2243. The release allowed for by the Jubilee Year applied to Israelite landowners who for whatever reasons had to ‘mortgage’ their land against debt. This would be released in the 50\textsuperscript{th} year, see C. J. A. Wright, “Sabbatical Year,” in ABD (New York: Doubleday, 1996, c. 1992), 859.


\textsuperscript{371} This is an extension of Exod 23:10; see Wright, “Sabbatical Year,” 857.

The section of M quoted above describes the mobilization and assignment of troops; in addition, it provides information about how the years of the war will be broken down.

According to Carmignac, the war will be waged for four six-year periods continuously, each followed by a sabbatical year of rest; finally, after these four six-year periods, a final five more years of fighting will continue on until the last of the sons of Japhet—that is, the gentiles—are destroyed. This chronology is taken up by Schultz, and the following table is adapted from his reconstruction:

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### Table 4: Chronology of the End-Time Wars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>War of the Divisions</th>
<th>6 (6 + 1) Years of Preparation (i.e., the <strong>War of the Kittim</strong>)</th>
<th>6 Years of Preparation</th>
<th>6</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>6</th>
<th>1st 6 Years of War</th>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2nd Sabbatical Year</td>
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<th></th>
<th>6</th>
<th>2nd 6 Years of War</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3rd Sabbatical Year</td>
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<th></th>
<th>6</th>
<th>3rd 6 Years of War</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4th Sabbatical Year</td>
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<th>6</th>
<th>4th 6 Years of War</th>
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<th>5</th>
<th>5 Final Years of War</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Total Non-Sabbatical Years of War (red): **29** (i.e., the **War of the Divisions** = 29 + 4 or 33 years)

Total Sabbath Years for Both Wars (green): **5**

Total Years of Service (purple): **35**
The war is to last a total of 40 years, 35 of which can be called 'years of service' which must be added to five sabbatical years to make the total. For the years of remission, as our quoted text above states, there is to be no fighting whatever.

In M, it appears that the scribe has taken Lev 25:4 on its own, neither making reference to Ex 23 nor to Deut 24:19-22. In this way, the scribes do not concern themselves with any agricultural matters. In contrast, for the later rabbis all three texts were used together to create a more encompassing ruling for the shemitah year, and the gist of the tractate in the Mishnah concerns all three lemmata: the sanctity of produce of the land and the remission of all debts.\footnote{See introduction in P. Kehati, "Shevi'it," in Mishnah Seder Zera'im 2, ed. Avner Tomaschoff (Jerusalem: Maor Wallach Press, 1995), 1-6.} Within M, the allusion to Leviticus is for a specific purpose, and the scribe's interpretation of the Leviticus passage is quite different. First, as mentioned above, the agricultural aspects are neither mentioned nor expanded upon. The sole purpose of the allusion is to demonstrate that during the 40 years of the war, during five of the years there will be a complete cesszez-le-feu.

The examples discussed here demonstrate that the scribal technique of reprediction, as used in Deutero-Isaiah, is also detectable here in M, which draws on a legal hypotext. The technique as used by the scribes, however, demonstrates a departure from Deutero-Isaiah in that the covenanters could use ‘legal’ texts in addition to other texts from Scripture for their base texts. Their ultimate aim is to show to their audience how the words of Scripture, as interpreted by the covenanters, will come to pass in the near future.
3.2.3 Reprediction in the Community Cycle

At the end of the Community Cycle, in the so-called “Rule of the Blessings,” one finds a blessing for the Prince of the Congregation that is meant to take place in a final session of the eschatological age (1QSb 5:20-23b):

20 (Words of blessing) [for insight]376 by which to bless the Prince of the Congregation who [...] 21 And He shall renew for him the Covenant of the [Ya]ḥad, so as to establish the kingdom of His people forever, that “with righteousness He may judge the poor,” 22 [and] decide with equity for [the me]lek of the earth” (Isa 11:4), walk before Him blameless in all the ways of [His heart,] 23 and establish His covenant as holy [against] the enemy of those who seek H[im.]

As has been pointed out, Sb is an insightful collection of blessings that highlights the theology of the covenanters regarding the end time. Of note is the absence of curses in this portion of the Community Cycle, presumably because the Sons of Darkness and the gentiles would have already been destroyed.377 This passage first alludes to Jer 31:31:

31 See, a time is coming—declares the LORD—when I will make a new covenant with the House of Israel and the House of Judah. 32 It will not be like the covenant I made with their fathers, when I took them by hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, a covenant which they broke, though I espoused them—declares the LORD.

376 I have modified Wise’s translation based on the work in Hawley, “On Maskil in the Judean Desert Texts.” Hawley makes a convincing argument that the phrase למשכיל should not be translated as “for the Instructor,” as it has by the majority of scholars of the DSS, but rather as a header for colophons meaning “intended for insight.” This corresponds to its use in the Hebrew Bible, and reflected in the LXX and Targum translations.

377 See comments in Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, “Blessings (1QSb),” 119. See also Metso, The Serekh Texts, 55.
This passage is contained in a section W. McKane aptly calls “A New Covenant.” This is the only occurrence in the Hebrew Bible of ברית being qualified with חדשה, and it is these two words that form the basis of the allusion. The greatest difference between this ‘new’ covenant and the Sinai covenant—as pointed out by McKane—is that the new covenant will not be broken (Jer 31:32). While the precise context of the original Jeremianic passage is allusive, the overall message of this portion of Jeremiah is that of a new national order.

Blenkinsopp summarizes this as follows:

The origin of the so-called book of consolation in Jeremiah 30-31 (with some additions in chap. 33) poses a special problem since, exceptionally, it holds out the promise of a new order for a restored and reunited people under a Davidic dynast. While some recent attempts have been made to read it in the context of Josian reforms, and therefore to attribute it directly to Jeremiah, it stands in stark contrast to what Jeremiah has to say elsewhere [...]. In giving new prescriptions for the future that draw on the experience of past religious failure, both Jer 31:31-34 and Deut 30:14 speak of the law inscribed in or on the heart without, however, explaining how exactly this inscription will lead to a future different from the past.

As one can see in Sb, the scribes had a ready answer to Blenkinsopp’s question. For them, these words were taken from their original context, and through the scribal technique of reprediction, they were transformed for the eschatological age as they saw it would unfold. In addition to the allusion to Jeremiah, one also finds a quotation of Isa 11:1-4:

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379 The same verse from Jeremiah is alluded to as well in CD A 6:19; CD A 8:21 par CD B 19:33-34 and CD B 20:12.

Chapter 3: Analysis of Hypertextuality in the Serek Texts & in Deutero-Isaiah

1 But a shoot shall grow out of the stump of Jesse, / A twig shall sprout from his stock. / 2 The spirit of the LORD shall alight upon him: / A spirit of wisdom and insight, / A spirit of counsel and valor, / A spirit of devotion and reverence for the LORD. / 3 He shall sense truth by his reverence for the LORD: / He shall not judge by what his eyes behold, / Nor decide by what his ears perceive. / 4 Thus he shall judge the poor with equity / And decide with justice for the lowly of the land. / He shall strike down a land with the rod of his mouth / And slay the wicked with the breath of his lips.

Here, the original context for the passage in Isaiah is likely the exilic or postexilic world, although it is difficult to determine this with any precision. In any case, the passage describes a messianic figure—an ideal Davidic ruler—and further on in the passage a peaceful kingdom. In the context of the DSS, this image has been given attention by Collins—in particular in his *The Scepter and the Star*—where he shows how this image of an eschatological, ideal king developed not only from Isaiah, but also from the Psalms of Solomon. The covenanters took this image and reused it to tell their own story about the eschatological age. In the context of Sb, the Prince of the Congregation becomes the repredicted figure for this age—one of God’s instruments to actualize his design.

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381 See ibid., 109.
383 Although we cannot connect the document directly to the DSS, it is interesting to point out that 4 Ezra also uses the image of a Davidic scion, which it recasts for a future time (4 Ezra 12:32):
384 This is the Messiah whom the Most High has kept until the end of days, who will arise from the offspring of David, and will come and speak with them. He will denounce them for their ungodliness and for their wickedness, and will display before them their contemptuous dealings.
One finds another example of reprediction in S in a section entitled by Wise “General foundational precepts regarding entry into the group’s new covenant” (1QS 5:10-13):385

10 ... Each one who thus enters the Covenant by oath is to separate himself from all of the perverse men, they who walk 11 in the wicked way, for such are not reckoned a part of His Covenant. They have not sought Him or inquired of His statutes so as to discover the hidden laws in which they err 12 to their shame. Even the revealed laws they knowingly transgress, thus stirring God’s judgmental wrath and full vengeance: the curses of the Mosaic covenant. He will bring against them 13 weighty judgments, eternal destruction with none spared.

This portion of text occurs in a section of the Serek ha-Yaḥad describing a binding oath that new members to the community will have to swear in order to enter the community.386

According to the text that precedes the quotation above, initiates must swear two oaths: first, an oath to return to the law of Moses; and second, they must swear to keep separate from the men of injustice. After these oaths are described, the scribe proceeds to predict the impending doom of these ‘perverse men,’ from whom the covenanters must keep apart. In doing so, the scribes allude to at least three prophetic texts. The first of these is Zeph 1:6:


384 Cf. the use of Isa 11 in CD B 20:16-17 (also see parallel with Ps 72).

385 See Wise, “Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association,” 123.

386 There is a shorter version of this section (i.e., 1QS 5:7b-20a) in 4QSbd. As Metso points out, 4QSbd does not have a title, and begins with ולא כל העון על כל whereas 1QS 5:7b has the following title: ... Metso points out that 4QSbd appears to be the early form; see Metso, The Serekh Texts, 10.
And those who have forsaken the LORD, And those who have not sought the LORD. 
And those who have not turned to Him. Be silent before the Lord GOD, For the day of the LORD is approaching; for the LORD has prepared a sacrificial feast, has bidden His guests purify themselves.

This passage comes at the beginning of Zephaniah in a section named by A. Berlin “The Announcement of Doom (1:2-9).” The appellation is appropriate. The original context for the words of Zephaniah was within the years before the Josian reforms as can be seen in the header of the section (Zeph 1:1); however, the book begins with an all-encompassing prophecy of doom. All living creatures will be destroyed: humans, animals, birds and fish. As pointed out by Berlin, the first chapter of Zephaniah is in many ways a reversal of the creation story in Genesis. Then, the focus of the prophet moves to Judah and its capital Jerusalem, in particular to the idolaters presiding there. Scholars are unsure whether this scene of doom, in its original context, was being predicted before or after the Josianic reforms, but in any case, it refers to the perceived apostasy within Judea at the time.

In the context of S, this allusion to Zephaniah's impending doom of apostates is appropriated and given new life in the context of their oath to keep clear of the ‘perverse men.’ Presumably, these perverse men, being that they are not cast as gentiles, would have been the ‘apostate’ Jews who did not conform to their practices and ways of believing. These would have been the men who would eventually be destroyed in the War of the Kittim described in col. 1 of M. Not

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388 See ibid., 43-47.
only is Zephaniah alluded to in this passage, but also Ezekiel (Ezek 24:8) is evoked by the
scribe through his use of a rare phrase:

לunordered list: אֲלַמִּכְתָּן גוֹם ָלָמִכְתָּן גוֹם

8 She set her blood upon the bare rock / So that it was not covered, / So that it may stir up [My] fury / To take vengeance.

In Ezek 24, one finds a cruel and yet striking image—an oracle with an oracle—dubbed “The Filthy Pot” by M. Greenberg. Such ‘vengeance’ is perhaps better understood in the greater context of this oracle (Ezek 24:3b-8):

Put the caldron [on the fire], put it on, / And then pour water into it. / 4 Collect in it the pieces [of meat]. / Every choice piece, thigh and shoulder; / Fill it with the best cuts— / 5 Take the best of the flock. / Also pile the cuts in it. / 6 Assuredly, thus said the Lord GOD: / Woe to the city of blood— / A caldron whose scum is in it, / Whose scum has not been cleaned out! / Empty it piece by piece; No lot has fallen upon it. / 7 For the blood she shed is still in her; / she set it upon a bare rock; / She did not pour it out on the ground / To cover it with earth. / 8

Here one sees the full image of the bloodbath. The original context for this image is the day on which the king of Babylon started to besiege Jerusalem. The cuts of meat represent the inhabitants, and they are destined to be sacrificed in a massive holocaust, after their blood has been spilt. Here again one sees how the scribes, in composing S, have taken this prediction from Ezekiel and recast it to support their own outlook for the future. If one looks again to M, this instance of the scribal technique of reprediction would have to be for the ‘perverse men’ who would be destroyed before the Children of Light could reclaim the Holy City and re-

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390 See ibid., 503.
establish sacrifices there before beginning their work in the second part of the war against all the nations.

3.2.4 Reprediction in the Damascus Document

The first example of the scribal technique of reprediction in D comes in CD A 15:13b-17 in a section that describes the ‘camps’:

13 [...] Everything that is revealed from the Law for the multitude of the 14 Camp, and in which he (the postulant) has imperfect knowledge, the Overseer should tell him and command him to study 15 for one full year; and then according to his knowledge he may draw near. But no one who is a fool or insane may enter; and no simpleton or ignoramus 16 or one with eyes too weak to see or lame or crippled or deaf or minor child...

Line 16 of this passage can be restored with the help of 4QD (4Q266) f8i:6b-9:

6 [...] And no-one stupid 7 [or de]ranged should enter; and anyone feeble-minded and insane, those with eyes too weak to see, 8 [and] the lame or one who stumbles, or a deaf person, or an under-age boy, none 9 [of] these [shall enter] the congregation, for the ho[ly] angels [...]391

Most scholars have assumed that D describes two types of living arrangements: for those who live in the ‘city’ and for those who live in the ‘camps.’392 Furthermore, the ‘camps’ have been

391 The transcription and translation of 4QD are taken from The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, vol. 1, 592-93.

described by some as “communal cells in the villages and towns of the land,”\textsuperscript{393} and along these lines, it is generally argued that the individuals living in these settlements should be seen as differing in some way from the individuals who wrote S and M.\textsuperscript{394} However, if one takes the text quoted above and compares it to M, one sees an immediate correspondence.

The portion in M to which I am referring occurs in 1QM 7:3b-5a in a section that describes the recruitment of soldiers for the camps:

\begin{verbatim}
וכל תען עזעטוט ואשה לוא יבואו למחנותם בצאתם מירושלים ללכת למלחמה עד שובם וכול פסח או חגר או איש אשר מום עולם בברשו או איש מנוגע בטמאת בשרו ילא ילכו אתם למלחמה
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{3} [...] No youth nor woman shall enter their encampments [camps] from the time they leave \textsuperscript{4} from Jerusalem to go to battle until their return. No one crippled, blind, or lame, nor a man who has a permanent blemish on his skin, or a man affected with ritual uncleanness of \textsuperscript{5} his flesh; none of these shall go with them to battle [...] 

It is very likely that both documents are describing the same scenario—that is, they describe the camps that will be needed on the periphery of the state during the 33-year War of the Divisions. The text in CD and in 4QD\textsuperscript{a} are both broken after the phrase \textit{אלמ}, and given the reading in S, it is advisable to restore them based on the text in M. Looking at the manuscripts, given the fact that there are broken letters that are nearly illegible in these

\textsuperscript{393} See discussion in Chapter 2 above.

\textsuperscript{394} This theory is held by Murphy-O’Connor who hypothesizes that the Essenes, as a movement, predated Qumran and that D reflects this earlier history. In Murphy-O’Connor’s schema, the Qumran community reflects a later splinter movement of the non-Qumran Essenes; see Murphy-O’Connor, “The Essenes and their History,” \textit{RB} 81 (1974): 215-44. For more recent discussions of the varying details of this general conclusion, see Knibb, “The Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Introduction,” \textit{DSD} 16.3 (2009): 297-308. Several scholars have recognized recently that the similarities between S and D traditions cannot warrant a simple conception of S as representing a celibate community living at Qumran and D as representing a group that married and lived outside of Qumran. See Schofield, “Between Center and Periphery: The \textit{Yahad} in Context,” \textit{DSD} 16.3 (2009): 330-50. Finally, see Metso, “Problems in Reconstructing the Organizational Chart of the Essenes,” 388-415.
spaces, and given the extra space in the manuscripts (particularly in CD), such a restoration is possible, and would be preferential. In other words, the text in CD should read: קהל נוער וטועים, ואשה ולא יבואו, i.e., “No youth nor woman shall enter.” CD clearly states that this particular set of laws is for the ‘camps,’ and if one reads this as a military camp (as in M) that would be set up in a future time rather than as a settlement, it only makes sense that certain persons would be allowed to enter and certain person would be excluded, especially given the context of these eschatological camps. The camp, in this manner of reading D, would then be the camp that would come into existence during the 33-year War of the Divisions; that is, a camp that would be one of many special military outfits based on Numbers 1 with soldiers grouped into thousands, hundreds and fifties (CD 13:1; 1QM 4:1-3). These would be specially guarded spaces on the boarders in which perfectly pure soldier-priests would reside to fight alongside the angels. In such a camp, heightened purity restrictions demanded the exclusion of women, children, and those with defects, as this space would become like the Temple itself, and thus would be subject to the strict purity laws of Leviticus.

A similar passage describing these defective persons can be found in Sa (1QSa 2:3b-10):

395 One sees in CD 19:2-3 the following statement: “But if they live (in) camps according to the rule of the land which is as it was previously and take wives according to the custom of the Torah and beget sons, they shall walk according to the Torah.” This vision for the camps likely refers to the wilderness scenario in Numbers, as the scribe in D states ‘as previously’ (מקדם). While woman and children were allowed in the camps during this ancient time, the scribe stresses that in the future, once the camps return, the Torah must be followed. Thus, women will not be allowed in the camps on account of their variable purity status, and children are also banned given that they are not of age. If this were not the case, one would wonder why the scribe chose to emphasize that the camp dweller must live according to the Torah if he has a wife and children. Presumably, this was because the camps in Numbers and the camps that the scribe writes about differed. One must assume that the women and children in the scribes’ camps would stay in Jerusalem, if a member of the camp chose to have a wife and children.
In each of these texts, the scribes are clearly alluding to Lev 21:6-24. This text is generally assigned to a group of laws in Leviticus called the *Heiligkeitsgesetz* ('Holiness Code' or Lev. 17-26). It is generally believed that this section originally made up an independent legal corpus that was edited at one point by the Priestly School. The corpus on the whole is thought to be organized around—as the title suggests—the notion of holiness including purity and cleanliness. Milgrom points out that chapter 21 and chapter 22 form a unit when read together, which can be laid out in the following manner:

A. Relation of a priest to his family for sacrifice (21:1-15)
B. Blemishes of priests who sacrifice (21:16-23)
X. How a priest should avoid desecration of sacrifices (22:1-16)
B’. Blemishes of animals for sacrifice (22:17-25)
A’. Relation of an animal and its family for sacrifice (22:27-28)

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398 There are parallels in vocabulary between this passage and Deut 15:19-21 which describes the *בכורות* and their disqualification for sacrifice if they have a serious defect such as lameness or blindness.
The acrostic pattern of this section is striking and emphasizes the intimate connection in the
mind of the author between the physical perfection of the offering and the physical perfection
of the priest responsible for offering it. The most important portion of the above unit is
Milgrom's B as listed above; that is, 'Blemishes of priests who sacrifice.' This section starts with
the Lord ordering Moses to give Aaron certain precepts for his priestly descendants. The
passage in question is Lev 21:17b-21:

אש מת𝒍אך לזרעם א셔ר יי בא מום לאקרב להקריב לחם אלהיו: 18 יי את אשאר-בモノ לאקרב
אש שור והי רוחו ואשור: 19 יי את אשאר-יהו בשר רוח ואשר יי: 20 א-בנְי-א-דק וא
תבלל בעין אוバル או הלפת או מרוח אשך: 21 יי את אשאר-במון מומר אחשר hakkן לא ושקנקריב
את-איש יהוה מום בו את לחם אלהיו לא יגש להקריב:
No man of your offspring throughout the ages who has a defect shall be qualified to
offer the food of his God. 18 No one at all who has a defect shall be qualified: no man
who is blind, or lame, or has a limb too short or too long; 19 no man who has a broken
leg or a broken arm; 20 or who is a hunchback, or a dwarf, or who has a growth in his
eye, or who has a boil-scar, or scurvy, or crushed testes. 21 No man among the offspring
of Aaron the priest who has a defect shall be qualified to offer the LORD's offering by
fire; having a defect, he shall not be qualified to offer the food of his God.

