CD Manuscript B and the Community Rule – Reflections on a Literary Relationship*

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1. Introduction

One of the most important and debated literary relationships in the corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls is that between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule. The relationship of both compositions to one another has been a central issue in Scrolls scholarship ever since it became clear that the Cairo Damascus Document shares the same provenance as those new texts soon after the discovery of the first scrolls. The

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1 The literature devoted to this issue is large. For a recent contribution which includes further literature see, Hilary Evans Kapfer, ‘The Relationship Between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule: Attitudes Toward the Temple as a Test Case,’ *DSD* 14 (2007): 152-177. Most recently see also the succinct and valuable discussion in Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad. A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*, Leiden: Brill, 2009, pp. 163-173.
publication of eight Cave 4 manuscripts of the Damascus Document and ten Cave 4 manuscripts of the Community Rule has inaugurated a new phase in this enquiry.²

Both in the Community Rule and in the Damascus Document, legal material is often embedded in a non-legal framework such as admonitory and narrative material in the Damascus Document and admonitory material in the Community Rule. As far as the Damascus Document is concerned Steven Fraade has recently offered a thorough discussion of the relationship of its narrative and legal components suggesting that the document as a whole is best seen as “an anthology that was drawn upon so as to provide performative “scripts” [...] for the annual covenant renewal ceremony...” ³

The issue of a connection between law, discipline, and obedience on the one hand, and communal liturgy on the other hand is also evident in both documents. Thus, the final section of the Damascus Document as now attested in the Cave 4 manuscripts contains an explicit reference to a gathering of the inhabitants of the camps in the third month (4QDᵃ 11:1-20 // 4QDᵈ 16 // 4QDᵉ 7 i-ii), often thought to be a community internal covenant renewal ceremony.⁴ In the Community Rule as attested

in 1QS, 4QpapSa, 4QSa, 4QpapSc, and 4QSh communal legislation and disciplinary issues are also presented in a broader liturgical context as witnessed by the inclusion of a covenant ceremony (or fragments thereof) in these manuscripts.\(^5\) This liturgical bridge between some of the S manuscripts and D has also been noted by Ben Zion Wacholder recently when he observes, “...the author of the Rule of the Community begins his composition with MTA’s [i.e.D’s, C.H.] finale.”\(^6\)

The presence of significant overlap as well as differences between various parts of both documents has regularly occupied scholars. Chief among the overlapping texts are versions of the penal code in the Community Rule (1QS 6:24-7:25 // 4Qsd V,1 // 4QSc I,4-15, II,3-8 // 4QSg 3,2-4; 4a-b, 1-7; 5a-c, 1-9; 6a-e 1-5), the Damascus

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\(^6\) Cf. Ben Zion Wacholder, *The New Damascus Document. The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary*, Leiden, Brill, 2007, p. 367. Wacholder does not note the presence of S manuscripts such as 4Qsd that lack the liturgical material found in 1QS 1-4. Thus, although his observation is illuminating, the overall picture to be drawn from the full spectrum of S manuscripts needs to be more nuanced.
Document (CD 14:18b-22 // 4QDa 10 i-ii // 4QDb 9 vi // 4QDd 11 i-ii; 4QDe 7 i), and also in 4QM miscellaneous Rules (olim Serekh Damascus, 4Q265 4 i 2-ii 2), and 11Q29 (Fragment Related to Serekh ha-Yahad). 7

Although most extensively attested, the penal code is only one of several passages indicative of a close and complex literary relationship between the Community Rule and the Damascus Document. We may refer also to the intriguing overlapping requirement that a priest must be present in a place of ten. Sarianna Metso, John

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Collins, Eyal Regev, and myself have written on the latter topic recently. Another very complicated area is the presence of *rabbim* terminology in both documents.

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Metso recently referred to this type of evidence as “inter-textual.” Schofield’s assessment of the relationship between S and D as reflecting a “constant dialogic exchange” also captures the phenomena well. The most pertinent evidence of this kind is collected in Eibert Tigchelaar’s ‘Annotated List of Overlaps and Parallels in the Non-biblical Texts from Qumran and Masada’ that forms part of volume XXXIX in the DJD Series. The terminology Tigchelaar employs differs slightly from the one I have used above in as far as he refers to ‘overlaps’ in the context of various copies of the same composition and otherwise employs the term ‘parallels’ when referring to material from different compositions. The material he has collected is based chiefly on the indications of such evidence provided by various editors in the DJD Series with some of his own examples as well. There is a lack of consistency, however, between the terminology employed in Tigchelaar’s table and individual DJD volumes with DJD 26 – the 4QS volume edited by Philip Alexander and Geza Vermes – identifying both parallel manuscripts of the Community Rule and overlaps with other documents under the same heading as ‘Parallels.’ This is also the practice in Joseph

11 Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad, p. 164, see also p. 166.
14 See, e.g., Alexander and Vermes, Qumran Cave 4. XIX, p. 139.
Baumgarten’s edition of the Cave 4 manuscripts of the Damascus Document in DJD 18. To designate two such radically different pieces of evidence with the same term is both imprecise and revealing. Tigchelaar’s efforts to list both types of correspondences separately are certainly a move in the right direction. Fraade coined the phrase ‘synoptic ‘intersections’ in a recent comparative study of the Damascus Document and the Mishnah. A close analysis of such overlaps sheds important light on a number of enquiries:

1. The literary resemblances and differences between portions of text, such as the penal code, in a number of compositions can be drawn upon to try and map out the ways in which the material evolved.

2. The presence of shared blocks of material in texts that are otherwise different in important ways indicates that these blocks originated independently of their place in the final documents in at least one of the texts and conceivably in both. It is hard to imagine, for instance, that two different authors composed the same list of offences often in the same sequence in both the Damascus Document and the Community Rule.

3. Because the Damascus Document and the Community Rule deal with matters of communal life, those passages where the texts differ and those where they overlap will inevitably be crucial in discussions of the communities that are portrayed in those texts, be those portrayals historically accurate or not.

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15 See Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. XIII*, p. 162.


17 On the latter question see, P. R. Davies, ‘Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls,’ in F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst and C. J. Labuschagne (eds.), *The*
An interesting further question we might want to raise is whether we are able to draw up a profile of intersections. It emerges, first of all, very clearly from Tigchelaar’s tables that the Serekh and the Damascus Document together with 4Q265 (Miscellaneous Rules olim Serekh Damascus) are the hub of what Fraade calls synoptic intersections in the non-biblical scrolls, attesting by far the largest number of instances.\(^\text{18}\) In other words, the Community Rule and the Damascus Document are - for one reason or another - more closely related inter-textually than other Qumran texts. Moreover, my impression is that we find a proliferation of such inter-textual evidence in the area of community discipline, cf. the penal codes as well as the less formally cohesive penal material in CD 20 and 1QS 8 to be dealt with in more detail below. In other words, the texts are closest and more elaborate when it comes to the stick rather than the carrot. Also interesting to note is the presence of penal material both at the end of the Admonition and near the end of the Damascus Document as a whole as now preserved in 4QD\(^a\) 11, 4QD\(^d\) 16, and 4QD\(^e\) 7. Although, to be precise, we are no longer in a position to say categorically that CD 20 preserves the end of the

Admonition without at least noting the fluid to and fro between law and admonitory material in the document as it now emerges.\textsuperscript{19} It suffices to quote one of the more recent statements on this issue by Ben Zion Wacholder who rightly notes, “the two themes [i.e. legal and admonitory] are constantly interwoven”.\textsuperscript{20} What we can say with some justification, it seems to me, is that when the Damascus Document was redacted and reached its final form discipline and penal material (‘the stick’) was clearly a major issue.\textsuperscript{21} Such matters play a large role in the Community Rule also where they are found repeatedly in the central columns of the manuscripts. In short, disciplinary material plays a major role at three levels:

- in the Community Rule
- in the Damascus Document
- and where both texts intersect when they intersect.