Milgrom makes the important observation that the notion of an unblemished priest should
not be seen as anomalous in the ancient Near East; for example, the Mesopotamian bâru or
diviner could not be cross-eyed, could not have chipped teeth, nor mutilated finger.399 Thus,
the above text must be seen as functioning within a common ancient Near Eastern ethos; i.e.,
it was imperative that the priest who offers before God to be as perfect as possible (like the
animal that he will offer). As regards the מום, Leviticus lists 12 categories of priestly exclusion:
‘no man who is blind (עור), or lame (פסתן), or has a limb too short (חרם) or too long (שרוע); no

399 For a more complete list including references, see Milgrom, Leviticus 17-22, 1841. One can also mention within
the biblical canon Dan 1:3 where the Babylonian king asks for attendants מום-ביהם כל-אשר אין חרב.
In addition, see 2 Sam 14:25 in the case of Absalom.
man who has a broken leg (שָׁבַר רָגֵל) or a broken arm (שָׁבַר יָד), or who is a hunchback (גֶּבֶן), or a dwarf (דָּק), or who has a growth in his eye (תַּבָּלָל בְּעֵינָיו), or who has a boil-scar (נְבָר), or scurvy (יַלְפָּת), or crushed testes (מְרוֹחַ אַשָּׁךְ). Nearly every one of these categories is paralleled (albeit not verbatim) in D, M and Sa.

C. Wassen makes the connection between demons and the description of physical defects in the literature of the covenanters. In a recent article, she discusses the question of why angels appear to be mentioned whenever physical defects (מום) are mentioned. She asks why angels—as intermediaries between God and humans—would not want to look at human imperfections. It is often claimed that the covenanters increase the severity of the biblical prescriptions against those with blemishes, and Wassen concludes that the reason for this tendency in the literature of the covenanters stems from the fact that these defects engender the influence of evil spirits. Wassen’s thesis appears to build on the thought of scholars like Schiffman, who emphasizes that in Sa, certain members are excluded from the council because the covenanters saw impurity and deformity as a sign of some kind of moral deformity.

While there is truth to Wassen’s theory about physical defects, there may be another manner in which one can look at these sections. First, if one maintains that this section in D is looking

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401 It should be pointed out that in Jubilees, which was considered authoritative by the covenanters, a story is related about evil spirits in which a tenth of the evil spirits were allowed to stay on earth to inflict illnesses, and also to cause humans to stray (Jub. 10:10-13).

402 See Schiffman, "Rule of the Congregation," 798.
forward to the War of the Divisions in a manner parallel to M and Sa, then one could be
looking in this instance at a future scenario. The quotation of Leviticus in this way of reading
D, thus, becomes a base text for the scribal technique of reprediction. It may seem odd to
think that the covenanters would use Leviticus in a prophetic context; however, this may not
be as odd as it first seems given that one saw similar usage of Leviticus in 1QM 2:8-9. The use of
legal texts for predictive purposes appears to be a development in the literature of the
covenanters. Metso has already pointed out how the covenanters used Leviticus elsewhere in
S to bolster arguments outside the legal genre.\textsuperscript{403} Thus, it is not a far leap to say that they
would have used Leviticus—the words of the Prophet Moses—to repredict how the layout of
the military camps would be in the War of the Divisions. Presumably, the others who would
be excluded from direct fighting because of their disabilities would still serve behind the lines,
as one sees in 1QSa 1:21:

\begin{quote}
וב_workers of the army \textsuperscript{22} יעשה ענשה כפימעושה...  
\end{quote}

...His family shall merely register (him) into the \textit{ranking} of the army \textsuperscript{22} even though he
shall do his service in task-work in proportion to his ability... \textit{(my translation)}

This section is describing the fate of the mentally incompetent; while he will not be excluded
from the overall war—presumably the War of the Divisions as described in M—rather, he will
serve behind the scenes helping the soldiers.\textsuperscript{404}

\textsuperscript{403} See Metso, "Leviticus Outside the Legal Genre," 379-88.

\textsuperscript{404} See further comment on this passage and justification for my translation in Chapter 2.
The second example of the scribal technique of reprediction in D comes in an historical section looking back into Israel's and Judah's earlier history. The section shows the inevitability of punishment for those who reject the law (CD 7:9b-18):  

[...] But all those who reject the commandments and the rules <shall perish>. When God judged the land, bringing the just deserts of the wicked 10 to them, that is when the oracle of the prophet Isaiah son of Amoz came true, 11 which says, “Days are coming upon you and upon your people and upon your father’s house that 12 have never come before, since the departure of Ephraim from Judah” (Isa 7:17), that is, when the two houses of Israel separated, 13 Ephraim departing from Judah. All who backslid were handed over to the sword, but all who held fast 14 escaped to the land of the north, as it says, “I will exile the tents of your king 15 and the foundation of your images beyond the tents of Damascus” (Amos 5:27). The books of Law are the tents of 16 the king, as it says, “I will re-erect the fallen tent of David” (Amos 9:11). The “king” (4Q266: the images) is 17 the congregation and the “foundation of your images” is the books of the prophets 18 whose words Israel despised.

This section has already been spoken about, as regards its messianic expectation, by F. Strickert. In it, the scribes allude to several prophets, namely to Isa 7:17:

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Bai johu alleph-tamim tut-lemabichtav beqi mim ash al-levo la-amim soi-apirim mel emah at malk

אשכנ.
17 The LORD will cause to come upon you and your people and your ancestral house such days as never have come since Ephraim turned away from Judah—that self-same king of Assyria!

This is the last line of a section (Isa 7:1-17) that Wildberger names “Not Cowardice, but Faith!”407 The context of this line is the famous encounter between Ahaz and the anti-Assyrian alliance of Damascus and Israel. Ahaz decides to go against prophetic advice and appeal for Assyrian help, thus ushering in a long period of Assyrian overlordship. Ahaz’s faith is tested in an encounter with God, who calls him to faith. This warning of punishment is taken up by the scribes and recast through the scribal technique of reprediction as a warning for the present, and as a prediction of future events to come.

4 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to understand how the serek texts fit into and interact with the greater Jewish literary tradition. In order to accomplish this, I have analyzed the use of a significant scribal technique—that is, hypertextuality as expressed in fulfillment and reprediction—present in M, the Community Cycle (S, Sa & Sb) and D as well as in the most important prophetic text at Qumran, namely Isaiah. While Isaiah does not represent the entire ‘greater Jewish literary tradition,’ it goes without saying that it was a very significant prophetic text during the Second Temple period, in particular for the covenanters, and the scribes of the serek texts drew upon this productive scribal technique for their own particular rhetorical reasons.

407 See Wildberger, Isaiah 1-12, 279.
The analysis in this chapter has shown that hypertextuality functioned in a similar manner in all the *serek* texts by creating a rhetorical orientation; allusion to older Scripture served the scribes by allowing them—with the benefit of divine clout—to repredict events or to show how they have been fulfilled. The two chronological categories—reprediction and fulfillment—used in the *serek* texts create a narrative along a timeline that is drawn directly from sacred precedence. These allusions of fulfillment (fulfilling allusions) or allusions that repredict previous oracles (repredictive allusions) become internal, textual hallmarks for authenticity. They evoked subtly—and sometimes more explicitly—the passages the scribes thought were pertinent into their revelations. Despite the fact that many hundreds of years stand between Deutero-Isaiah and the *serek* texts, there remains an important inspirational and cultural thread that binds the two groups. Yet, it must be emphasized that the two texts are as different as they are similar; while the covenanters were influenced by scribal techniques that were present in Isaiah, much would have changed politically and culturally by the time the *serek* texts were written.

Recently, in an article for *Dead Sea Discoveries*, Wenthe has begun to contemplate the use and reuse of Scripture in M with an eye to understanding the redactional goals and hermeneutical assumptions of those who composed it. He concludes:

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408 The primary difference between these two types of allusions—as was described above—is the assumed *timeframe* of the author who makes use of them. Thus, if the scribe imports an allusion into his revelation at a point in the narrative that is thought to have already taken place, then this allusion will serve him as a testament to the veracity of the old oracle.
It is probable that most of the "implicit exegesis" which has been described can be found in other texts from other Jewish literature of the period. Yet, the same text, used in what formally appears to be the same manner, can, depending upon the posture of the community in which it is interpreted and its Sitz im Leben therein, mean something very different [...]. The fact that the author of 1QM regarded himself as a part of this end-time community is perhaps the most significant aspect of his use of the Hebrew Scriptures. It enables him to define the present and future in terms of the past. It provides him with the identity of the actors in the final eschatological drama. Not only the participants, but their movements in battle, the minutiae of their weaponry, and the sequence and timing of the events become self-evident. "Typological hermeneutic" and "pesher hermeneutic" are the exegetical expression of this prior conviction. The author of 1QM has used them with remarkable skill to create a masterpiece—a literary world which would provide meaning, identity, and coherence for the community.409

These observations can equally be applied to the scribes who wrote the other serek texts. It is not that the covenanters were only looking to Deutero-Isaiah for their inspiration in terms of this scribal technique; rather, the Qumran scribes were using a commonly known scribal technique of the Second Temple period that was known both to the writer of Deutero-Isaiah and to later scribes. In a manner similar to M described by Wenthe above, the scribes of S and D used hypertextuality ‘to define the present and future in terms of the past.’ In this manner, all of the serek texts—S (including Sa & Sb), D and M—create together “a literary world which would provide meaning, identity, and coherence for the community.” If the scribes asked the question—How did Isaiah know about what would happen in the post exilic era?—their answer would have been: Isaiah had direct revelation from God; however, it was not until we— the covenanters—came that the truth of Isaiah’s prophecies would be revealed. Here, we evoke the

concepts of nistar and nigleh, both of which the covenanters believed they had access to.\textsuperscript{410} While the serek texts do not explicitly claim to have direct revelation and are not set up to be explicit commentaries in the manner of the pesharim, one can imagine—given the discussions about ‘the hidden’ והנסתר and ‘the revealed’ והנגלת in S (1QS 5:7b-13; 8:1-2)—that the covenanters believed these serek texts were by virtue of their connection to Scripture, direct revelations. The serek texts appear to stand somewhere between the late prophets and the more explicitly exegetical texts of the Second Temple period, and they can be described as revelatory anthologies of older prophetic works.\textsuperscript{411} The common denominator in all of these newly founded Second Temple ‘sacred’ texts was that they worked in careful dialogue with older Scripture, and through the medium of priestly prophets, namely the Yahad scribes.\textsuperscript{412} This dialogue with the past was not a new occurrence by the Second Temple period, but rather, it already had its roots in more ancient times in the Jewish world. However, one must also push these observations one step further. Essentially this mode of understanding the world accords with the hard determinism described in S’s ‘Instruction on the Two Spirits’ and worldview described in the textual analysis of Chapter 2. Within this worldview, every sacred

\textsuperscript{410} For an expansion of the importance of these ‘hidden things’ in the writings from Qumran, see A. Shemesh and C. Werman, “Hidden Things and Their Revelation,” RevQ 18.71 (1998): 409-27.

\textsuperscript{411} The use of the term ‘anthology’ to describe the serek texts is reminiscent of Fitzmyer and the scholars of his generation who coined the phrase ‘le style anthologique.’ In Fitzmyer’s words: “In both the Qumran literature and the New Testament one finds frequently what has been called le style anthologique, the working of Old Testament expressions and phrases into the very fabric of the composition.... Such a style anthologique involves an implicit exegesis and is usually due to thorough acquaintance with and a reverent meditation upon the Old Testament,” see Fitzmyer, “The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament,” 299.

text had within it a predetermined blueprint of the past, present and future. The covenanters took this blueprint and used it to build their own conceptualization of the end time. This is a particular development of the prophetic genre. In this manner, their scribal techniques are inextricably linked to their own vision of how God determines history.

This analysis has described not only a scribal technique, but it has also illuminated a further unifying connection between a philosophy and a scribal technique within all of the serek texts; a scribal technique that functioned within a worldview of predeterminism. In this manner, this chapter has shown that the serek texts are also internally homogeneous on a greater hypertextual level. My conclusion is that as a unified group, the serek texts—looking to this particular scribal technique—set themselves up as prophetic compilations that they used to establish their present time and to predict future outcomes, all under the guise of hard determinism.
**FINAL CONCLUSIONS**

The intellectual transformation of prophetic activity has its setting in a complex matrix of apocalyptic, priestly, scribal and mantological ideas and practices. All this deserves the label “prophecy” as the Qumran community and the movement from which it came and of which it was a part looked backwards to the prophets of old and their literary legacy and brought that legacy forwards to their present.

George J. Brooke

The purpose of this dissertation was to undertake a descriptive reconceptualization of the ‘genre’ of the serek texts, as opposed to creating a new ‘generic’ definition for serek. For the purposes of such a study, I included in my definition of ‘serek text’ not only S, but also M, Sa, Sb and D, given that the scribes who wrote these texts either refer to their creations as serakhim, or as in the case of D, make extensive use of the term serek. More than anything, the purpose of exploring a new generic definition for serek stems from the fact that in scholarly debate around the serek texts, M is nearly always omitted. Thus, the contention of this study is that the serek text itself must be reconceptualized in order to allow for the inclusion of M in debates around serek texts. With this as a basis upon which to proceed, I follow a descriptive investigation of the serek texts according to a Gestalt analysis—a schema that describes not only the common features of the texts, but also explains how these features create a unified and recognizable structure; that is, a Gestalt paradigm. To this end, I examined the serek texts at three levels: semantic, textual and hypertextual. By studying the texts at each of these levels, I was able to conjure out a homogeneous worldview and rhetorical orientation for all of

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the *serek* texts as a mutually dependent group. The fact that such a unified purpose exists in this text group is evidence that they form a unique class that ought be studied *in tandem*.

In Chapter 1, I explored the meaning of the root סֶרֶך in the *serek* texts through a semantic analysis. The conclusion of this investigation was that the root is more complex than was previously assumed despite the fact that at its core, it connotes a base meaning of ‘arranging.’ According to my analysis, the semantic field of the root describes four arrangements: spatial, hierarchical, martial, and procedural. The innovation of this analysis is that it illuminates the fact that the root סֶרֶך does not carry primarily the connotation of ‘laying out sets of laws;’ that is, it is not primarily a legal term. Thus, one cannot conclude that the purpose of a *serek* text was primarily a response to a need for legislation within a particular community or communities.

Chapter 1 emphasizes clearly that a four-fold conceptualization of the root סֶרֶך is needed—a conceptualization according to the following dispositions: (1) *Spatial Disposition*—in this sense, the root has its most basic meaning, referring to laying out or organizing in space; (2) *Hierarchical Disposition*—in this category, the root means to arrange according to a conceptualization of rank; in other words to arrange in a specific, order from worst to best; (3) *Martial Disposition*—denotes a military arrangement; that is, an army or a battalion; and finally—(4) *Procedural Disposition*—describes regulations either as a general list of principles or in terms of being a procedure of sorts; that is, a list of instructions that must be done in a particular order. With this new conceptualization in place, we can conclude that a סֶרֶך is not
simply a list of rules or a list of *halakhot*. In all cases, the term is used in organizing the information of an imagined world, whether a list of procedures to be accepted as a member of the Community (as in 1QS 1:1) or the make-up of the army for the end-time battle (as in 1QM 1:1).

If one were to draw up a preliminary, overarching definition for the texts that make extensive use of the root סֶרֶך์—after this contextual, semantic analysis—we would say that it is used by the scribes to create documents that testify to an imagined arrangement that God has promised—an arrangement that had been predicted in the past and was starting to manifest in the present and into the future. We can conclude, for example, that M—as a blueprint for a new physical world—served as a testimony to the arrangement that God would create in the near future. In a similar manner, S, Sa & Sb and D also attest to this manifesting arrangement. The *serek* texts are acts of testimony to God’s wisdom, and to the secrets of the prophets—knowledge that the covenanters described as *nigleh*. In the face of adversity, they are the foundational documents of the community that narrate their past, present and future, all of which come under the rubric of סֶרֶךְ—the divine arrangement. In this manner, the term *serek* can be seen as a neologism within the covenanters’ sociolect.

In Chapter 2, I built upon this semantic base in order to further expand upon a Gestalt paradigm for all of the *serek* texts. To accomplish this, it was necessary to access the particular worldview by which the *serek* texts functioned. By identifying some of the key textual elements of the *serek* texts, I could establish how these elements point to a unified story about
how the world of the covenanters worked. The analysis examined four elements that correspond to the four dispositions described in Chapter 1.

At the semantic level, the root ה"ך ס"ך denotes a general, spatial disposition; at the textual level, we see that the serek texts are organized into a particular, interrelated structure. At this textual level, the serek texts create compilations consisting of at least three text-types: the account, the instruction and the hymn/prayer/liturgy. In each of the serek texts, these text-types are woven together to create complex compilations. Thus, one of the unifying structures of all of the serek texts is that they are complex compilations, and are thus homogeneous in this similarity of diversity. In Chapter 1, we saw that the root ה"ך ס"ך could also denote a hierarchical disposition and at the textual level, this is paralleled by the existence of an integrated, chronological narrative. In this way, a story emerges in each of the serek texts in which there is a movement from a worse situation in the present to a better situation in the future. The narrative tells us about the entire trajectory of the end time; it describes how the covenanters will move from the turmoil of the ‘present’ towards the complexities of the wars of the end time. Thus, the narrative moves along a hierarchical trajectory to a better future.

Third, semantically the root ה"ך ס"ך also denotes a martial disposition, which is paralleled by a third element in the serek texts; that is, the central theme of the ‘enemy other.’ From this textual element, each of the serek texts is imbued with an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ ethos that colours their entire worldview. This evocation of an enemy is present in all of the serek texts and gives them a stark but unified backdrop. Finally, the semantic disposition of the instruction is paralleled at the textual level by an overarching philosophical tenet of ‘divine design,’ in which
the texts emphasize how God’s plan manifests itself in history; the instructions, at the textual level, provide a template for the Children of Light to follow in order to fulfill this divine plan. It was the contention of this chapter that these textual elements—strengthened by their parallels in the dispositions of Chapter 1—put into relief a unified worldview that is maintained and strengthened by each of these texts. We conclude that the scribes of these serek texts are concerned with giving their readers a new message of hope for future renewal.

If we take the structure, narrative, central theme and philosophical tenet studied in Chapter 2, a picture emerges in which S, Sa, Sb, D and M can be viewed as related on a textual level that is deeper than their respective semantic uses of the term serek. These texts are each compilations in that they collect similar types of information. This raw act of collecting text types is not random in the serek texts, but rather, follows a clear pattern: accounts, instructions and liturgic materials are collected, each complementing the other. In addition, this act of collecting is reflected at the semantic level in the spatial disposition, under which general information is gathered. Going beyond ‘serek as compilation,’ we can say that this information is also organized within a similar framework and backdrop in each of the serek texts. In the forefront of this backdrop of assumptions is a narrative about how this divine plan will look as it unfolds. The narrative comes out more clearly in terms of its chronology in M, and is mirrored quite clearly in the Community Cycle (S, Sa & Sb) and in D. Each of these

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44 These insights bolster the work of scholars such as Jokiranta who has argued that S and D ought to be compared in terms of the activities each of these texts describe, rather than in terms of the communities scholars postulate could be behind each of these groups. See, for example, Jokiranta, "An Experiment on Idem Identity in the Qumran Movement," 328–29.
documents point to various stages in this end-time narrative, collecting various instructions for the Children of Light for these various stages. There exists in this narrative a clear presumption about the quality of these times—that is, that one is moving from worse times to better times (and ultimately to the best of times). In this manner, the serek texts mirror the hierarchical disposition that was described at the semantic level.

There are also certain principles at work in the serek texts that further develop a unified worldview of the serek texts: there is a clear and emphasized dichotomy within the texts between the ‘in-group’ and the ‘other.’ This is brought out by the scribes’ use of the central theme of the enemy other and this central theme mirrors the martial disposition of the semantic level. Furthermore, another fundamental principle that is brought into relief through the study of the philosophical tenet of the serek texts, is that there exists in the texts a clear presumption about how God works in history, and how He will allow His plan to come to pass. This tenet of ‘Divine Design’ rests upon an assumption within the serek texts that God has predetermined the nature of peoples and events in the world by His design. At the semantic level, this is reflected in the use of serek as a procedural disposition in that the instructions give a practical map for this divine plan.

In Chapter 3, I conclude that one of the most prevalent unifying prototypes in the serek texts is the scribal technique of hypertextuality, which can be described as the scribes’ ‘reading’ of sacred Scripture. The scribes’ usage of the scribal technique of hypertextuality approximates that used in Isaiah, the most frequently attested prophetic text found at Qumran. My analysis
shows that the scribes use this technique to give their *serek* texts new layers of authority, and thus, this technique can also be described as one of the scribes' authority conferring strategies. The purpose of this technique is for the covenantersto confirm to their audience that their own conceptions of the past, present and future were derived directly from the prophecies of old. They use their allusions and quotations both to demonstrate how their past and present were already fulfilled according to Scripture, as well as to recast the prophecies of old for a future time. Thus, under such a guise, for those who were convinced of the authority of, and had 'converted' to the community, the *serek* texts would have had the hallmarks of prophecy.

Furthermore, the scribes who produced them would likely have been seen as priestly prophets—priestly prophets who accessed and wielded the direct authority and true meaning of God's own words. The rhetorical orientation of the *serek* texts is ultimately towards God himself; they are an expression of his infallible word and interpretation of the *nigleh* by prophetic, priestly scribes.

The scribal technique of hypertextuality functioned in all of the *serek* texts by creating a rhetorical orientation; allusion to older Scripture served the scribes by allowing them—with the benefit of divine clout—to repredict events and to show how they have been fulfilled. The two chronological categories—reprediction and fulfillment—as used in all of the *serek* texts, create a narrative along a timeline that is drawn directly from sacred sources. These allusions of fulfillment (fulfilling allusions) or allusions that repredict previous oracles (repredictive
allusions) become internal, textual hallmarks for authenticity. They evoke subtly, and sometimes more explicitly, the scriptural passages the scribes thought were pertinent for their own revelations for the future. Despite the fact that many hundreds of years stand between Deutero-Isaiah and the serek texts, there remains an important inspirational and cultural thread that binds the two groups. However, it must be emphasized that the two texts are as different as they are similar; while the covenanters were influenced by scribal techniques that were also present in Isaiah, much would have changed politically and culturally by the time the serek texts were written. Furthermore, as seen in Chapter 3, the scribes of the serek texts also innovated by expanding their prophetic purview to include legal texts from Scripture. The allusion to such legal texts for the purposes of making predictions about the future is a technique that cannot be traced to any other Jewish communities before the covenanters.

The scribes of the serek texts used the scribal technique of hypertextuality to define the present and future in terms of the prophetic past. In this manner, all of the serek texts—S (including Sa & Sb), D and M—create together coherence for the community. While the serek texts do not explicitly claim to have direct revelation and are not set up to be explicit commentaries in the manner of the pesharim, one can imagine—given the discussions about ‘the hidden’ הנסתר and ‘the revealed’ הנגלה in S (1QS 5:7b-13; 8:1-2)—that the covenanters believed these serek texts were, by virtue of their connection to Scripture, direct revelations.

415 The primary difference between these two types of allusions—as was described above—is the assumed timeframe of the author who makes use of them. Thus, if the scribe imports an allusion into his revelation at a point in the narrative that is thought to have already taken place, then this allusion will serve him as a testament to the veracity of the old oracle.
Thus, one can recast the quotation from Brooke above to say that the *serek* texts are an instance of “intellectual transformation of prophetic activity,” and thus they too “deserve[...]
the label prophecy.” The common denominator in all of these newly founded Second Temple ‘sacred’ texts was that they worked in careful dialogue with older Scripture, and through the medium of priestly prophets, namely the *Yahad* scribes. This dialogue with the past was not a new occurrence by the Second Temple period, but rather, it already had its roots in more ancient times in the Jewish world. Within this worldview, *every* sacred text had within it a predetermined blueprint of the past, present and future. The covenanters took this blueprint and used it to build their own conceptualization of the end time. This is a particular development of the prophetic genre. In this manner, their scribal techniques are inextricably linked to their own vision of how God determines history.

This analysis has described not only a scribal technique, but more importantly it has illuminated a deep unifying connection between a philosophy and a scribal technique within all of the *serek* texts; a scribal technique that functioned within a worldview of predeterminism. In this manner, my work has shown that the *serek* texts as a unified group are internally homogeneous on a greater hypertextual level. My conclusion is that the *serek* texts—looking to this particular scribal technique—set themselves up as prophetic compilations that the covenanters used to establish their present time and to predict future outcomes, all under the guise of hard determinism.

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From this analysis, a unified Gestalt paradigm for all of the *serek* texts emerges. First, while the *serek* texts as a unified group are a particular invention, they share common characteristics with the greater world of Second Temple Judaism and resemble in a conceptual manner the writings of the scribe/compiler of Isaiah who also relies heavily on the scribal technique of hypertextuality to create new prophetic statements. The priestly ‘prophets’ who wrote the *serakim* participated in this prophetic tradition by using a similar scribal technique.

According to this analysis, a *serek* text is concerned with God’s predetermined organization of the world—the organization of predetermined hierarchies between men, the organization of eschatological battles and ultimately the organization of God’s greatest gift, the words of sacred Scripture. All sacred writings for these scribes were deterministic and had within them predetermined blueprints. Through the scribal techniques of fulfillment and reprediction, the scribes of the *serek* texts recast and reused the prophetic words to justify their current circumstances and to predict new events in a yet-to-pass timeframe. Thus, this analysis has described not only a scribal technique, but it has also illuminated an intimate connection between a philosophy and the scribal technique—a scribal technique that functioned within the worldview of predeterminism.

The *serek* texts as ‘prophecies’ formed and participated in a unified network of homogeneous features and were further transformed into new and singular instantiations upon coming into contact with the philosophy of hard determinism. Thus, the *serek* became a vehicle through which the covenancers could describe God’s completely predetermined world: its hierarchies, its histories, its present and its future, eschatological times. Ultimately, the *serek* texts were
expressions of anticipation; they gave to their respective communities a sense that God would impose His order on the world, and that such imposition would restore their communities in the manners they hoped. It is the hope of this study that it has provided a convincing base upon which one can build further comparative studies of the *serek* texts—S, Sa, Sb, D and especially M—as a unified group.
Appendix A: Hypertextuality in M

**Fulfillment Hypertextuality**

**Reprediction Hypertextuality**

**Other Hypertextuality** (neither specifically of fulfillment nor of Reprediction)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The War Scroll (1QM)</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Hypertextual Relationship</th>
<th>Scriptural Hypertext</th>
<th>Hypertext in M[^417]</th>
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<tr>
<td>1:1-2</td>
<td>Ps 83:7-9</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>אדם, מתן, פלשת, כתחי אשור</td>
<td>אדום, מועד, פלשת, כתחי אשור</td>
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<td>מְהַרְשִׁי בַּר</td>
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<td>Ezek 20:35</td>
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<td>מְרוּם מְרֵצְרָם</td>
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<td>Dan 11:44</td>
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<td>Dan 11:11</td>
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<td>נִלְהָם עָמוֹ נֶפֶל תֵּזוּ</td>
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<td>בעַת יְשֻׁעְתָּ</td>
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<td>Zech 14:13; Deut 7:23; I Sam 5:9</td>
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<td>מְהַרְשִׁי נֶפֶל נְדוֹלָה \ מְהַרְשִׁי נֶפֶל נְדוֹלָה \ מְהַרְשִׁי נֶפֶל נְדוֹלָה \ מְהַרְשִׁי נֶפֶל נְדוֹלָה</td>
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<td>Dan 12:1</td>
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|       |            |      | בָּרֳא | בָּרֳא |
| 11:14 | Ezek 18:8  | Reprediction | שְׁמַטָּה אֲמָתָה עִשָּׁה בֵּן | שְׁמַטָּה אֲמָתָה עִשָּׁה בֵּן
|       |            |      | אֵישׁ לֵאָיָש | אֵישׁ לֵאָיָש |
|       | Isa 56:5; 63:12 | Other | נְשָׂיִתָה לַרְעַשָּׁה | נְשָׂיִתָה לַרְעַשָּׁה |
| 11:15 | Ezek 38:23 | Reprediction | וְלָעֶתָהּ יַתָּקְדְּשָהוּ | וְלָעֶתָהּ יַתָּקְדְּשָהוּ |
|       |            |      | לָעֶתָהּ יַתָּקְדְּשָהוּ | לָעֶתָהּ יַתָּקְדְּשָהוּ |

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| 12:13 | Ps 97:8; 48:12; Zech 9:9 | Other | תשמת ציוון | זקני שמחת มกราคม והופע | בנות ירושלים | נטלה בת נוה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתה | מתa...
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| 15:2  | Deut 9:4, 5 | Reprediction | נגי רעשה | רעשה
| 15:7  | Deut 31:6 | Reprediction | חוכך ואמאש | חוכך ואמאש
| 15:8  | Deut 20:3 | Reprediction | אל תירא ואל תחפזו ואל תצורו מפני | אל תירא ואל תחפזו ואל תצורו מפני
| 15:9  | Isa 29:15 | Reprediction | והיה במחשך מעשיהם | והיה במחשך מעשיהם
| 15:10 | Gen 4:7, Isa 51:6 | Reprediction | ואלך תשוקו | ואלך תשוקו, חשב נמלה, ממה נ릴, כי נ errs את גבורה | כי נ errs את גבורה
| 16:1  | Jer 25:29 | Reprediction | והיה במחשך מעשיהם | והיה במחשך מעשיהם
| 16:13 | Deut 20:2 | Reprediction | נעש הכהן | נעש הכהן
| 17:3  | Num 25:13 | Reprediction | ברית הכהן על העולם | ברית הכהן על העולם
| 17:4  | Gen 1:2, 1 Sam 12:21, Jer 4:23 | Other | הנח לוה ונבה | הנח לוה ונבה
| 17:6  | Ps 20:3 | Reprediction | ישלח צור | ישלח צור
| 18:2  | Isa 24:20 | Reprediction | ונפלול ותא תפסי כים | ונפלול ותא תפסי כים
| 18:5  | Josh 10:13-14 | Reprediction | או הפשמה לוה בים | או הפשמה לוה בים, מעשיה...
| 18:8  | Ps 4:2, Ps 109:21, Jer 14:7, Ezek 20:9, 14, 22, 44 | Other | אלף צורי | אלף צורי
| 18:10 | Gen 49:8 | Reprediction | באלפיה את הפשמה | באלפיה את הפשמה, ]]]הפשמה לעון בים...
| | Joel 2:2 | Reprediction | לא נגשנה בעם | ולא נגשנה בעם, עד מה נגשנה מים-מѣים
| 18:13 | 1 Chron 29:11 | Other | לְךָ יהוה הממלכה והמתנשא... | לְךָ חַכָּם
Appendix B: Text of 1QM

Sigla:

- נ = essentially certain reading of a damaged character
- נ = uncertain reading of a damaged character
- נ = deletion by scribe
- = illegible character
- י ו ו מ ק = uncertain whether yod/waw; mem/mem sofit; kaf/kaf sofit
- נ = hypertextuality (fulfillment)
- נ = hypertextuality (Reprediction)
- נ = other hypertextuality (neither specifically of fulfillment nor of Reprediction)

1. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
2. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
3. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
4. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
5. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
6. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
7. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
8. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
9. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
10. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
11. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
12. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
13. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
14. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
15. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
16. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]
17. [ם לות קינע יבכ יבכ יבכ יבכ]

The present transcription is taken from Duhaime, "War Scroll."
Appendix B: Text of 1QM 241

I
1 באת ההעדה ושנים וחמשים וראשית אנשי יחוור אחר בן ארבעים ושניים ומשנהו ראשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר יוחנן וראשית עשר ואחת-

쩌ות
2 בנתיים לפנים אך ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והṯווקות ונסים למשנהו-

 дух
3 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 תשתית
4 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
5 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
6 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
7 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
8 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
9 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
10 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
11 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
12 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
13 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
14 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
15 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
16 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して
17 אשר ראש המשנה וראשי העדה יספרו אחר ההעדה את תשתיות והを通して והを通して-

 הを通して

II
1 לימים הנין ל الزمن וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
2 לימים הנין ל الزمن וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
3 לימים הנין ל الزمن וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
4 לימים הנין ל الزمن וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
5 לימים הנין ל الزمن וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
6 לימים הנין ל الزمن וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
7 לימים הנין ל zaman וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
8 לימים הנין ל zaman וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
9 לימים הנין ל zaman וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
10 לימים הנין ל zaman וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
11 לימים הנין ל zaman וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
12 לימים הנין ל zaman וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
13 לימים הנין ל zaman וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
14 לימים הנין ל zaman וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
15 לימים הנין ל zaman וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
16 לימים הנין ל zaman וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים
17 לימים הנין ל zaman וראשית אנשי הכהנים יסרוכו אחר בן ארבעים ושניים וansson אחר-

 שערים

III
1 (试点工作 והניתוח) موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים וה鹉ורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת壯計
2 (试点工作 והניתוח) موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים וה鹉ורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת壯計
3 (试点工作 והניתוח) موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת壯計
4 (试点工作 והניתוח) موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
5 (试点工作 והניתוח) موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
6 (试点工作 והניתוח) موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
7 (试点工作 והניתוח) موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
8 (试点工作 והניתוח) موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
9 (试点工作 והניתוח) موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
10 (试点工作 והניתוח)موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
11 (试点工作 והניתוח)موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
12 (试点工作 והניתוח)موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
13 (试点工作 והניתוח)موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
14 (试点工作 והניתוח)موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
15 (试点工作 והניתוח)موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
16 (试点工作 והניתוח)موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
17 (试点工作 והניתוח)موا 깊נה חפש שירות מהמלמה ליצאת נשיא בשתיים והトーורתיות התכלית והVerbose-

 ת肇計
Appendix B: Text of 1QM 242

12 ספר אוחזת כל הנהיגה כשהתсужות על האות ההגדולה אשר הבראש בכל חותם טקסט אל ואחר ששרד
13 ואחריןであること שלוש עשר [בסי מרא] 5 חלקים על אוות מתים אחרון שהותם את המילים השמע
14 [ע] אוות יהושע יכתבו נא ולא ועשר קשת [כ]
15 [משה] שמש ניסי יתבנאו את השמות [ט]
16 מאוזי ויקש [ט]
17 [ט]

IV

1 وعلى אות קורין תורמה ואת וש מרור ואת שמות.She ילקט ועדות עד ואחר יכתב.
2 באל clase והшив את 시작 והשוート את המית אחד ואת המית העילית על אות החובה.
3 ואחרי יכתבו כי כל פ испытаו על השמות ששי השמות שחי ושתיי על אות הפיסי שלמה החלובה.
4 السعودים שברוע [ב] הכיתו אל ואת וש התמשים את השמות שחי ושתיי על אות הפיסי שלמה החלובה.
5 כי כלא רבים את וש השתיוה את השמות שחי ושתיי עדות על אות הפיסי שלמה החלובה
6 בלעטalm במחלחלות יכתבו העתים שאמות את עבד אל ש_iters וש_iters משכנית על אותות השמות.
7 ושמותית יכתבו על השמות עזר אל כבוד אל משפט אל ואחרי ילך אל וש_iters משכנית על אותות השמות.
8 וש ويمו美しい את עבד אל כבוד אל עם כל הפרוש שמותי יכתבו על אותות השמות.
9 והשישים יכתבו על אותות השמות.
10 וש veniam ועל השמות של שמותי יכתבו על אותות השמות.
11 לעבם על השמות של שמותי יכתבו על אותות השמות.
12 ואחרי יכתבו על אותות השמות.
13 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו על אותות השמות.
14 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו על אותות השמות.
15 על שמות השמות יכתבו על אותות השמות.
16 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו על אותות השמות.
17 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו על אותות השמות.
18 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו על אותות השמות.