\textsuperscript{21} Cf. Carol Newsom’s description of the community that emerges from her reading of the Serekh ha-Yahad in light of the work of Michel Foucault as a ‘disciplinary institution’, cf. C. Newsom, \textit{The Self as Symbolic Space}, esp. pp. 95-101.
This seems to indicate that the issue of discipline and commitment was particularly crucial when the Damascus Document was completed and when the Community Rule was compiled.22

CD 20:1-8 and the Community Rule

It is exactly another such passage which has often been noted as exemplifying a close relationship between the Community Rule and the Damascus Document that I would like to deal with in more detail in this article. I am referring to CD 20:1b-8a and its relationship to 1QS 8-9. In 1972 Jerome Murphy-O’Connor pointedly observed, “Had CD XX,1c-8a been found as an isolated fragment it would have been presumed that it belonged to the Rule...”.23 In 1987 Michael Knibb noted in his comments on CD 20 that CD 20:1b-8a “stands apart from the rest of the passage. It deals with the temporary expulsion of erring members and is similar in character to 1QS 8:16b-

22 Alison Schofield is correct when she also emphasizes that the inter-textual encounters appear to be located near or at the point of the Damascus Document’s final redaction. Cf. “In the history of ideas, these two texts parallel each other in many ways, and the final redactor(s) of D, at least, must have been familiar with the other (S) tradition.”, From Qumran to the Yahad, p. 165, see also pp. 167-168.

In 1991 Philip Davies wrote, “I shall consider here what I regard as the strongest individual case of direct correspondence between CD and 1QS, namely sections of the material in each document which overlap both literarily and, it would seem, also historically: CD XIX,33b-XX,34 and 1QS VIII-IX.” Davies concluded his 1991 article with the statement, “…one could argue […] that the group reflected in CD XX and 1QS IX are one and the same, and indeed, at more or less the same moment.”

The purpose of this article is to revisit this fascinating discussion in light of the texts published since the earlier studies by Murphy-O’Connor, Knibb, and Davies appeared, in particular the publication of the Cave 4 manuscripts of the Community Rule. One of the most striking developments we can now trace, but could not then, is the fact that the material with the closest overlap between 1QS 8-9 and CD 20 is

\[\text{\footnotesize 24 M. A. Knibb The Qumran Community (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 300 2), Cambridge: CUP, 1987, p. 71, cf. also p. 72.}\]


\[\text{\footnotesize 25 Cf. 1QS 9:9-10 and CD 20:31-32.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize 26 ‘Communities at Qumran and the Case of the Missing “Teacher,”’ p. 283.}\]

absent from 4QS\textsuperscript{e}.\textsuperscript{28} Metso has explained 4QS\textsuperscript{e}’s considerably shorter text as a witness to a more original stage in the growth of S.\textsuperscript{29} Others prefer to explain the evidence of 4QS\textsuperscript{e} as a secondarily shortened text, either shortened deliberately (so Philip Alexander\textsuperscript{30}) or accidentally (so Emile Puech and Jim VanderKam\textsuperscript{31}). Metso’s hypothesis seems more likely to me.\textsuperscript{32} This is important because it might indicate that the close relationship between 1QS 8-9 and CD 20 outlined by Davies and others is actually confined to a particular block of material in 1QS that may be secondary.

\begin{center}
\textsuperscript{28} See 4QS\textsuperscript{e} III esp. line 6. Cf. Alexander and Vermes, \textit{Qumran Cave 4. XIX}, pp. 144-149.
\textsuperscript{29} See S. Metso, ‘The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS\textsuperscript{e},’ \textit{JJS} 44 (1993): 303-308.
It deserves mentioning that this particular part of the Damascus Document has provoked a great deal of interest because the two mediaeval Cairo manuscripts attest radically different though related readings just before our passage sets in. Unfortunately CD manuscript A breaks off just before the passage we are looking at. It would have been fascinating to be able to read its version of these lines, if they existed. Alas, the evidence of the 4QD manuscripts offers no parallel for the first half of CD 20.33 Most recently a monograph by Stephen Hultgren, and studies by Menahem Kister and Liora Goldman have moved this debate further.34

The Texts (CD 20:1b-8a and 1QS 8:16b-9:2; 9:8-11a // 4Qsd VI:8b.11-12; VII:1-3.7-9)35

Before presenting the texts, let me briefly explain my system of visual enhancement which also summarizes the key points I would like to make. I left out of consideration

33 Cf. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave XVIII*, p. 3. For a recent analysis see Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, pp. 102-103.