V

1 ועל פור [ט] ושני בלת יכתבו עמים.] שמי ישארו ואחרים שמות של שבטי ישראלי
2 ומחלחלות
3 והשישים יכתבו עמים.] שמי ישארו ואחרים שמות של שבטי ישראלי
4 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו עמים.] שמי ישארו ואחרים שמות של שבטי ישראלי
5 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו עמים.] שמי ישארו ואחרים שמות של שבטי ישראלי
6 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו עמים.] שמי ישארו ואחרים שמות של שבטי ישראלי
7 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו עמים.] שמי ישארו ואחרים שמות של שבטי ישראלי
8 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו עמים.] שמי ישארו ואחרים שמות של שבטי ישראלי
9 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו עמים.] שמי ישארו ואחרים שמות של שבטי ישראלי
10 ועל שמות השמות יכתבו עמים.] שמי ישארו ואחרים שמות של שבטי ישראלי
Appendix B: Text of 1QM 243

11 שבעה עשרים ברזל בורר וה ActionResult בכולו ומלוחב ימי מישורי חימום מבフリー [חט] השתיו והאמר ענו
12 וה ActionResult ברוח ובمشاركة בו כל טוב ושתיו והластミニ שיתו והActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
13 וה ActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה וה ActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
14 והActionResult השתיו והלא ברוח ברוחו עשרים אמות גובה ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה וה ActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו

15 [סודר במצוף השתיו הסודר אחר משך]
[ש], [לאשמיה במצוף השתיו הסודר אחר משך]
[לא להנהיג השתיו הסודר אחר משך]

16 [v6]
[והשלוט]
[ואוכלי]

17 [v6]
[והשלוט]
[והשלוט]

18 [v5]
[והשלוט]
[והשלוט]
[והשלוט]
[והשלוט]

v6
1 שבעה עשרים ברזל בורר והActionResult בכולו ומלוחב ימי מישורי חימום מבフリー [חט] השתיו והאמר ענו
2 וה ActionResult ברוח ובمشاركة בו כל טוב ושתיו והластミニ שיתו והائر ענו
3 והActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה והActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
4 והActionResult השתיו והלא ברוח ברוחו עשרים אמות גובה ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה והActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
5 והActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה והActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
6 והActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה והActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
7 וה ActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה וה ActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
8 וה ActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה והActionResult בשנתיו והائر ענו
9 והActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה וה ActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
10 והActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה וה ActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
11 וה ActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה וה ActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
12 והActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה והActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
13 והActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה והActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
14 והActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה וה ActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
15 והActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה וה ActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
16 והActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה וה<ActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
17 וה ActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה וה ActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו
18 והActionResult בעשרים אמות גובה ובהן א$hו ובעזרתו של אחר עשרים אמות גובה וה ActionResult בשתיו והائر ענו

v7
1 וה ActionResult במצוף השתיו הסודר אחר משך]
[ש], [לאשמיה במצוף השתיו הסודר אחר משך]
[לא להנהיג השתיו הסודר אחר משך]

2 [v7]
[והשלוט]
[ואוכלי]

3 [v7]
[והשלוט]
[והשלוט]
[והשלוט]
[והשלוט]

4 [v7]
[והשלוט]
[והשלוט]
[והשלוט]
[והשלוט]
כהל אלה לוא ילכו אתם למלחמה כולם יהיו אנשי נדבת מלחמה ותמימי רוח ובשר ועתודים ליום נקם

ביום המלחמה לוא ירד אתם כיא מלאכי קודש עם צבאותם יחד ורוח אשר לוא יהיה טהור ממקור איש יהיה

 şeyler סביבות כול מחניהם וכול ערות דבר רע לוא יראה בנכול מחניהם למקום היד כאלפים באמה

רכות ובסדר מערכות המלחמה לеча אויב מערכה ליوم נקם וחצוצרות התרועה וחצוצרות המרדף וחצוצרות המאסף ובצאת חצוצרות המקרא וחצוצרות הכוהנים

ושלושה שוטרים מן הלויים לפני יצאו עמהם שבעה לויים ובידם שבעת שופרות היובלאל בין המערכות אcohנים והלויים ותקעו הכוהנים בשתי חצוצרות לחמה על חמשים מגן המקר לוא אנשי בינים יצאו מן השער התיכון אל בין המערכה

לחמה על חמשים מגן המקר לוא אנשי בינים יצאו מן השער התיכון אל בין המערכה

אלה הכוהנים והלויים ותקעו הכוהנים בשתי חצוצרות

החללים קול החד טרוט לנצח מלחמה והלויים וכול עם השופרות יריעו

קול אחד תרועת מלחמה גדולה להמס לב אויב ועם קול התרועה יצאו צרות יהיו צורות המלחמה להפיל חללים קול השופרות יחישו ובחוללים קול חד טרוט לנצח מלחמה עד השליכם למערכה הכוהנים מריעים האוחב שבע פעמים ואחר יתקעו להם הכוהנים בחצוצרות המשוב

הchers קול תרועה הטל הראישון יריעו

הרי הכוהנים לשלושת הדגלים ועם הכוהנים לשלושה דגלי בינים מן השערים ועמדו בין המערכות ולידם אנשי הרכב מימין ושמאול ותקעו הכוהנים בחצוצרות קול מרודד יד סדר מלחמה

והראישים יהיו נפשטים לסדריהם איש למעמדו ובעומדם שלושה סדרים קול נוח ו㉳י יד מפשע עד קורבם ותקעו להם הכוהנים תרועה שנית

כוהנה בעל מבנה האחת ביבס ונקרא והיא בר אשה נובית ונקראו אנשי המלחמה

ולפני מבנה הנשים יטרף בבית נחל.nlmית לוחה ביריעה והחצוצרות

ולפני מבנה הנשים יטרף בבית נחל.nlmית לוחה ביריעה

ולפני מבנה הנשים יטרף בבית נחל.nlmית לוחה ביריעה

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ולפני מבנה הנשים יטרף בית נחל.nlmית לוחה ביריע
Appendix B: Text of 1QM

3 בותנוגש פני מלך התנהלות白马פם לפלניהם יתקעו הכוהנים בחצוצרות המקרא ויצאו אליהם לכל משא שמעה ממספר עשרים ולאף אחד

4 עין תינוגש פני המלך והרב הכהנים פשמג ממספר עשרים ואחד שמעה מעברxFFFFFF

5 אשר מלחה ההר הכהנים ששמג עשרים ואחד אליהם לכל משא שמעה מעבר

6 עלייתו שלとなった הכוהנים בשוורות המרדים ונותל[ן] על כל האצורים לכל זה הכרב

7 יעטיבים על ידי המלךдумать ההר בשומם של כל מ הרפואי והפרשים אליהם לכל משא שמעה מעבר

8 ולא נח תתלהל התנהל דבר טמאת כל כהנים בבית אלון שמעה מעבר

9 ירי הדה

10 כתם על אחרים דבר דארה התנהל דבר טמאת כל כהנים בבית אלון שמעה מעבר

11 כתם על אחרים דבר דארה התנהל דבר טמאת כל כהנים בבית אלון שמעה מעבר

12 כתם על אחרים דבר דארה התנהל דבר טמאת כל כהנים בבית אלון שמעה מעבר

13 כתם על אחרים דבר דארה התנהל דבר טמאת כל כהנים בית אלון שמעה מעבר

14 כתם על אחרים דבר דארה התנהל דבר טמאת כל כהנים בית אלון שמעה מעבר

15 כתם על אחרים דבר דארה התנהל דבר טמאת כל כהנים בית אלון שמעה מעבר

16 כתם על אחרים דבר דארה התנהל דבר טמאת כל כהנים בית אלון שמעה מעבר

17 כתם על אחרים דבר דארה התנהל דבר טמאת כל כהנים בית אלון שמעה מעבר

18 כתם על אחרים דבר דארה התנהל דבר טמאת כל כהנים בית אלון שמעה מעבר

X

1 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

2 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

3 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

4 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

5 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

6 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

7 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

8 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

9 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

10 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

11 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

12 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

13 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

14 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

15 ומורת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאosh וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד V

16 ומורת הלה' V

17 ומורת הלה' V

18 ומורת הלה' V

XI

1 ומאת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

2 ומאת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד וגו לא קול

3 ומאת הלה' ועשתו מבוא מקול דבור ער יאוש וניהל אליכם קורבע לא בד V

4 ומאת הלה' V

5 ומאת הלה' V

6 ומאת הלה' V

7 ומאת הלה' V

8 ומאת הלה' V

9 ומאת הלה' V

10 ומאת הלה' V

11 ומאת הלה' V

12 ומאת הלה' V

13 ומאת הלה' V

14 ומאת הלה' V

15 ומאת הלה' V

16 ומאת הלה' V

17 ומאת הלה' V

18 ומאת הלה' V
לחנו מאז לאמר דרך כוכב מיעקוב קם שבט מישראל ומחץ פאתי מואב וו קרקר כול בני שית

וכידהעשה חיל והביאו אביו ירשה

לחם להלחין

שבעתבואינו להפיל גדודי בליעל כבד וזי תעודות הגדתה לנו ק

גוי השבל

וובל שמחה לבריה ולשלום לגבורת פלא ולב נמס ביד אביונים פדות

עם עדרשעה לוא תש כלפיד אש בעLayoutManager וऊ עמרה אוכלת העיר והכנאי רוח וכשלישי מרכבותיו בים סוה

כלות אשמה ומאז השמיה בlaştırma בכתיים לאמר ונפל אשור בחרב לוא איש וחרב

לוא אדם תואכלנו

יבי וכל הארצות וביד

והשיב גמולגבורי עמים כורעי עפר להשפילכיא ביד אביונים תסגיר

רשעים ברואשיו עולם ולעשות לכַּה אישוֹהצדיק משפט אמתכה בכול בני

הלוחם

וכל שקית תלחם בם מן השמה

ליהם למהמה לחה

לכַּה ובחירי עם קודשבזבול קודשכה כיא רוב קדושים דודות אמת

לכַּה והב שמים וצבאות מלאכים

כַּה ובחירי עם קודשבזבול קודשכה כיא רוב קדושים

וי חסדי הרכה

יבש קהַל הנקהל לַכָּה תgetField בם מן השמה

לח.expand text here

לעג

שכעם גבורי

לעם קדושים אתנו ומלך הכבוד וקלס לגבורים כיא קדוש אדוני צבא מלאכים בפקודינו גבון לאלפיהם ולרבואותם יחד עם קדושיכא שהוצע בכבוד מלכותכה עלולמי

ואתה אל נ

וטב כיוהו כל ערים ציון שמחי מאשה והפורק בירון ירושלים חפץ בהיכל כל

כך ימידי להביא

ועפר אליך חיל גואים ומלכיהם ישרתוך והשתחוו לך וכל מעני שער ימי

/object/1QM/bible-jp/_transform/2023-03-02/4dreeting.png
Appendix B: Text of 1QM

8 עלים ובובילות בחרות בדנה כי זכר וכר רוח הנושה בבריתו ובכל אחרים.
9 המשיך את חמריו המשקפי בדנה פלאה אצלו. ובו בתברואתו בלעט רוחו ואת רבותיו.
10 הגﻺ והגן ממזוות את חמודו ובナルותיו. החל ממקום אחר ובית החסדים גם וכסחובו באלהים.
11 על זה הלך ולחנה הבה לא מבלעם. באלהים.
12 גוזל מאפור החבוש ותחלים את אתי [תחבוש] את חפץانيا. גם גוזל בבינה וברחמה.
13 ברוח המשקפי בדנה אצל הראיה בבני אדם.
14 אบายון הוא והבריתים אימא של מועד וברך פר.
15 נקראה בשלך לבריתא וברחמה ושארית וכר וכר וכר וכר...
16 ללתנשא עלים BLUE כרי ושוחט ושותה.
17 בא אחרוניות של...

XIV

1 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
2 חנה מה נשלמה לבלום כל גוזלה בברונתי.
3 היו מעשים אשר לא נ٬ סדר של בראשת וכר אזכורים כולם ובגרים. זה מה בלועט רוחו.
4 חזרה על עדות שלה ופיぺל ואל יישר הולו ובבלôle.
5 ביבשה שם על עבורה שבכלל.
6 בל מסת על עבורה שבכלל.
7 ביבשה בעבורה שבכלל.
8 בל מסת על עבורה שבכלל.
9 בל מסת על עבורה שבכלל.
10 בל מסת על עבורה שבכלל.
11 בל מסת על עבורה שבכלל.
12 בל מסת על עבורה שבכלל.
13 בל מסת על עבורה שבכלל.
14 בל מסת על עבורה שבכלל.
15 בל מסת על עבורה שבכלל.
16 בל מסת על עבורה שבכלל.
17 בל מסת על עבורה שבכלל.

XV

1 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
2 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
3 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
4 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
5 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
6 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
7 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
8 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
9 ובכל עבורה שבכלל.
10 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
11 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
12 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
13 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
14 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
15 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
16 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
17 בכל עבורה שבכלל.
11 Moses לא נאם בקול חים והותם ומחר ימל
12 התחלת המלילים ולא כדי (צ[20])
13 על כל בחור ולא ישארו רמים וי
14 לכל ויחיו רע (צ[20])
15 הם ידימא [Chapter במלים]
16 עד עולם (?) ו.damage

Appendix B: Text of 1QM

16 לע להサポート על כל הנשים بكודו עד עשים אחד

XVI

1 עד עולם מפוקד

16 בניהור שרג

16 כל המילים

XVII

16 שלום בדלק

16 כל及び לרכי ובית ומא שמעיסחך

16背面 בסיס

16 ישראלי קריה תורה על כל הנשים بكודו עד עשים אחד
.Appendix B: Text of 1QM 249

XVIII

17 °alah ad et ha'erdotla'yi galug'ay col ol] la'meshelot bemfigat ulel'mim
20 tahru'ta kadoshim ba'ar nefesh ba'if pit la'ayin ko'm mokhitim vayt la'ayin

'awot[h]a'ot ha'ertor u'sapo'elim col mu'arobot hemelahim u'lel'kol ol] [ca'hitiym
4 tla'hetrimmim [al] ki'mesh hem'la'ayin ba'is ha'honom tivod ba'mok hitrashonat ha'teliym [ashir
5 l'hemelos [a] fe'hirsh ba'ayn kol ol] la'meshelos ha'honom b'kol kol
6 ata'ot ra'ayim [a] fe'hirsh ba'ayn kol ol] la'meshelos ha'honom b'kol kol

7 ha'eladim [ha] sump [ha] [la]jela'i'ya borit'am samakh l'la'ma'me shi'urat va'hath'em l'fa'ilem rab
8 la'mig [ba] [iy'areyim [a] a'uni'ot [ba] b'kol b'nay ha'adam la'al hafik' ushitam le'el'mim

9

XIX

1 balad'in ja' [al] chik'so amonim melakhim atan vo'ayin
2 vay'sh na'orim gor'im ba'miqat yem'uli'at mesapat [ba] 'al
3 vo'sh la'shal'ata'ayim [a] ta'ma'ot ba'ayn kol kol
4 riziqu ha'ertor tanbik ose'ayim ba'ayn rahmatim rakh'mim [ha] [te\]
5 ba'hit'el'hatim ya'isi shamim ose'ayim hahama b'kol kal`
6 [ba] [sela] milimim she'urit vosha'tam 'al chik'so melakhim [ba]
7 [b] [ba] [ha'shal'atim ba'ayn dem'urim b'kol dem'urim yem'ma' [ba]
8 [balad'in] [ba] [shem'a] [yeladim melakhim [ba] [le] [balad'in]
9 hinat[ba] [balad'in] [ha] [hem] [ol] dem'urim ba'ayn bor'ok babok [ba]
10 [balad'in] [ba] [sha'arim] [ba] [kol kal`

11 [balad'in] [ba] [sha'arim] [ba] [kol kal`
12 [balad'in] [ba] [sha'arim] [ba] [kol kal`
13 [balad'in] [ba] [sha'arim] [ba] [kol kal`
14 [balad'in] [ba] [sha'arim] [ba] [kol kal`
### Appendix C: Hypertextuality in the Community Cycle

**Fulfillment Hypertextuality**

**Reprediction Hypertextuality**

**Other Hypertextuality** (neither specifically of fulfillment nor of Reprediction)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serek ha-Yahad (1QS)</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Hypertextual Relationship</th>
<th>Scriptural Hypotext</th>
<th>Hypertext in S[^419]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:1-2[^420]</td>
<td>Num 4:29</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>לֶבֶן לֶבֶן</td>
<td>לְהַרְוָשָׁה אֲלֹהֵיכֶם לְבֶן לְבֶן נַפְשֵׁךְ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:6</td>
<td>Jer 3:17</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>ולא-לכל ימים אֲלֹהִים שֹׁרֵדוֹת לְבֶן הָרִים</td>
<td>אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה עָלָיו עָבְרָה יִשָּׁה לעִלְיוֹנָו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:8</td>
<td>Gen 17:1</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>התּוּחַל לְפִנֵי יְהוָה תִּמְסָת</td>
<td>ולְלָכַת לְפִנֵי יְהוָה תִּמְסָת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:22-24 par 4QSb (4Q256) 2:6-7</td>
<td>Lev 16:21</td>
<td>Complex</td>
<td>וְהוֹדוּ הָעִילָה אֲלֹהִים-לְעֵת</td>
<td>וְהוֹדוּ הָעִילָה אֲלֹהִים-לְעֵת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:24-25</td>
<td>1 Kgs 8:47 par. 2 Chr 6:37</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>ושֶנִּי [ותָן] גָּזִירוֹן נַפְשֵׁךְ</td>
<td>וְהוֹדָעָה עַלֵּיָנוּ שֶנִּי [ותָן] גָּזִירוֹן נַפְשֵׁךְ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:1</td>
<td>Isa 63:7</td>
<td>Complex</td>
<td>וּרְבּוֹכּוּ לָבַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל אָשֶׁר-גְּדָלָה גָּדֶל חָסֵד</td>
<td>וּרְבּוֹכּוּ לָבַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל אָשֶׁר-גְּדָלָה גָּדֶל חָסֵד</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:1-4</td>
<td>Num 6:23-26(27)</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>יִבְרָכֶה יְהוָה יֵשמָרֵךְ</td>
<td>מַבָּרַכְתָּו יְהוָה יֵשֵׁמָרֶךְ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^419]: The allusions and quotations are adapted from Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*.

[^420]: This particular example was taken from Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texts vom Toten Meer: Einführung, Zeitrechnung, Register und Bibliographie*, vol. 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:11-12</td>
<td>Ezek 14:4; Ezek 14:7</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>יישא פני חסדיו לכה לשלום וארור בלבלו בלעבות הבנה בברית ההווה ומכתש עוניו ויש נчас פנינו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Text (Hebrew)</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:5</td>
<td>Isa 26:3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:11</td>
<td>Prov 2:13</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>תלכת בכל דרכי וحسب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:13-14</td>
<td>Ezra 9:14</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>תהלת התובע על דרכָּה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 5:3-4 | Mic 6:8 | Fulfillment | כל א-ם-עשת משפט | צדקת משפט ואהבת חסד
|       | (4Q256) 9:3-4; par. 4QSb (4Q258) 1:3 | | 14 | עם-
| 5:11 | Zeph 1:6 | Reprediction | לא א-ל-בכש הולא דרשוה | בא-הוה
| 5:12 | Ezek 24:8 | Reprediction | לוכלם נכם | לוכלם נכם |
| 5:13 | Ezra 9:14 | Reprediction | לאן שירת | הלאת תנה-מן דרכָּה
| 5:14-15 | Lev 22:16 | Fulfillment | את שיאם אשת | מפי ישא-ט עונ=
| 5:15 | Exod 23:7 | Fulfillment | מנבר-شكر תרחק | מסוב דבירה-
| 5:17 | Isa 2:22 | Fulfillment | תודן לכל מ-א-דנים אשר | נשמה באפא כי-במה נחבש
| 6:6  | Josh 1:8; Ps 1:2 | Fulfillment | בתרורוה יהנה ים יחל | בתרורו יוה הוא ימל
| 8:2  | Mic 6:8 | Reprediction | כל א-ם-עשת משפט | צדקת משפט ואהבת חסד
|       | (4Q259) 2:11 | | 8 | עם-
| 8:3  | Isa 26:3 | Reprediction | לשם אור אמא ברך בצר | ס亿元以上 תור-
|       | (4Q256) 9:3-4 | | 8 | ירויו
| 8:7-8 | Isa 28:16 | Reprediction | הנני יד-זר בכל הבנת | יפה משה מסר מכל-
|       | (4Q259) 2:11 | | 8 | ירויה
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paragraph</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:13-14</td>
<td>Isa 40:3</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:9</td>
<td>Isa 29:15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:19-20</td>
<td>Isa 40:3</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:3</td>
<td>Isa 63:15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:7-8</td>
<td>Lev 25:8, 10</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:14</td>
<td>Ps 139(138):2</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>לשבותոים עֹפֶקְתֶּם צעֵיר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:17</td>
<td>Ps 20(19):6</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>נִרְגֶּהּ בָּשָׁעַתּוֹ בָּשֶׂם-ָּלֵא וָלא-דָּבְרָה</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:22</td>
<td>Zeph 3:13; Mal 2:6</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>לא-יֵעָשֶׂה עָלָה וָלא-דָּבְרָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:25</td>
<td>Isa 26:2-3</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>לָהָיָה רָאָה וּלְחָסֶבֶל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:1</td>
<td>Isa 29:24</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>מַקְשֶׁת שָׁלוֹחַ לִאָבְנְתָם נְדוֹרָו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:2</td>
<td>Isa 58:9</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>לָא-דְּמָשַמֶּנֶה לַא לַא קְנִי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:10</td>
<td>Jer 10:23; Prov 16:9</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>לָאָדָם דְּרָכָא לְא-לַא קְנִי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:22</td>
<td>Job 33:6</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>חָפְרָכָא לְא-לַא תַּשִׁקָא הָמָה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Rule of the Congregation (1QSa; 1Q28a)**

| 1:2-3 | Isa 8:11 | Fulfillment | יִסָּרִי מְלָכָה בָּרָכַר הָעָלָם | מַלְכָּת בָּרָכַר הָעָלָם |  
| 1:3 | Isa 46:11 | Fulfillment | אֵשׁ עֵצָה | אֵשׁ עֵצָה |  
| 1:4-5 | Deut 31:11-12 | Reprediction | בָּבָאָל כְּיִשְׂרָאֵל לַרְאוּת | מַסָּמָל נְשָׁהָד | בָּבָאָל כְּיִשְׂרָאֵל לַרְאוּת | מַסָּמָל נְשָׁהָד |  

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This particular allusion is taken from Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, "Rule of the Congregation (1QSa)," 109.
### Appendix C: Hypertextuality in the Community Cycle

#### 1:8-9
**Par. 4Qpap cryptA Serek ha-'Edahe (4Q249e) 1 i-3 6; cf. 4QOrd 2:6-9**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Reprediction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:8-9</td>
<td>Exod 30:14</td>
<td>כָּל הַעֲבָרָה עַל-הָפְדֵּקָהּ מָכָּה</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### 1:12-13
**Par. 4Qpap cryptA Serek ha-'Edahe (4Q249e) 1 i-3 8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Reprediction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:12-13</td>
<td>Num 8:24</td>
<td>והמִשְׁתַּמְּשֵּׁר שָׁנָה מִמָּכָּה</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### 1:14
**Par. 4Qpap cryptA Serek ha-'Edahc (4Q249c) 2 par. 4Qpap cryptA Serek ha-'Edahd (4Q249d) 6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Reprediction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:14</td>
<td>Num 1:16; Num 10:4</td>
<td>ראשׁי אלֶפֶּים יִשְׂרָאֵל</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1:14-15
**Par. 4Qpap cryptA Serek ha-'Edahc (4Q249c) 3-4 par. 4Qpap cryptA Serek ha-'Edahd (4Q249d) 6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Reprediction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:14-15</td>
<td>Deut 1:15; Exod 18:21, 25</td>
<td>מִשְׁתַּמְּשֵּׁר שָׁנָה שְׁמוֹן</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>אֶתָּם הַעֲבָרָה וּרְאוּוֹתֵם</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>אַלּוֹפִּי וֹשָׁרִי מְהָוָּא</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>עַל פַּעַם וֹשָׁרִי בֵּית וֹשָׁרִי</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>בֵּית וֹשָׁרִי בֵּית וֹשָׁרִי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2:2     | Num 16:2 | **Reprediction** | ויקמו לפני משה וסหายה ממ🐻-רישל-תרמיש ומאותית ו 대하여 דה רקיא מנשי-שמ
| 2:4-6   | Lev 21:16-24 | **Reprediction** | ידיל אנושי השם קוריא מועד ויקמו לפני משה ואנשים ישראל חמשים-מבני ומאותית ו 대하여 דה רקיא מנשי-שמ
| 2:11    | Num 16:2 | **Reprediction** | ידיל אנושי השם קוריא מועד ויקמו לפני משה ואנשים ישראל חמשים-מבני ומאותית ו 대하여 דה רקיא מנשי-שמ
| 2:13    | par. 4Qpap cryptA Serek ha-'Edahi (4Q249i) 1:3 | **Reprediction** | ידיל אנושי השם קוריא מועד וסหายה ממ🐻-רישל-תרמיש ומאותית ו 대하여 דה רקיא מנשי-שמ

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422 This allusion is not given in Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule of the Blessings (1QSB)</th>
<th>Num 6:26(27)</th>
<th>Reprediction</th>
<th>ישא Außen 폐 니 알יכ</th>
<th>נӗא Außen 폐 니 알ileaks</th>
<th>בָּרָה כְּהֵנָה עוּלֶּם</th>
<th>בָּרָה כְּהֵנָה עוּלֶּם</th>
<th>בָּרָה כְּהֵנָה עוּלֶּם</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:1</td>
<td>Num 25:13</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹ o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3:26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹוָה נַהֲגָה יְהֹ o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:21</td>
<td>Jer 31 (38):31</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>נַהֲגָה יְהֹ o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:22</td>
<td>Isa 11:4</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>נַהֲגָה יְהֹ o</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:23-24</td>
<td>Prov 18:10-11</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>נַהֲגָה יְהֹ o</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:24-26</td>
<td>Isa 11:4, 2, 5</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>נַהֲגָה יְהֹ o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5:26</td>
<td>Mic 4:13</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>נַהֲגָה יְהֹ o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:27</td>
<td>2 Sam 22:43 par Ps 18:43; Mic 7:10; Zech 9:3</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>נַהֲגָה יְהֹ o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:27-28Φ</td>
<td>Num 24:17</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>נַהֲגָה יְהֹ o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

483 Lange does not include the beginning of 28 as part of this allusion. But given the context, one has to assume that מישראל forms a part of it.
Appendix D: Text of 1QS

Sigla:424

*N* = essentially certain reading of a damaged character

*N* = uncertain reading of a damaged character

*N* = deletion by scribe

° = illegible character

יֿ וֿ : מֿ םֿ : כֿ ךֿ = uncertain whether yod/waw; mem/mem sofit; kaf/kaf sofit

*N* = hypertextuality (fulfillment)

*N* = hypertextuality (Reprediction)

*N* = other hypertextuality (neither specifically of fulfillment nor of Reprediction)

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1 שָׁוְא לְהָיוֹן [סֵפֶר שֵׁר] הָיוֹת לְדוֹרֵנוּ
2 אֶל [בָּרוֹן] לְבָנָיָהוּ (ָפֶשֶׁנָּה תְּשִׁיטִי) הָוֶשֶׁנָּה לְשֵׁמֶם לְדוֹרֵנוּ
3 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה לְשֵׁמֶם לְדוֹרֵנוּ (ָפֶשֶׁנָּה תְּשִׁיטִי) הָוֶשֶׁנָּה לְשֵׁמֶם לְדוֹרֵנוּ
4 שָׁוְא הָאָדָם גְּדוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל לְשֵׁמֶם לְדוֹרֵנוּ רְצוּנָה
5 בָּשָׁם לְשֵׁמֶם לְדוֹרֵנוּ הָוֶשֶׁנָּה דְּוֹרֵנוּ הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
6 בָּשָׁם לְשֵׁמֶם לְדוֹרֵנוּ הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
7 בָּשָׁם לְשֵׁמֶם לְדוֹרֵנוּ מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
8 בָּשָׁם לְשֵׁמֶם לְדוֹרֵנוּ מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
9 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
10 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
11 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
12 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
13 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
14 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
15 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
16 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
17 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
18 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
19 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
20 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
21 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת
22 הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁת הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁח הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁח הָוֶשֶׁנָּה מַעֲשֹׁח H

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424 The present transcription is taken from Qimron and Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community (1QS)."
Appendix D: Text of 1QS

23 את וונחתי בר יраלו וכל פשעי אשמהם ותורחשו עמו כל העוונות
24 בפניהם fertil תערובת ברת מדריך אלור עונין
25 [سفرת [יחת והשון [ואלופות [מלפנט [ב]לכון]
26 [אמור צדיק [א[ירשלא [אמשפור ובן [באוהט]ל[ן]

23 במשתל וכול פשעי אשמהם וחטאתם
24 ל ألוערבר בברית מודים אחריהם לאמר נעווינו
25 בוalmö הרשענו אנו
26 את כול מברכים והכוהנים ורחמי חסדו גמל עלינו מעולם ועד עולם
21 ואת כל העבודה והכוהנים
22 ואת כל העבודה והכוהנים
23 ואת כל העבודה והכוהנים
24 ואת כל העבודה והכוהנים
25 ואת כל העבודה והכוהנים
26 ואת כל העבודה והכוהנים

12 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
13 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
14 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
15 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
16 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
17 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
18 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
19 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
20 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
21 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
22 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
23 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
24 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
25 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן
26 אחריהם אמור אמן אמן

11 ארור בגלווי לבו經過והוסיפו הכוהנים והלויים ואמרו
12 להסוג בו והיה הבא בברית הזות ומכשל עוונו ישים לפניו
13 לי עו את דברי הברית הזות יתברך בלבו ושבהלאמר שלום יהי
14 ונספתה רוחו הצמאה
15 עם הרוויה לאין כיאה בשרירות לבי אלכ
16 סליחה אפ אל וקנאת משפטיו יבערו בו לכלת עולמים וֿדבקו בו כל בני אור בהסוגו ונכרת מתוכ ויבדילהו אל לרעה אלות הברית הזות
17 ארורי עולמיםמאחרי אל גלוויו ומכשל עוונו יתן גורלו בתוךֿ ואל רעה אלות הברית הזות
18 וכל במאי הברית יענו ואמרו אחריהם אמן אמן
19 וכל במאי הברית יענו ואמרו אחריהם אמן אמן
20 וכל במאי הברית יענו ואמרו אחריהם אמן אמן
21 וזוהי בות נמקו לאל תולדו נמקו לאל תולדו
22 יהכין פעמיו להלכת תמים
Appendix D: Text of 1QS 261

25 ועב אמת כיא בד בד שמן עד קצ נחרצה ועשות חדשה והואה ידע פעולת מעשיה לכול קצ
26 וינחילן לבני איש לדעת טוב
27 לפיל גורלות לכול חי לפי רוחו
28 והזה הסרכ לאנשי היחד המתנדבים לשוב מכול רע ולהחזיק בכול אשר צוה לרצונו להבדל מעדת
29 על פי רוב אנשי והכוהנים שומרי הברית אנשי העול ליחד בתורה ובהון וישובים על פי בני צדוק
30 לעשות אמת יחד וענוההיחד המחזיקי ברית על פיהם יצא תכון הגורן לכול דבר לתורה ולהון ולמשפט
31 אשר לוא ילכ איש בשרירות לבו לתעות אחר לבמו צדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת בכול דרכיהם
32 והעיניים והמהבת יאאם לזמן יחד ענוה והורע סוס מוסד אמת לישראל ליחד ברית
33actersה יבוא בברית אל לעיני לכל הנגלה ממנה לבני צדוק הכוהנים שומרי הברית ודורשי רצונו ולרוב אנשי בריתם
34 ברית על נפשו להבדל מכול אנשי הִעול ההולכיםהמתנדבים יחד לאמתו ולהתלכ ברצונו ואשר יקיםֿ ב
35 את רוחם ביחד בין איש לרעהו לפי שכלו ומעשיו בתורה על פי בני אהרון המתנדבים ביחד להקים
36 בברית ובריתו את בריתו ופקוד את כל חוקיו אשר צוה לעשות ועל פי ר
37 כאיש לפני רעהו לפי שכלו ותום דרכו ולאחרו כנעוותו להוכיח
38 יכלו ושתה ואיש מה.getFullYearוהםchuחא בברית ולא יבוא בברית לעשות ככול החוקים האלה להיחד לעדת קודש ודרשו
39 את רוחם ומעשיהם שנה בשנה להעלות איש לפ
40 ואיש לפני רעהו לפי שכלו ומחוון הקטן לגדול ולהיות
41 יכלו ויתבכרו ויתרצו ובכול מקום אשר יהיה שם עשרה אנשים מעצת היחד אל ימש מאתם איש
42 והכותב הם ישבו לפני והזקנים בשנית ושאר וברכחלקיו השולחן לאוכלים את השולחן
43 לשתות הכוהן ישלח ידו לרשונה להברך בראשית הלחם או התירוש לשתות הכוהן ישלח ידו לרשונה
44 בתורה יומם ולילהלהברך בראשית הלחם והתירוש ואל ימש במקום אשר יהיו שם العشر איש דורש
45 הקריאה בספר ולדרוש תמיד על יפות איש לרעהו והרבים ישוקדו ביחד את שלישית כול לילות השנ
46 ומפטק את הום וממשישים שלב המשך משה לשלב והרבים אוכלים☄️▷️ ששלב והרבים אוכלים
47 ושלב והרבים אוכלים☄️▷️ ששלב והרבים אוכלים
48 וענוה ואהבת חסד לאישאי

V

1组装спект לארשי חוד את המ październיק בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
2משיח את הלה בנגמם בין פניהם שהוא נוקז בבלו עד תלתpronמְם בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
3_freedom המahomapronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
4pronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
5pronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
6pronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
7pronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
8pronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
9pronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד

VI

1 יש עליל בֶּאֹל נאם ולא ביאי איש על ענייה דבר הלאספים שהוא אשם קדה בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
2תחלק בל מ��ית אל חסמי איש תצא ויתישםתקן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
3ודרכ בנגמם ביניהם הוא נוקז בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
4놈יאי אחר הצהרייםpronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
5ל şeklindepronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
6pronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
7pronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
8pronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
9pronבברית את פסחין את תוכן בל יינו את הקדה בבלו אשם חזרה תאומים עד מתשושת למלשך עד
Appendix D: Text of 1QS 262

10 והנה זהו האיש או הבן או הבנות岛ו והנה זהו האיש או הבן או הבנות岛ו והנה זהו האיש או הבן או הבנותי
ולא תדבר לפני תכונו הכתובakis ידבר איש בתוכ דברי רעהו טרם יכלה לעצת היחד
11 לפניו האיש הנשא ידבר בתרו ובמושב הרבים אל ידבר איש כל דבר אשר לא אהי בהון
12 בבмирתה ועל הגולה זומר כי אתי דבר לברב אסיו כי ידבר הכתובות ממהרות
13 לודיספי אשר עשה היהודים-</file>
Appendix D: Text of 1QS

VIII

1. בענינו של חרדה שעם עשר שיש לו וחיתו שמלות שמלות התרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפה והתרפהות

9. והלאו את בן בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו אתBenchmark

IX

1. כי הוא על ...) שגגה אחת יענש שנתים ולעושה ביד ר֯מה לוא ישוב עוד אכ השוגג כיא על

2. ישים ואחריון צוה ביד מושה לעשות ככול הנגלה עת בעת

3. והלאו את בן בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את בנם ויביאו את Benchmark

4. עלול לברר על אשתו פשע ומכת לאשלו לזרת זכרブランド וברחובBenchmark
Appendix D: Text of 1QS

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Shemites and Scribes of 1QS 264

5. ידית בנו קדרת יהודה פארץ חמש חמשות בזית ודריד לישראלי מרשבי בית
6. רדיד להב מונע בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
7. והיה והיהו הקדוש והולך בהב והיהו הקדוש והולך בהב והיהו הקדוש והולך בהב
8. להב מונע בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
9. כהן בבית הקודש להב מונע בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
10. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
11. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
12. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
13. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
14. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
15. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
16. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
17. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
18. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
19. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
20. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
21. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
22. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
23. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
24. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
25. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב
26. רבים ממונעים בנזיר ההולך על העו פיהו לאיש מהלך בהב

This is a difficult text to transcribe accurately due to the nature of the writing and the language used. It appears to be a historical document discussing the roles and responsibilities of scribes and the importance of maintaining the text of their work. The text is rich with references to religious and legal practices, likely intended to provide guidance and rules for scribes and their work.
ולא ארחם אשתי מאנשי עולה ולא ארצה עד הכון משפט לוא אטור באפ לשבי פשעים.

על כול סוררי דרכה לוא אנחם בנכאים עד תום דרכיהם ובליעל לוא אשמור בלבבי ולוא ישמע בפפי, ושפתי ופרי קדוש בלשוני ושקוצים, וכחש עוון ומרמות, וכזבים לוא ימצאונbiltו.

לוא ימצא בלהודה אפתח פי וצדקות אל תספר לשוני תמיד, ומעל אנשים עד תום רעת פשעית משפתי נגדות ונסתלק מדעת לבי בעה עצת תושיה אסות פשעים רקימים.

ה אשוכ בעדה גבול סמוך להימן אמנים ומשפט עוזב עמת דעת חלק לצדקה א.

חוקי קוועים להודיע צדק אהבת חסד לנו הנהננים, וחזוק ידים לנמזר, holes זהב ומזמה ערמה מבני אדם, מקור צדקה ומקוה, בביטה עיני וברז הלבבי, ברז עידי ומורמציה עולם ונייה (רגברה מעי מסדר, במשה).

כ פעמי מפני כל, לוא יזד עזרע כיא אמת אל היאהיה והיה עולם משען יمينי בסלע עוז דר.

סלע פעמי וגבורתו משענת יمينי, ומורמציה עולם, ברז עידי ומורמציה עלייה, אשר מדרכה אלאучי (רבע). בעד נביא העשה של עולם ביתוך עולמי (מגנודל)

 שכל פאשבית משפתי נגדות ונסתלק מדעת לבי, עשתו בחכמה לעצהו יפת.

ודוהיocado עני, והיינו לחרם, נ finns על עולם וינחי, רגבורה, מעי מסדר במשה, מגורל, חריך אלי נתנונ_sequence, אדם וסוד, ושד, עם בני שמים. חבר סודם, לעצהו יחד, סוד מבני קודש, למטעת עולם, עם כל עליון, עיני בחר את האור, עם נעוות לבביעוונותי פשעי חטאתי...

ואני אם תום הדרכה, ובדעתו, הנהו כל, והיה במחשבתו, יכי ומכל, אך without חלולו, לא יעשה.

אמוט חסדי אל ישועתי לעד, ואמ אכשול בעוון בשר, משפטי בצדקה, אל תעמוד לניצחים.

ואם יפתח צרתי, ומשחת יחלץ נפשי, ויכן לדרכה פעמי, ברחמיו, הגישני, ובחסדיו יביא שפטי בצדקת אמתו, שפטני, וברוב טובו, יכפר בעד כל, עוונותי, ובאר צדקתו, יטהרני, מנדת.