35 For the text of 4Qsd VI-VII see Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, pp 105-114.
Table: Visual Enhancement of Key Features in CD 20 and 1QS 8-9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Outlined:</strong></th>
<th>Material shared by CD 20 and 1QS, chiefly the self-designation “people of perfect holiness”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Italics:</strong></td>
<td>Language reminiscent of the shared terminology but not part of a self-designation (e.g. perfect conduct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bold italics:</strong></td>
<td>Material distinctive in CD 20:1b-8a (e.g. “men of knowledge”),</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


37 The connection through the catchword הַנִּסְדָּר is particularly clear in the shorter text of 4QS⁴ VII:7, cf. Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, pp. 110, 114.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Bold underlined:</strong></th>
<th>“upright ones”, “disciples of God”)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Outline, bold, and underlined:</strong></td>
<td>Language familiar from the organization of the communities in the Damascus Document and/or the Community Rule (e.g. rabbim, yahad, reproof, tohorah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Double underlined:</strong></td>
<td>Language found in the shared material and familiar from organizational texts (e.g. wealth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dotted underlined:</strong></td>
<td>An expression unique in the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls (i.e. community of holiness – נֵדֶת יַחַד)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[ .... ]:</strong></td>
<td>Text not quoted here</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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38 Cf. the references in CD 20:1 “until the messiah of Aaron and Israel arises” and 1QS 9:11 “until the coming of the prophet and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel”.

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CD 20:1b-8a
(Translation by M. A. Knibb with minor changes)\(^{39}\)

(20:1b) Such shall be the case (2) for everyone who enters / is a member of the congregation of the men of perfect holiness (כְּלֵי עֵדֶת אָנָשׁי תָּמִים ~ הַקְּדוֹשׁ), but shrinks from carrying out the precepts of the upright (יִשְׂרָאֵל). (3) He is the man who is melted in a furnace. When his deeds become apparent, he shall be sent away from the congregation (מֵעָדֶה) like one whose lot had never fallen among the disciples of God (אָלֶלְמָדִים אֲלוֹנִישׁ). According to his unfaithfulness the men of knowledge (אֲנָשִׁי דְעֵיָתָהוּ) shall reprove him (יְבוּחוּוֹ) until the day he again stands in the place (בְּמֶדְרֶשׁ תֵּורָה) of the men of perfect holiness (אָנָשׁי תָּמִים ~ הַקְּדוֹשׁ). (6) But when his deeds become apparent, according to the interpretation of the law (לִמְדוֹרָה) (cf. הָיָה in 1QS 8:15 // 4QSa VI:7 // 4QSe III:6) in which the men of perfect holiness (אָנָשִׁי תָּמִים ~ הַקְּדוֹשׁ) walk (7) let no man make any agreement with him in regard to property (יְרָה) or work (עַבְדָּרָה), (8) because all the holy ones of the most high have cursed him.