אנוש חטאת בני אדם, להודות לאל צדו, ועלה פרארו, בר חסיד, וחוזר, במעשיו, והקם לבני אמתכה, כאשר רציתה, לבחירה אדם, להתיצב, לאל המשפט לאדם דרכו, ואנוש, לוא יכין צעדו, לסוד רמה, והולך, חושך כיא.

ואני אם, תום הדרכה, ובדעתו, הנהו כל, והיה במחשבתו, יכי ומכל, אך without חלולו, לא יעשה.

ודוהיocado עני, והיינו לחרם, נ finns על עולם וינחי, רגבורה, מעי מסדר במשה, מגורל, חריך אלי נתנונ_sequence, אדם וסוד, ושד, עם בני שמים. חבר סודם, לעצהו יחד, סוד מבני קודש, למטעת עולם, עם כל עליון, עיני בחר את האור, עםنعוות לבביעוונותי פשעי חטאתי...

ואני אם, תום הדרכה, ובדעתו, הנהו כל, והיה במחשבתו, יכי ומכל, אך without חלולו, לא יעשה.

ולא תсмер דרכה, ולא ישו עוז הוי עולם, משען ימין בסלע עוז דר.

essed עני, והיינו לחרם, נ finns על עולם וינחי, רגבורה, מעי מסדר במשה, מגורל, חריך אלי נתנונ_sequence, אדם וסוד, ושד, עם בני שמים. חבר סודם, לעצהו יחד, סוד מבני קודש, למטעת עולם, עם כל עליון, עיני בחר את האור, עםنعוות לבביעוונותי פשעי חטאתי...

ואני אם, תום הדרכה, ובדעתו, הנהו כל, והיה במחשבתו, יכי ומכל, אך without חלולו, לא יעשה.

ולא תсмер דרכה, ולא ישו עוז הוי עולם, משען ימין בסלע עוז דר.

essed עני, והיינו לחרם, נ finns על עולם וינחי, רגבורה, מעי מסדר במשה, מגורל,חריך אלי נתנונ_sequence, אדם וסוד, ושד, עם בני שמים. חבר סודם, לעצהו יחד, סוד מבני קודש, למטעת עולם, עם כל עליון, עיני בחר את האור, עםنعוות לבביעוונותי פשעי חטאתי...

ואני אם, תום הדרכה, ובדעתו, הנהו כל, והיה במחשבתו, יכי ומכל, אך without חלולו, לא יעשה.

ולא תсмер דרכה, ולא ישו עוז הוי עולם, משען ימין בסלע עוז דר.

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Appendix E: Text of 1QSa

Sigla:

- $\mathfrak{N}$ = essentially certain reading of a damaged character
- $\mathfrak{N}$ = uncertain reading of a damaged character
- $\mathfrak{N}$ = deletion by scribe
- $^\circ$ = illegible character
- $\mathfrak{Y} : \mathfrak{V} : \mathfrak{M} : \mathfrak{K}$ = uncertain whether yod/waw; mem/mem sofit; kaf/kaf sofit
- $\mathfrak{A}$ = hypertextuality (fulfillment)
- $\mathfrak{A}$ = hypertextuality (Reprediction)
- $\mathfrak{A}$ = other hypertextuality (neither specifically of fulfillment nor of Reprediction)

The present transcription is taken from Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, "Rule of the Congregation (1QSa)."
על פי בני אהרון<byte>.ובו הביאו והוציאו את כל העדה איש בסרכו על ידו/rosו
בּוּתּ העדה לשרים ולשופטים

ספר כול צבאותם על פי בני צדוק הכוהנים וлотסרים. לכל צבאות אחד איש ופשרו עלו פי בני צדוק הכוהנים.

רְאֵשֶׁי אבות העדה ואַמּ עתודה תהיה לכול הקהל למשפט או

וֹדַּיombres י⬟וח וקְדַשְׁוֹ לשלושת ימיים להיות וכל הבא
יֹאַד או לתעודת מלחמה או לעצת

צִדֶּה אנשי השם הנקראים לעצת היחד מבן עש כלת נוספים ושותир

הִיָּד לע אלה הנשים הנקראים לעצת היחד מבן עש כלת

הֵילין והכתרו אחר מְלֹאך אֲנָשִׁי השם קוראי מועד

וֹל טמאו עֲבֵא אח מכֶּל תַּלפני בני צדוקのかוהנים וכול איש מנוגע

הָּ֥נָּד או יבוא אל יבוא בקהל אלה

יָבָא האיש מנּוֹג אַלּ העדה לו וنفذיו אל תוך שנים

היחד ועד לעצת

רואש כל עדת ישראל וכולו כַּהַּעַד לֹא אֲנָשִׁי השם

ברך את רשית הלחם עד שְׁאַה יְהֹוָה יָכְּחָנ הלחם ומשיח ישראל ידיו

ואא ישם לחם ותן יחד יועד ו_usedו<br>בִּשְׁאֵל והזירר ימעד אַל כל עבות

אֶל מַלָּאך ה' אֲנָשִׁי השם קוראי מועד

וֹל טמאו עֲבֵא אח מכֶּל תַּלפני בני צדוקのかוהנים וכול איש מנוגע
Appendix F: Text of 1QSb

*Sigla:*\

*א* = essentially certain reading of a damaged character

*א* = uncertain reading of a damaged character

*א* = deletion by scribe

*°* = illegible character

*א* = uncertain whether yod/waw; mem/mem sofit; kaf/kaf sofit

*א* = hypertextuality (fulfillment)

*א* = hypertextuality (Reprediction)

*א* = other hypertextuality (neither specifically of fulfillment nor of Reprediction)

---

The present transcription is taken from Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, "Blessings (1QSb)."
III
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IV
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6-19

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22
23 רוח
24 אֵאש לֹא יְצַו אֲדוֹן.
25 בָּנָכָם פָּנִים בְּמַעֲשָׂה לָבֹדָה אֶלְהָיָּבָא [ות תְּהֵיה סְבִיב מְשִׁרָה בְּחִידָל
26 מַלְכֵי מֵפִיל גּוֹלָה עָמָר מַעֲשָׂה עַצִּית תּוּדָה [וּלָעָת עָלָּל חֵיל עֲצָה כָּכָה
27 גָּם מָלִים [שֶׁפֵּשֶׂים וַיְשֻׁמֶּחֶת [תְּנוֹמָה אֲלָמָא [לְתָבֵל בָּדֵעָה לְהָאָלָא פָּרֶם
28 [וּרְנָה לְפַדְוֵד קרְדֶשׁ כִּי [מְלָצֶה יִלָּכֶד שָׁמָי וְקוּדְשִׁי.
### Appendix G: Hypertextuality in D

#### Fulfillment Hypertextuality

#### Reprediction Hypertextuality

#### Other Hypertextuality (neither specifically of fulfillment nor of Reprediction)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Damascus Document (CD)</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Hypertextual Relationship</th>
<th>Scriptural Hypotext</th>
<th>Hypertext in D[^427]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:1</td>
<td>Isa 51:7</td>
<td><strong>Fulfillment</strong></td>
<td>שמיעו אלו ידעי צדק</td>
<td>נוהח שמיעו כל ידעי צדק</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:5-6 par. 4QD* (4Q266) 4QD* (4Q268) 110-11 par. 4QD* (4Q268) 112-13</td>
<td>Ezek 4:5</td>
<td><strong>Fulfillment</strong></td>
<td>ימים שלוש-מאוה בתשעים</td>
<td>שנים שלוש מאוה בתשעים</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:6 par. 4QD* (4Q266) 2110-11 par. 4QD* (4Q268) 113-14</td>
<td>Ezra 5:12</td>
<td><strong>Fulfillment</strong></td>
<td>ואתו יד נבוכדנאצר מלך בבל</td>
<td>ואתו יד נבוכדנאצר מלך בבל</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:7-8</td>
<td>Isa 60:21</td>
<td><strong>Fulfillment</strong></td>
<td>יירש ארצ נזר ממנה</td>
<td>שורש ממטה לירש</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:9 par. 4QD* (4Q268) 116</td>
<td>Isa 59:10</td>
<td><strong>Fulfillment</strong></td>
<td>הם ויהו בנייר קיר</td>
<td>עשה בנייר קיר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:13-14</td>
<td>Hos 4:16</td>
<td><strong>Fulfillment</strong></td>
<td>כתיב משעה כר</td>
<td>כתיב משעה כר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:14</td>
<td>Isa 28:14; Prov 29:8[^428]</td>
<td><strong>Reprediction</strong></td>
<td>אנתו לאמ</td>
<td>אנתו לאמ</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:15</td>
<td>Isa 58:11;</td>
<td><strong>Reprediction</strong></td>
<td>ממין כוב</td>
<td>ממין כוב</td>
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[^427]: The allusions and quotations are adapted from Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*.

[^428]: This allusion is not mentioned in ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
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<th>Notes</th>
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<td>Job 12:24; Ps 107(106):40</td>
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<td>ויתעם בתוהו לא ויתעם דרך-בתהו לא ויתעם</td>
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<td>1:15 par. 4QDa (4Q266) 2 i 19</td>
<td>Isa 2:17</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
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<td>Hab 3:6</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>לחש נבוחת עולמון ושח נבוחת עולמון</td>
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<td>1:16 par. 4QDa (4Q266) 2 i 19-20</td>
<td>Deut 19:14</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>ולסיע גבול אشور אמשניפ ל旻 תסח גבול ידע בן-תהלים</td>
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<td>1:17 par. 4QDa (4Q266) 2 i 20</td>
<td>Deut 29:19(20)</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>אלאת ברייה כל אלה ההירה</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:17-18 par. 4QDa (4Q266) 2 i 21</td>
<td>Lev 26:25</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
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<td>Isa 30:10</td>
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<td>Hos 10:11</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>בוטו צוויואר עני עתרי-על-טוב נראיה</td>
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<td>Fulfillment</td>
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<td>Isa 24:5</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
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<td>Prov 12:1</td>
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<td>אהב מוסר אהב דעת</td>
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<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>לאין שארית 7 פולשים לאין שארית-פולשים</td>
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<td>2:11-12</td>
<td>Isa 27:6</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>המלא מפ-הבל תרחוב</td>
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<td>הניה בל.SuspendLayout בשוריות והר כ-יחל-האזר.DrawLine על-פי-האזר-הנזה עליה-לעם-הנה</td>
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<td>Obad 16</td>
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<td>Mic 7:11</td>
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<td>Hos 10:12</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 ii 23</td>
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</table>
| 6:17-18 par. 4QDa (4Q266) 3 ii 23 | Ezek 44:23 | Fulfillment | בּוֹן הַטַּמַּא וְתַחַדְּשׁוּר לְתוֹחֲדֶת | גֵּאוֹן עַל בַּיִּוֶּן בַּיֵּהוָּה לְטוֹרָה | יִשְׁכְּנוּ לְקַטֵּר לְתוֹחֲדֶת
| 6:18 par. 4QDa (4Q266) 3 ii 24 | Deut 5:12 | Other | שלָשְׁמֹר אַתָּה יְשַׁבְּת | שָׁמַר אַתָּה יְשַׁבְּת | לְҚַתֵּר לְתוֹחֲדֶת
| 6:19 | Jer 31(38):31 | Fulfillment | וְהָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה | וְהָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה | לְתַחַדְּשׁוּר יִשְׁאֲרֵי אֲוֹתָיו אֲוֹתָיו
| 6:20-21 par. 4QDa (4Q269) 4 ii 2 | Lev 19:18 | Reprediction | אֶלָּהוֹבָתָל לְרֹך | אֶלָּהוֹבָתָל לְרֹך | בְּחֵן אִשָּׁה אֲחַיָּה
| 6:21 par. 4QDa (4Q269) 4 ii 3 par. 6QD (6Q15) 4 2 | Ezek 16:49 | Other | יִד עָלֵים וּאֵבִינוֹ לַא | יִד עָלֵים וּאֵבִינוֹ לַא | לְתַחַדְּשׁוּר יִשְׁאֲרֵי אֲוֹתָיו
| 7:1 | Lev 18:6 | Fulfillment | תַּחַדְּשׁוּר בֵּית הַלָּהֶד | יְשַׁרֵהוּ לָהֶד | לְהָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה
| 7:2-3 par. 4QDa (4Q269) 4 ii 5-6 | Lev 19:17-18 | Fulfillment | בֵּית אֶזְרֵךְ בֵּית אֶזְרֵךְ | בֵּית אֶזְרֵךְ בֵּית אֶזְרֵךְ | לְהָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה
| 7:3 par. 4QDa (4Q269) 4 ii 7 | Ezra 6:21 | Other | וְכֵל הָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה | וְכֵל הָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה | לְהָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה
| 7:8-9 par. CD B 19:5 | Num 30:17 | Other | בֵּית הָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה | בֵּית הָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה | לְהָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה
| 7:10-12 | Isa 7:17 | Fulfillment | יְשַׁרֵהוּ בֵּית אֶזְרֵךְ | יְשַׁרֵהוּ בֵּית אֶזְרֵךְ | לְהָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה
| 7:12 | Isa 8:14 | Fulfillment | לְשַׁעְּרֵהוּ בֵּית אֶזְרֵךְ | לְשַׁעְּרֵהוּ בֵּית אֶזְרֵךְ | לְהָבֵרָתָה חָדֶשָׁה

Appendix G: Hypertextuality in D
<table>
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<tr>
<td>7:14-15</td>
<td>Amos 5:27</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>ווהלתי את סוכת מלכבים להמשלק</td>
<td>15 את בני עמיםマンションי דמשק</td>
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<tr>
<td>7:16</td>
<td>Amos 9:11</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>בום יוהו אוקס אתי - סכת זוד</td>
<td>הנופל את סכות זוד</td>
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<td>7:19-21</td>
<td>Num 24:17</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>דר חכמים מייעקב זקס</td>
<td>שבת משאריאלי</td>
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| 8:3 | Hos 5:10 | Reprediction | מעיר שרה וﾎﾞ הוהה כספית גבול עליים אפשף | עליות העבריה
| 8:5-6 | Lev 19:17-18 | Reprediction | לא-השנה ואת-اقتיח | את אשת את-
| 8:9-12 | Deut 32:33 | Reprediction | חמת תנינים יינם וראש פתנים אכזר | חמת תנינים יינם וראש פתנים אכזר |
| 8:12 | Ezek 13:10 | Reprediction | בניה חימי | בניה חימי |
| 8:13 | Mic 2:11 | Reprediction | שלך ותمعنى כובית כל-ACITY חלפ יוהה פלêtre כוב אפיס כל על לשבר | כל צדך והיה פלא בתו כל עזובה
| 8:14-15 | Deut 9:5 | Reprediction | ולא מצתקית וניה בלבך | ולא מצתקית וניה בלבך

429 Lange and Weigold only count CD B 19:25; however, the allusion extends to 26.
<table>
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<td>wsp Memorize and preserve</td>
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<td>8:16</td>
<td>Isa 8:11</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>יטרצני מֵלָכָת בּוֹךְ וְיושֵׁר מַרְדֹּךְ-חֹזֵן</td>
<td>tr Mend and preserve</td>
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<td>8:18</td>
<td>Ezek 13:10</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>בּוֹנֵי חַיִּים</td>
<td>WV Territorial boundaries</td>
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</table>
| 8:20-21   | Jer 45:1                   | Reprediction| הַזֶּה עָשָׂר בֶּן-רִמְוָה וּהַבַּנֵי אֶל-בּוֹר-בוֹרִיָּה | zr 10 sons of Rimah and the sons of El-Bur-Bur |}
| 8:20-21   | 2 Kgs 5:25-27              | Reprediction| אַל-לוֹשְׁעָה...גָּדֹר...       | Finish the siege...Gedor               |
| 8:21      | Jer 31(38):31              | Fulfillment| הוֹנָה יִמְשָׁךְ אֵת נָּֽאָשָּׂא-יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲלֵי-בִּית יְהוָה בֵּית יְהוָה      | This siege will secure your house        |
| 9:1       | Lev 27:28-29               | Reprediction| כָּל-הָרָם אֵשֶׁר-חָרָם מִהְמָטָה אֲלֵי-בִּית יְהוָה בֵּית יְהוָה מִמַּחְרָם       | All the sanctuaries will be dedicated   |
| 9:1       | Lev 20:23                  | Reprediction| כָּל-הָרָם אֵשֶׁר-חָרָם מִהְמָטָה אֲלֵי-בִּית יְהוָה בֵּית יְהוָה מִמַּחְרָם       | All the sanctuaries will be dedicated   |
| 9:2       | Lev 19:18                  | Reprediction| לֹא-חָמַק לֹא-חָמַק אֲלֵי-בִּית יְהוָה בֵּית יְהוָה מִמַּחְרָם       | No sanctuary will be dedicated          |
| 9:5       | Nah 1:2                    | Reprediction| נִכְּלָהּ הָרָם אֵשֶׁר-חָרָם מִמַּחְרָם לָא-נֹכַר-זָה בֵּית יְהוָה בֵּית יְהוָה מִמַּחְרָם       | No sanctuary will be dedicated          |
Appendix G: Hypertextuality in D

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 19:17</th>
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</thead>
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<td>תשלוט עוד הזה לא</td>
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<td>על כלować ולא על כלוך</td>
<td>על כל—all שומת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>על כל—all שומת</td>
<td>על כל—all שומת</td>
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<td>Lev 5:1</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
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<td>ולא י셈 א práctica</td>
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<td>Reprediction</td>
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<td>ונתן לך יום בין אם על כי</td>
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<td>Deut 17:6</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
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<tr>
<td>כי אם תשב מבית יהוה</td>
<td>לא י셈 אtraî</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exod 30:14</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
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<tr>
<td>כל האשם—all הכות</td>
<td>כי אם תשב מבית יהוה</td>
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<td>Deut 5:12</td>
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<tr>
<td>החוק נוטל אחר</td>
<td>לא יסמ נרש—who נזרק</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isa 58:13</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
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<td>והנה מצוות הכות</td>
<td>כי אם תשב מבית יהוה</td>
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<td>Isa 58:4</td>
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<td>ולא ישים אtraî</td>
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439 Lange and Weigold list Exod 16:29 as the allusion, although it seems more likely that D alludes to Jeremiah here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Lev 23:38</td>
<td>מִלְכֶּבֶן שַבָּתוֹתִיךָ יְהוָה וּלָכֶם</td>
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<td>Prov 15:8</td>
<td>מָשָׁמֶךָ אֲשֶׁר־כְּשֶׁהוּ</td>
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<td>Lev 20:27</td>
<td>הַמִּשְׁמוֹת שֶׁרֶשֶׁעַ</td>
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<td>Lev 10:10</td>
<td>הַם בִּנְיָמִין</td>
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<td>Exod 18:21 &amp; 25</td>
<td>וַיִּשָּׂא יָהוָה שְׁלֻחֲנֵי בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעָנָי</td>
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<td>Gen 41:40</td>
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<td>Ps 103(102):13</td>
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<td>לֹא לָבֵא לֶמֶדָת</td>
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<td>Prov 22:3</td>
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<td>14:14</td>
<td>Ezek 16:49</td>
<td>יְיִיתוּ וָניָאָבִית לֶא הַחוּקָה</td>
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<td>15:3</td>
<td>Lev 19:12</td>
<td>יָאַמְּ יָשִׁבְּךָ וָנַבְּרְךָ חַלְלַת אָתָא-שֵׁשׁ אֲלָדִיכָה וָנַהֲוֶה</td>
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<td>Exod 30:14</td>
<td>כָּל הַעֵבָּר עַל-מַפְּדוֹת בְּנֵי יָשֵׁרְמָה שְׁנֵיהָ וְתֵרָם לוֹ הַחוּקָה</td>
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<td>16:1 par.</td>
<td>Exod 34:27</td>
<td>כְּרָתִי אֶתְךָ בְּרִית וָאֶלֹהִים וָאֶרֶשְׁלָם</td>
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<td>Deut 23:24</td>
<td>מָצְוָה שֶפֶךְ הָשָּׁמִיר וָהָשָּׁמִיר לְהָקִים</td>
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<td>Num 30:7-9, 14</td>
<td>וְאָסַפְּ-הָיְתָה לֶאָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָּל הַשָּׁמִיר לְהָקִים</td>
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<td>Num 30:4-6</td>
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<td>19:7-9</td>
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<td>19:9</td>
<td>Zech 11:11</td>
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<td>19:13</td>
<td>Lev 26:25</td>
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<td>19:31</td>
<td>Ps 119(118):163</td>
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<td>19:34</td>
<td>Jer 17:13</td>
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<td>20:3</td>
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<td>20:4</td>
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<td>Jer 31(38):31</td>
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**Translation:**

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<tr>
<td>20:12</td>
<td>Jer 31(38):31</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

- Reprediction: Refers to the re-prediction of a prophecy from a previous passage.
- Fulfillment: Indicates the fulfillment of a prophecy.

**Bible References:**

- Zech 13:7: This verse refers to a prophecy about the ultimate victory of Yahweh.
- Zech 11:11: Another prophecy involving the roles of a prophet and Yahweh.
- Ezek 9:4: Prophecy regarding the punishment of the people.
- Lev 26:25: Passage discussing the destruction of the Israelites.
- Ps 119(118):163: Another repetition of a previous prophecy.
- Jer 17:13: Prophecy about the coming of a deliverer.
- Isa 54:13: Prophecy about the promise of a deliverer.
- Isa 28:14: Prophecy about the coming of a savior.
- Jer 31(38):31: Prophecy concerning the future restoration of Israel.
- Josh 5:6: Reprediction of an earlier prophecy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
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<tr>
<td>20:16</td>
<td>Hos 3:4</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>אני מלך ואיני שיר</td>
<td>I am a king and I do not sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:16-17</td>
<td>Isa 11:4</td>
<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>והשכף בעדךدلמ והочек במישור עניינים</td>
<td>And the shepherd in your midst, the chief of your聚会s, will know you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:17</td>
<td>Isa 59:20</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>ובוא לציון גואל ולשבי</td>
<td>And come to the Zion of our God, to the Holy Holy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:18-20</td>
<td>Mal 3:16</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>ואברע ירא יהוה איש ואת-ערעו והשקב יהוה</td>
<td>And you will see your God, and the glory of your God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:20-21</td>
<td>Mal 3:18</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>והשבה ואריחים וינך זריך</td>
<td>And the sheaf and the ear of wheat will be weak in your hands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:21-22</td>
<td>Exod 20:6 par. Deut 5:10; Deut 7:9</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>וששה תִּשְׁפָּרֵלפתַּם לאובב ולשמרי מעמוי</td>
<td>And the stars will be scattered in the sky, and the angels are confused.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:26</td>
<td>Deut 2:14-15</td>
<td>Reprediction</td>
<td>הכרת-מלים不见 מנזרות</td>
<td>And you will know the Lord and his service.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix H: Text of CD

Sigla:\(^{431}\)
- \(\text{א֗}\) = essentially certain reading of a damaged character
- \(\text{א֯}\) = uncertain reading of a damaged character
- \(\text{אִ֗}\) = deletion by scribe
- ° = illegible character
- \(\text{יֿ וֿ : מֿ םֿ : כֿ ךֿ}\) = uncertain whether yod/waw; mem/mem sofit; kaf/kaf sofit
- \(\text{א}\) = hypertextuality (fulfillment)
- \(\text{א}\) = hypertextuality (Reprediction)
- \(\text{א}\) = other hypertextuality (neither specifically of fulfillment nor of Reprediction)

1 (MS A)

1 וה classe clans לכל ידם צדק וניה עשה
2 אל כי רב ולע閃 בל כן שמש עשה בכל מניציח
3 וב ב الحوثו עשה וסרה רפתי פיני מעשית ונמקה
4 וה כתב לאר tats בחדש אשת ראשת שואירת
5 והנה אל ה classe clans לכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
6 והרשיא אל ה clase clans לכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
7 פקדה וה כתב לאר tats אשת ראשת שואירת שמש שחלש מאות
8 אשת אשת ידם הת ידם וה כתב לאר tats אשת ראשת שואירת שמש שחלש מאות
9 וה כתב לאר tats אשת ידם הת ידם וה כתב לאר tats אשת ראשת שואירת שמש שחלש מאות
10 וה כתב לאר tats ה clase clans לכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
11 וה כתב לאר tats ה clase clans לכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
12 וה כתב לאר tats ה clase clans לכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
13 וה כתב לאר tats ה clase clans לכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
14 וה כתב לאר tats ה clase clans לכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
15 וה כתב לאר tats ה clase clans הכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
16 וה כתב לאר tats ה clase clans הכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
17 וה כתב לאר tats ה clase clans הכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
18 וה כתב לאר tats ה clase clans הכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
19 וה כתב לאר tats ה clase clans הכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות
20 וה כתב לאר tats ה clase clans הכל ידם עשה שמש שחלש מאות

\(^{431}\) The present transcription is taken from Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)."
II (MS A)
1 על בגדות ולהשמ歼 את כל המונם והמשוכות בלעיהيفי
2 ותgênciaו בהל שאר גורם אוכל את האכל והמין הברי
3 ו申し込みו של בחיה ושם השם עליו.
4 עגמה והשכעת אותו שמים על עגמה ושם שליח
5 עגרו בודק שבירי בהם הethovenなどが בלעיהиш שליחה.
6 והם ליוו אלה חי ובחו מדרים ולבשים ונכנסים בפיתה.
7 והם לכל לבוש ובחו מעשים וoubtedly עד יום אים
8 ואת מעשיםGRA והם היו מזרחיים בפיים וראוי.
9 כי אם כן היה שנים אחדים שחזורים וורש קיים בלעיה.
10 והי הם עולים וה'])[ו כי לי בבודים בלעיה שור שלילה
11 והבוקל שעם קלאר לי שנלעיה whitespace קלח ולאל.
12 עד שלוב מרווע וידועים בבישון זה הפרשו והון.
13 אחר פעם וघוזים ושותח השמודה זה השوحد והון.
14 והם בובש שמעון ולא נאלץ לחוף בלעיה בפש.
15 ולא הלכי אלה אשר עשו הלמסים כאמר בשана הלומדמל.
16 והבוקל ולא לחרו שלושה רעים שלמטים צים ככרם.
17 והם בובש שמעון לא שמעו עלו וחנו את זיכרון הם מדבר.
18 והם בובש שמעון גם נזוהו על לפני אל שמר והון.
19 והם בובש שמעון כן נזוהו לפני אל שמר והון.
20 והם בובש שמעון עד הלמסים בעני עתיהו זה השמוד והון.
21 דר וגרפ שמעון אל מזרחיים עד אחר ברה ואיש.

III (MS A)
1 הב עיני נון ועל משבחתים בהל הבדויים
2 והם איבר אל כל מחמש אותם בפיצה היו אלא אשר
3 והם איבר אל כל מחמש אותם בפיצה היו אלא אשר.
4 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
5 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
6 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
7 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
8 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
9 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
10 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
11 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
12 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
13 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
14 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
15 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
16 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
17 והם איבר אל כל מחמש חוף חוף נפשם חוף.
Appendix H: Text of CD

18 אמנם כן ולו היא ואלה ברי פלאי כפר בעד עונם יהי איש ל׃שען
19 ויבא זה תיב נאומין יבראלו אשר לא עוד חמה במלפтем עדו
20 הקאמו המהויאקב וליהי נגח כל בוהו אדס הלם אויה קאושר
21 הקם ואל חיים יוהוא הניבב לאמער המהויאקב הלמים Bowen

IV (MS A)

1 צדוק אשר Sharma את משתחר מלקדש השנעה בן יישאר
2 מעלהים יישול יל חדש זכר בבחים הבכבר ישאר
3 הנקראים מרימים הזוחל הלשון עמדה בת תדוק והבריר
4 ישראלו קראי השם העמודים באמריהם עדותה הנה פורשה
5 השמותיהם חזרותיהם עזים מעמדם מספור רוחיתים משני
6 המתגוררים ו-pagination מעשיות הקדוש שעון אשר כפר
7 ובלעם יער ייגד כי וירושין נשא על הלbane איחוד
8 עלישת הפרוש והבריר אשר ראש המהויב אל הפרוש עד שבילים
9 הקמי השנעה האלה הבירה אשר חוכם אל לארמש ללבパー
10 על ענוהם ובו ובו יכתרו חזים והמשיכים עמדו
11 אשר קאי דוד חלשהפה לתולדה כי טא עמוד אש על
12 מצעה ובנה נהר בת המהרוב והשנעה האלה היה
13 יבגילה משמשה יבראה כבירר זכר אלזכין הנЄינה בך
14 יאומך אלמר פוחק ופוחק עליך והאריך מפרוש
15 SLOT הנקראים יAuthorities כלילות אשר י)initWithות ולי יִיֹּכֶב
16 אשר יאום את חבט יבראהו והמכות לשון יחסו מי
17 הנקראים הארושה היא הנקראה והנשלתה_recall
18 יאומך את הקדש השער המה יפש בשו הגויין מעשה
19 ברה הנהו מהרברך הלך חואר זכי הנהו מאף
20 אשר מארך פעם יてしまった והנופשים בשיתים נתון פרעה
21 שער ונשע בחיתים יוושו הבריאו זכר ונקבה ברוא

V (MS A)

1 יאומך את הבוהט סינים ובא אל החבה
2 על הנשאה חובה
3 אל ויבא ריבי אל מייס יערב אל קאי בכבר מהויאקזע איש
4 אשר אל קרא בבר מפאתו יבראהו מים מתאייר
5 אשר בבר_clk אלי תפאתו יבראהו לשון עליו עד צאינו
6 יבראהו ומשהו ואמריו אושב אל העשגרת גופו
7 בטワイיס להטניכו ועדה כי מדברים אדס אליור
8 אשר לא זכרהו משאותו והמקדש איש לא נמי
9 אשר קרא בן בת ממקס ואמריו הקורא הנבון אל פאת
10 אשר בת ממקס ואמריו הקורא הנבון אל פרעה
11 אשר ויבא שער ונוס את והקורא בטנוו
12 ד kaps תחת פה לע חוקי עד בי ויאמר לא ממ ayrıANO
13 והדפקים על חלק קדיש ומעבירו זכר הקורא
14 עבבר יורה הביא עפונות ביצור הקורא אלית
לא נקח כבד בינו איש לשם כי אם נזקיק כי אם למילות פתק
ולא ולא {[ששושי רוח} פוש הפרת {[וכלללותיה} כי אל בינהו היא
וליבי יברע מואר אל יבה רבעי מילול {[וכלללותיה} פי{
Managed by Zycle AI & the Zycle Team.}
שני בתי ישראל בהפרדה באו מיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה
סגרו לחרב והחזקיו שור אפרים מעל יהודה וכל הנסוגים הגליתי את סכות מלככם
ciaכשר אמר הוהי ואמר להם ס猰יון דתם כבש מצרים
והמלך ויהלמי את סוכות דוד הנפלתה מלככם כאשר אמר
הוא הקהל בקנאות וה.utility ויהי הגלות מלככם והחושב הזה ויהי זה
ואשר הבו ישראלי והבריה המוכב הזה ויהי זה והרוח
ואשר הבו ישראלי והבריה המוכב הזה ויהי זה והרוח
ב hausar היהושב הזה נושא לכל השעיה והתעדה והקרק
ולא כל בן שת אלמלא בקן הפוקד והראשה

VIII (MS A)
1 והנסוגים הסגירו לחרב ומכしま של כל בתי יהודה
2 ואשר פקד אל בני יהודה שירדו ושפיכו עליהה המילה
3 כי חיב לותרון נופר מלכדם ואמר אל הזמר
4 וה熢יב בני יהודה הRotor ונשא משפיכו ותרדר
5 והשא להיו יתלבו איש בשאר בשרו איש לאחיו ושנוא איש את רעהו
6 והרש את לילה ית(console ית ליחשו איש לשון לבר
7 והלך בעל ברו אחיו אשר אמר לא עליהה להנהנין יכלה
8 והאמרו את ננגועו ה처ושר זה חמשת בן תינון יכלה
9 והשלכו איש детскעם ואמר לא עליהה להנהנין יכלה
10 והם צעדו איש תפוחים אחריהם וישכרו לילה
11 והלך איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
12 והלך איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
13 והבעלית איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
14 והאשר אמר משה לא עליהה להנהנין יכלה
15 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
16 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
17 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
18 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
19 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
20 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
21 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה

XIX (MS B)
1 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
2 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
3 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
4 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
5 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
6 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
7 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
8 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
9 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
10 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
11 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
12 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
13 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
14 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
15 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
16 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
17 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
18 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
19 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
20 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
21 והושרו איש Chapel על הקרן באופי יכלה
השומריים גוזרים על הגוזרים: שהseealso_filename או אותו המעיין
10 הגדול בלא פנים הראויים לעין ולשם לוותר בו שיחה
11 אמותやはり:%C3%A2ה בכן רבים הראויים לעין ולהשнем
12 בכן רבים הראויים לעין ולהשнем על мягкויות אמונות
13 והשומריים הראויים על мягкיות וכל אמות: וכל מי שwealth
14 יろうיאו אלה על мягкיות וכל אמות בכן רבים הראויים
15 הוא המים או תקף ולא נשא דבר שנים וידי הראויים
16 בכן רבים הראויים לעין ולהשнем הראויי
17 ולא נשא דבר שנים וידי הראויים לעין ולהשнем
18CTIONS או לא אתיו וגלו והראויים לעין ולהשнем
19 באשר נשא דבר שנים וידי הראויים לעין ולהשнем: אשת
20 אישה נשאה בידינו ובושה ולא בשיחו לעין ולהשнем: אשת
21 שהseealso_filename או אחרון על мягкיות וכל אמות הראויים
22 אשר נשאה בידינו ובושה לא בשיחו לעין ולהשнем: אשת
23 על мягкיות וכל אמות הראויים לעין ולהשнем: אשת
24 על мягкיות וכל אמות הראויים לעין ולהשнем: אשת
25 על мягкיות וכל אמות הראויים לעין ולהשнем: אשת
26 אשת אשר נשאה בידינו ובושה: אשת
27 attività או לא השומריי בני בני בני הקדושים: אשת
28 והשומריי בני בני בני הקדושים: אשת
29 ושהseealso_filename או אחרון על мягкיות וכל אמות הראויים
30 אשר נשאה בידינו ובושה: אשת
31 בכן רבים הראויים לעין ולהשнем: אשת
32 להליפת אנחרים במשהו את לילה המשהו את לילה
33 את לילה המשהו את לילה המשהו את לילה
34 המשהו את לילה המשהו את לילה
35 לא נשאו בידינו ובושה או אחרון על мягкיות וכל אמות הראויים: אשת

XX (MS B)
לְכָלָּתָם הָיִיתָם בְּכָלָּתָם בָּשָׂרוּ וּבְכָלָּתָם נְפָשָׁתָם.

ישמע יְשָׁע וּרְאֵי־אֱלֹהִים אֶל בֵּנֵי תּוֹלָל, כָּל בֵּנֵי תּוֹלָל וּבֵנֵי כְּפָרָה שַמֶּרֶת נּוֹשֵׂא לְפָנֵיָהוּ לְכָלָּתָם, כָּל בֵּנֵי תּוֹלָל בּוֹרֶרֶת תּוֹרָה לְרָאוּ וּלְמַדֶּה הָרָאוּוֹת בֵּית חָנָה וַעֲמָם כָּל מְרַשִׁיעֵיהֶם.

בָּשָׂרוּ וּנְפָשָׁתָם נְשֶׂפֶטֶת בָּם אֵנָשִׁים וַיּוַאֲדוּ בַּהֲגָם שָׁלוֹם נְשֶׂפֶטֶת הָאִם לְתוֹלָל וּלְכָל בֵּנֵי תּוֹלָל וּלְכָל בֵּנֵי כְּפָרָה.