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\(^{40}\) 4QSe III:6 reads the masculine form of the pronoun (הָאֵחָה), cf. Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, pp. 144 and 146.
(8:16b) No person from among the people of the community, the covenant of the community (יחדה ברית רוחו), who fails to observe any of the commandments deliberately shall touch the purity (בטהרת) of the people of holiness (אנשי הקדש), (18) nor shall he have knowledge of any of their counsel (עצתם) until his actions have been cleansed from any injustice and he conducts himself perfectly (לאחרל בתמים דוד). Then they shall allow him to approach (19) the council on the authority of the many (הרבים על בעצה) and afterwards he shall be enrolled (הכתב) according to his rank (בתכונו). This law shall apply to everyone who joins the community (ליחדד הנוסף כלו). (20) These are the rules according to which the people of perfect holiness (אנשי התמים קורש) shall conduct themselves each one with his neighbour. (21) Every one who enters / is a member of the council of holiness (made up of) those whose conduct is perfect (הבא כלו הבא) according to that which He has commanded, every person from among them (22) who has deliberately or inadvertently transgressed any part of the law of Moses they shall send him away from the council of the community ( множטי הרוח) never to return again.

And no person from among the people of holiness (אישнятие הקדש) shall share

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41 Only 4QSd VI-VII offers some corresponding material from 4QS, cf. Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, pp. 105-114.

Both passages clearly share a great deal of terminology while at the same time also preserving a fair number of distinctive features. What is particularly striking is the very distinctive use of the self-designation ‘the people of perfect holiness’ as a communal self-designation frequently in CD 20 and also in 1QS 8:20. This self-designation is not found anywhere else in the scrolls. Carol Newsom recently coined

the apt phrase “rhetoric of perfection” with reference to the Community Rule and noted also that the Damascus Document is the only other text that shares this rhetoric.\textsuperscript{44} We noted earlier, moreover, that the shared material, here as elsewhere, is devoted to the larger \textit{topos} of discipline.

On the other hand, there are clear differences too. The most striking feature to my mind is the internal evidence of the S passage. We seem to be looking at two sets of terminology side by side. One set of terms is very familiar from other parts of S (cf. \textit{rabbim}, \textit{yahad}) whereas the other self-designation (‘the people of perfect holiness’) does not occur elsewhere in S and is the one that resembles CD 20. Moreover, the more familiar S language (\textit{rabbim} and \textit{yachad}) is entirely lacking from the CD 20 passage. Particularly striking is the switch between both sets of terms in 1QS 8:19b-21 (“This law shall apply to everyone who joins the community [יחד]. These are the rules according to which the people of perfect holiness shall conduct themselves each one with his neighbour. Every one who enters / is a member of the council of holiness (made up of) those whose conduct is perfect ...”). Also curious is the unique self-designation “community (yahad) of holiness” found only in 1QS 9:2 in the corpus of non-biblical scrolls. Given that this expression is a compound phrase which contains elements from both distinctive sets of terminology attested in the S passage, it seems plausible to speculate that it represents an attempt to bridge the terminological chasm situation that also left its mark on CD 20:1b-8a. Wassen herself suggests that “the writer of XX,1b-8a may have used the language of CD VII 4-5 to highlight the desirable qualities of all the members.”, \textit{Women in the Damascus Document}, pp. 124-125 n. 51.

\textsuperscript{44} Newsom, \textit{The Self as Symbolic Space}, pp. 159-160.

47 On the sapiential roots of this language see recently Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community*, pp. 357-358 n. 86.
Furthermore the fact that 4QSε lacks all of this material and Eibert Tigchelaar’s curious and revealing observation that parts of this section in 1QS display noticeable differences in the quantity of scribal corrections⁴⁹ all further point towards a staggered growth of the Community Rule at this point.⁵⁰ Are we right in thinking, then, that at exactly one juncture in the evolving literary growth of 1QS its textual tradition shows signs of an inter-textual relationship with CD MS B? Coupled with the fact that the passage in CD 20 we looked at is also almost certainly a late and somewhat extraneous development in CD/D, is it conceivable that both documents were worked on by the same group at one point? In other words rather than speaking of inter-textual links involving entire documents we might be dealing with inter-textual redactional layers. If Metso is correct and 4QSε’s much shorter text offers the

⁴⁸ On the unusual term “house of perfection” that occurs in the latter context, Marc Philonenko has recently written in his contribution to a Festschrift for Emile Puech noting some connections with Mandaean sources, cf. ‘Sur les expressions “Maison fidèle en Israël,” “Maison de vérité en Israël,” “Maison de perfection et de vérité en Israël”,’ in Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar (eds.), From ⁴QMMT to Resurrection. FS Emile Puech, Leiden: Brill 2006, pp. 243-246.