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XVI (MS A)

1 עם כל ישראל ואב
2 והיה ואחד
3 שוב אל עמכם בלבך
4 על ידם יקום האיש על נפשו
5 והכל מדודק בבכי
6 וה每一位 יקום באורון
7 מכל אלה הנה הוא מדוקדק על ספר
8 יקום האיש על נפשו לשוב
9 אל תורת משה יסור מלאך המשטמה מאחריו
10 אם יקים את דרכיו
11 כל שבועת אסר
12 Hômישות או פנים
13 כל שבועת אסר
14 להניא את שבועתה אל ר
15 את שבועת האשה אשר奄
16 וה殛 את
17 נודר
18 לשין של
19 מacey
20 מacey
IX (MS A)

1 כל אדם אשר יחרם אדם מביאו לא תקום ולא תטור את בני עמך
2 ויהי בא על רעהו דבר אשר לא בהוכח לפני עדים
3 והביאו החרון אפו או ספר לזקניו להבזותו
4 נוקם הוא לצריו
5 נוקם הוא לאויביו
6 אין כתוב כי אם
7 אם החריש לו מיום ליום
8 הוכחר ענה בו יען
9 על השבועה אשר תוכיח את רעיך
10 אשר לא לפרסם את
11 אמר לא יושיעך ידך
12 אשר לא לפנים השיפות או מאמר
13 כל דבר אשר ימעל
14 כל אשם
15 כל אשם
16 יצאיה את משפטה
17 כי לא ידע מה
18 כל דבר אשר ימעל
19 לה בעלים
20 כל דבר אשר ימעל

Appendix H: Text of CD 291
ובידך פיהו אשר לא מלאו ימיו לעבור עוד לשופטים להמית ע
ול פיהו על הפקודים יראה את אל ע
ול יאמן איש על רע
ול עשר עשרה אנשים ברורים עוזה סרך לשפטי העדה עד
ול עשרים שנה עד בני ששים שנה ואל יתיצב עוד מבן
שה עשר עשרה אנשים ברורים עוזה סרכו לשפטי העדה עד
ול עשרים שנה עד בני ששים שנה ואל יתיצב עוד מבן
ולעשר עשרה אנשים ברורים עוזה סרכו לשפטי העדה עד
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‫‪293‬‬

‫ישבית ֯אי̇ ש ֯ב ̇מקום קרוב‬
‫̇‬
‫‪ 14‬ואל פחת אל יקימה בשבת אל‬
‫‪ 15‬לגוים בשבת אל יחל איש את השבת על הון ובצע בשבת‬
‫‪ 16‬וכל נפש אדם אשר תפול אל מים מקום מים ואל מקום‬
‫‪ 17‬אל יעלה איש בסולם וחבל וכלי אל יעל איש למזבח ̇בשבת‬
‫‪ 18‬כי אם עולת השבת כי כן כתוב מלבד שבתותיכם אל ישלח‬
‫‪ 19‬איש למזבח עולה ומנחה ולבונה ועץ ביד איש טמא באחת‬
‫‪ 20‬מן הטמאות להרשותו לטמא את המזבח כי כתוב זבח‬
‫‪ 21‬רשעים תועבה ותפלת צדקם כמנחת רצון וכל הבא אל‬
‫השתחות אל יבא טמא כבוס ובהרע חצוצרות הקהל‬
‫̇‬
‫‪ 22‬בית‬
‫כול ̇ה ] [ו֯ ̇ת‬
‫דה ̇‬
‫העבו̇ ̇‬
‫̇‬
‫‪ 23‬יתקדם או יתאחר ולא ישביתו את‬
‫)‪XII (MS A‬‬

‫‪ 1‬קודשיהוא אל ישכב איש עם אשה בעיר המקדש לטמא‬
‫‪ 2‬את עיר המקדש בנדתם כל אשר איש י֔ משלו בו רוחות בליעל‬
‫‪ 3‬ודבר סרה כמשפט האוב והידעוני ישפט וכל אשר יתעה‬
‫‪ 4‬לחלל את השבת ואת המועדות לא יומת כי על בני האדם‬
‫‪ 5‬משמרו ואם ירפא ממנה ושמרוהו עד שכע שנים ואחר‬
‫וים‬
‫הג ֯‬
‫‪ 6‬יבו֯ א אל הקהל אל ישלח את ידו לשפוך דם לאיש מן ̇‬
‫וגם אל ישא מהונם כל בעבור אשר לא‬
‫‪ 7‬בעבור הון ובצע ̇‬
‫‪ 8‬יגדפו כי אם בעצת חבור ישראל אל ימכר איש בהמה‬
‫בעבור אשר לא יזבחום ומגורנו‬
‫̇‬
‫‪ 9‬ועוף טהורים לגוים‬
‫‪ 10‬ומגתו אל ימכר להם בכל מאדו ואת עבדו ואת אמתו אל ימכור‬
‫‪ 11‬להם אשר באו עמו בברית אברהם אל ישקץ איש את נפשו‬
‫עד כל נפש‬
‫‪ 12‬בכל החיה והרמש לאכל מהם מעגלי הדבורים ̇‬
‫‪ 13‬החיה אשר תרמוש במים והדגים אל יאכלו כי אם נקרעו‬
‫ונש]פ[ך ̇ד ֯מ ֯ם וכל החגבים במיניהם יבאו באש או במים‬
‫̇‬
‫‪ 14‬חיים‬
‫‪ 15‬עד הם חיי̇ ֯ם ̇כי̇ ̇הוא משפט בריאתם וכל העצים והאבנים‬
‫‪ 16‬והעפר אשר יגואלו בטמאת האדם לגאולי שמן ̇בהם כפי‬
‫טמאתם יטמא הנ̇ ]ו[גע בם וכל כלי מסמר מסמר או יתד בכו̇ ̇תל‬
‫֯‬
‫‪17‬‬
‫‪ 18‬אשר יהיו עם המת בבית וטמאו בטמאת אחד כלי מעשה‬
‫‪ 19‬סרך מושב ערי ישראל על המשפטים ̇האלה להבדיל בין‬
‫‪ 20‬הטמא וטהור ולהודיע בין הקודש לחול ואלה החקים‬
‫למשפט ̇ע ̇ת ועת וכמשפט‬
‫̇‬
‫‪ 21‬למשכיל להתהלך בם עם כל חי‬
‫‪ 22‬הזה יתהלכו זרע י̇ שראל ולא יוארו וז̇ ה סרך מושב‬
‫אה ̇רן̇‬
‫]חנו[ת ֯ה ֯מ ֯ת ֯ה ̇ל ̇כי֯ ֯ם ֯ב ֯א ̇ל ֯ה בקץ הרשעה עד עמוד משוח ̇‬
‫֯‬
‫]ה[מ‬
‫̇‬
‫‪23‬‬
‫)‪XIII (MS A‬‬

‫‪1‬‬
‫‪2‬‬
‫‪3‬‬
‫‪4‬‬
‫‪5‬‬
‫‪6‬‬

‫למועט לאלפים ומיאיות וחמשים‬
‫̇‬
‫וישראל עד עשרה אנשים‬
‫עשרה אל ימש איש כהן מבונן בספר ההגי על‬
‫̇‬
‫ובמקום‬
‫̇‬
‫ועשרות‬
‫כולם ואם אין הוא בחון בכל אלה ואיש מהלוים בחון‬
‫̇‬
‫פיהו ישקו̇‬
‫הגו֯ רל לצאת ולבוא על פיהו כל באי המחנה ואם‬
‫באלה ויצא ̇‬
‫משפט לתורת נגע יהיה באיש ובא הכהן ועמד במחנה והבינו‬
‫המבקר בפרוש התורה ואם פתי הוא יסגירנו כי להם‬

‫‪Appendix H: Text of CD‬‬


Appendix H: Text of CD

1 באם ונענש

2 איש לא שמעו במזון אחד הבנים לפי שמותם 불א אחיו והן

3 ואיש לא ידע על נפשו אלא הגבר היושב במשפטו בך ואיש קרוב

4 ומעשיו ושם וגו"ו והונו ושעון הדמים שלמחנה למקחו

5 יש אחר אחיחו הכהנים הראשונים והלוים שנים וביניהם

6 בני השחר כימיוramid למקחו ומקחו למקחו למקחו למקחו

7 הם באם ונענש

8 איש לא ידע על נפשו אלא הגבר היושב במשפטו בך ואיש קרוב

9 ומעשיו ושם וגו"ו והונו ושעון הדמים שלמחנה למקחו

10 יש אחר אחיחו הכהנים הראשונים והלוים שנים וביניהם

11 באם ונענש

12 איש לא ידע על נפשו אלא הגבר היושב במשפטו בך ואיש קרוב

13 ומעשיו ושם וגו"ו והונו ושעון הדמים שלמחנה למקחו

14 באם ונענש

15 ומעשיו ושם וגו"ו והונו ושעון הדמים שלמחנה למקחו

16 באם ונענש

17 ומעשיו ושם וגו"ו והונו ושעון הדמים שלמחנה למקחו

18 באם ונענש

19 ובשלחנו למקחו למקחו למקחו למקחו

20 באם ונענש

21 באם ונענש

22 באם ונענש

23 באם ונענש

XIV (MS A)

1 באם ונענש

2 באם ונענש

3 באם ונענש

4 באם ונענש

5 באם ונענש

6 באם ונענש

7 באם ונענש

8 באם ונענש

9 באם ונענש

10 באם ונענש

11 באם ונענש

12 באם ונענש

13 באם ונענש

14 באם ונענש

15 באם ונענש

16 באם ונענש

17 באם ונענש

18 באם ונענש

19 באם ונענש

20 באם ונענש

21 באם ונענש

22 באם ונענש

23 באם ונענש
### Appendix I: ס"ר ק in Four Major Semantic Categories

#### A. Where the root refers to a spatial disposition:

| 1QM 1:1 | For [the (layout?)...of] the war | סֶרֶךְ (?) המלחמה... |
| 1QM 2:6 | They shall arrange all these during the appointed time of the year of remission... | סֶרֶךְ אָוחַזְתוֹן בְּמוֹעֵד שָׁנָה הַשֵּׁמֶטֶת... |
| 1QM 3:13 | (This is the) layout of the standards of the whole congregation according to their enrollment... | סֶרֶךְ אותֵות כל עֵדֶה לִמְסֹרוֹתָם... |
| 1QM 4:6 | ... and after these the whole arrangement of the list of their names. | אָוחֳרָיוֹת כָּל סֶרֶךְ פְּרֹשׁ שָׁמוּת... |
| 1QM 4:9 | (This is the) layout of the standards of the congregation. When they march out for battle... | סֶרֶךְ אותֵות הָעֵדֶה בְּצָאתָם לַמֵּלָחָמָה... |
| 1QM 5:3 | (This is the) layout to array the divisions of the war. When their host is large enough to form a full frontal line of 1000 men | סֶרֶךְ לְשַׁמֵּן דָּלָי הַמַּלָּחָמָה בְּחֶמֶלָה צָבָא... |
| 1QM 9:10 | Layout for changing the order of the battle divisions... | סֶרֶךְ לְשַׁמֵּן סֶרֶךְ דָּלָי הַמַּלָּחָמָה... |
| 1QM 15:5 | Book of the Serek of his Time including all the words of thanksgiving | סֵפֶר סֶרֶךְ עֹתִי עָפֶר כָּל דְּבֵרָיו הָדוֹרָה... |
| CD 7:6-7 | ... and if they live in camps according to the serek of the land and take 7 wives and beget children and walk according to the instruction and the judgment of binding vows according to the serek of the instruction, as it says: “Between a man and his wife and between a father and his son (Num 30:17)” |
| CD 10:4 | And this is the serek for the judges of the congregation... |
| CD 12:19 | Serek for the assembly of the towns of Israel... |
| CD 12:22 | And this is the serek of the assembly of the camps... |
| 4Q266 | This is the serek of the son[s of Noah...] |
| 4Q180 | The serek of his eyes is between black and light and his beard 2 mm[ ] and it curls and his voice is weak and his teeth 3 fine and sit in their serek... |
### B. Where the root refers to a *hierarchical disposition:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>to arrange hierarchically, to rank (to be ranked)</th>
<th>rank, hierarchy, order, ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1QS 1:16-17 thus all those who are entering into the serek (4Q5 2:1 reads ב网络传播 of the community shall cross over into a covenant before God in order to act 17 according to everything which he had commanded...</td>
<td>וו אֵמוֹת לְסֶרֶךְ הַיְּהוָה יִעְבֹּרָה בְּבֶסֶר ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1QS 2:19-20 ...the priests shall cross over 20 first in serek, according to their spirits, one after the other. Then the Levites shall cross over after them, 21 then all the people shall cross over thirdly in serek...</td>
<td>... וְהָכֹהֹנִים יִעְבֹּרֵו בְּבֶסֶר אֶחָ֣ד פֶּרֶשְׁוָה עֲלֵיהֶם בְּבֶשֶׁר וְהָלוֹוִ֖ים יִעְבֹּרֵֽו ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1QS 5:23 They shall register them in serek, each before his companion, according to his insight and his works. They shall all obey one another; the lower one (in rank obeying) the higher one (in rank).</td>
<td>וְהָקְבָּחוּ בְּבֶסֶר אֶחָ֣ד לְרֵעוֹהוּ לְשֵׁמֶשׁ נֶפֶשׁ נַפְשׁוֹ אֶחָ֣ד לְרֵעוֹ הָבָּשׁ לְרֵעוֹ הָבָּשׁ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1QS 6:7-8 The Many shall spend the third part of every night of the year in unity, reading the Book, studying judgment, 8 and saying benedictions in unity. This is the serek for the session of the Many: each (member) in his order. The priests shall sit first, the elders second...</td>
<td>... וְהֵרְבִּים יִשְׁקְדוּ בְּבֶשֶׁר אֵת שֵׁלֶשׁ לְשֹׁכַב...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Hebrew Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1QS 6:21-22</strong></td>
<td>If the lot goes out to him 22 to approach the community, he shall be registered in the <em>serek</em> of his rank amongst his brothers...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1QSa 1:21</strong></td>
<td>... to stand firm in battle, to subjugate the nations; only he shall write his family into the <em>serek</em> of the army...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1QSa 1:23-24</strong></td>
<td>...according to the sons of Aaron, to bring in and lead out all the congregation, each according to his <em>serek</em>, at the hand of the heads of 24 the magistrates of the congregation...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CD 14:3</strong></td>
<td><em>Serek</em> of dwelling in all the camps...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1QM 2:1</strong></td>
<td>They shall <em>serek</em> the chiefs of the priests behind the chief priest and his deputy...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1QM 4:11</strong></td>
<td>... and they shall write the list of their names with all of their <em>serek</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4QWays of Righteousness</strong>&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; (4Q421 or 4QWaysRight&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>[...] to <em>serek</em> everyone, each before [his] Neighbour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### C. Where the root refers to a *martial disposition*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>to array, to muster (Pi’el?) (^{432})</th>
<th>forces, battalion, army</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1QM 3:3</strong></td>
<td>On the trumpets for summoning the commanders they shall write ‘Princes of God.’ On the trumpets of enrollment they shall write ‘Serek of God.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1QM 5:4</strong></td>
<td>...the line and seven frontal (^4) formations shall be connected into one line, arranged in <em>serek</em>, the station of one man behind his fellow...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1QM 6:10-11</strong></td>
<td>...they shall take position on all sides of the camp. All (of them) 4,600 men and 1,400 cavalry for the men of the <em>serek</em> of the line (^{11}) fifty for each line; and the horsemen of the men of the <em>serek</em> will be 6,000; 500 to a tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1QM 6:14</strong></td>
<td>And the horsemen of the <em>serek</em> will be From forty to fifty years old...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1QM 7:1</strong></td>
<td>And the men of the <em>serek</em> will be between forty to fifty years old, and those that <em>serek</em> the camp will be between fifty to sixty years old</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{432}\) It is labeled as such in *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vol. 6, 200.
Appendix I: סר•ך in Four Major Semantic Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Text in English</th>
<th>Text in Hebrew</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1QM 13:1</td>
<td>... and his brothers the priest and Levites and all of the elders of the <em>serek</em> with him ...</td>
<td>והוהי העם וההלים והן וכול זקני ה‧..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1QM 15:4-5</td>
<td>Then the chief priest shall stand, and with him his brothers, the Priests and the Levites and all the men of the <em>serek</em>, and he will read out loud the prayer for the appointed time of battle ...</td>
<td>עמדו כוֹהן הראש ואחיו הכוהנים והלויים והנים והלויים וחמו אнести הסרך עם זכרים באהותה והתפלת מועד המלחמה...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1QM 18:5-6</td>
<td>The Chief-Priest will stand, along with the Priests and the Levites and the heads [...] of the <em>serek</em>...</td>
<td>יָעַמְדוּ כוֹהֵן הָרֹאשׁ וְהַכֹּֽהֲנִים הַלָּוִיִּים וְהָעַנֶּפֶּרָם וְאֶשֶׁר 6 אָחָֽוָם וּרְאָּתָם...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. Where the root refers to a *procedural disposition*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Text in English</th>
<th>Text in Hebrew</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1QS 1:1</td>
<td>To the [...]šym for his life [the Book of the Serek] of the Community. In order to seek...</td>
<td>לָ[אֵשֶׂ] שְׂם לְזָהָּב לְיוֹדָעְת לְלָדֶו...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1QS 1:6</td>
<td>(1QSא–כ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1QS 5:1</td>
<td>This (is) the <em>serek</em> for the men of the Community who devote themselves to turn away from all evil and hold fast to all which he has commanded as his will...</td>
<td>והם הסיכם לאנהしたりו המתנדבים לשוב מבכל רע ולהחזיק בכול אשר צוה לרצונו...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1QSa 1:1</td>
<td>And this is the <em>serek</em> for all the congregation of Israel in the end of days...</td>
<td>והם הסיכם לכול עדת ישרואל באחרית ה‧..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1QSa 1:6</td>
<td>And this is the <em>serek</em> for all the armies</td>
<td>והם הסיכם לכולезжаות העדה לכול האזרחה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix I: שֵׁרֶק in Four Major Semantic Categories

| CD 13:7 | And this is the בְּשֵׁרֶק for the overseer of a camp... | זוֹה בְּשֵׁרֶק המבֹּבר לָמַעַת... |
| CD 14:12 | And this is the בְּשֵׁרֶק for the Many to provide for all their needs... | זוֹה בְּשֵׁרֶק הרִבְבִים לְהָבִין אֶת כָּל חפָצָיוֹ... |
| 1QM 7:16-17 | With each battle-line they shall go out according to all the בְּשֵׁרֶק... | וְעַל כָּל מַעֲרֻכָּה וְמוּעַרְכָּה יֵצָא... |
| 1QM 8:14 | According to this בְּשֵׁרֶק the priests shall blow for three divisions... | בְּשֵׁרֶק הַזֶּה יְקֻוֵּי הַנַּחֲלָה לְשֵׁלְשָׁה... |
| 1QM 16:3 | They will do all of this בְּשֵׁרֶק... | אַתָּה כָּל בְּשֵׁרֶק הַזֶּה יִעֲשֶׂה... |
| 4QPurification Liturgy (4Q284, 4QSndt) | 5 [...] This is the בְּשֵׁרֶק for the impurities for Israel 6 [...] to sprinkle lustral water | 5 [...] זוֹה בְּשֵׁרֶק לְכָל מַעֲוָות לַיְשָׁרְאֵל 6 [...] מֵי נָדָה לְהָזוֹה... |

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5 [...] This is the בְּשֵׁרֶק for the impurities for Israel 6 [...] to sprinkle lustral water
Appendix J: Proposal for a New Lexical Entry

סרכ vb. (Perh. < √ערר (safa‘el?); for semantic range cf. דנסָּרָו) to arrange, to dispose—Qal Impf. Q יסרוכו; יסרוכו, יסרוכו ptc. Q יסרוכו

I (spatial) to arrange, to lay out (on the altar) אהל עכרו יוסרוכו בדעתווה ות_SETUP=ם they will lay out all these [sacrifices] during the appointed time of remission 1QM 2:6 (C.f. Lev 1:7-8)

II (hierarchical) to rank, i.e., to arrange hierarchically את ארשי המנהיגים יסרוכו את חורף ההרשא והרשוע they shall arrange the chiefs of the priests hierarchically behind the chief priest and his deputy 1QM 2:1

III (martial) to muster וסרוכו המנהיגים יוסרוכו מבר בים לשנת ישע (2)شهים and those who muster the camps shall be from fifty years to sixty 1QM 7:1b

IV (procedural) teaching, procedure, list of instructions (to be done in a particular order) כסרכו הזה יוסרוכו לשלושה דרגים according to this teaching the priests shall blow for three divisions 1QM 8:4; וה흡 הכסרכו לינשים יהודית וה흡 המנהיגים This (is) the teaching for the men of the Community who have been incited 1QS 5:3

these, the entire list of the details of their names 1QM 4:6; הסרכו לסדר דגלי המלחמה the layout for the order of fighting battalions 1QM 5:4; וה줌 בכסרכו מבר ת ואין אי ייר והז סרכו מבר arranged in a line, the station of each man behind his fellow 1QM 5:4; והז סרכו מבר ת כך This is the list of the sons of Noah, from Shem to Abraham...] 4Q880f.14

I (spatial) arrangement, list, layout, line ואחריהם כל סרכ פורת שמות ו defenses, layout, rank, army, procedure, nature—cstr. Q סרכו; סרכו, סרכו sf. Q סרכו, סרכו (ם)סרכה סרכה וסרכה סרכה סרכה


Lange, Armin, and U. Mittmann-Richert. "Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre" in DJD 39. Edited by Emanuel Tov. The Texts from


Newman, Judith H. "Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice." Pages 29-72 in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and