⁴⁹ Cf. Tigchelaar, ‘The Scribe of 1QS.’

more original text, then this Cave 4 manuscript may now present us with the sort of text the redactor responsible for 1QS worked with. If the same individual or school of thought lies behind CD 20:1b-8a onwards, it is worth noting the reference to the messiah of Aaron and Israel in CD 20:1a (identified graphically above as a ‘context hook’ [dotted underlined] which resembles the reference to a messianic turning point in 1QS 9:11 [until the coming of the prophet and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel].

If both documents were adapted by the same circles – ‘a perfect holinessist crowd’ – then they may either have been inspired by CD 20:1a in drafting 1QS 9:11 or even been responsible for both.

Conclusion

Just over a decade ago the full body of the ancient manuscripts of the Community Rule and the Damascus Document was published. It is therefore inevitable that scholars are still noticing finer points of overlap and difference and are struggling to make sense of an immensely complex, challenging and exciting body of evidence. We began by noting the preponderance of inter-textual passages in D and S, relating in particular to disciplinary issues, and suggested that the communities seemed to have struggled with ‘commitment issues’ at the time when passages like the penal code and CD 20:1b-8 and 1QS 8:16-9:11 were composed. Although the penal codes frequently refer to what may be described as rather mundane infringements such as falling asleep during a meeting, it is worth stressing that they also make reference to some very

51 Hultgren argues the CD 20:1 is an introduction to a section now lost, cf. From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community, pp. 67-76.
serious offences that strike at the heart of the community’s survival, cp., e.g., 1QS 7:17-19. In revisiting the close and curious inter-textual relationship between CD 20:1b-8a and 1QS 8:16-9:2; 9:8-11a // 4QS\textsuperscript{d} VI-VII we were able to reflect not only on the relationship between both documents to one another but also tried to evaluate the internal complexities of each text. This internal complexity emerged as particularly evident in the Community Rule where four rather different types of evidence were drawn upon:

- 1QS 8:16-9:2; 9:8-11a // 4QS\textsuperscript{d} VI-VII shares a particular terminological frame of reference with CD 20:1b-8a that is not found elsewhere in the Serekh.
- Alongside the language shared with CD 20, 1QS 8-9 also employs communal self-designations and organizational terminology that predominates in the central columns of 1QS (esp. 1QS 5-7) such as rabbim and yachad.
- A complex literary history behind 1QS 8-9 is further suggested by the evidence of 4QS\textsuperscript{e} which lacks the equivalent of 1QS 8:15b-9:11 altogether. It seems commendable, or essential even, to relate the scholarly discussion on the shorter text of 4QS\textsuperscript{e} vis-à-vis 1QS to the close relationship between the longer 1QS text and CD 20:1b-8a.
- Furthermore, both Tigchelaar and Newsom have recently drawn attention to the significance of the level of scribal corrections in 1QS 8. Tigchelaar rightly draws our attention to the variations in the level of correctional activity in different parts of 1QS 8 noting especially the small number of corrections in 1QS 8:15-9:11 – exactly the same portion of text missing from 4QS\textsuperscript{e}. He correctly observes that, “the accumulation of errors and corrections in specific
sections may reflect a complicated textual tradition.”

Newsom’s observations point in the same direction: “The extensive interlinear corrections of 1QS 8 also lend an impression of considerable scribal activity, although the actual history of the development may never be resolved. The result, however, is a mosaic-like effect of thematically related but verbally distinguishable units.”

Newsom is surely right when she notes that we can never retrace precisely the literary history behind 1QS 8-9. What I hope to have shown is that a careful comparison between 1QS 8-9 and CD 20 provides us with further, vital evidence when we contemplate the textual mosaic of 1QS 8-9.


53 The Self as Symbolic Space, p. 152.