Rituals and Sectarian Knowledge: Methods of Constructing Social Identity in the Community Rule (1QS)

By

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for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Abstract

This study deals with identity construction in the Community Rule (1QS). Examples of rituals and sectarian doctrines (knowledge) dictated in 1QS will be discussed along with a look into how these rituals and knowledge might have affected and constructed communal identity. The rituals that will be discussed are the communal meals, the admission process, and the nightly study sessions. Along with a discussion of these rituals and their effects, the doctrines that reinforce these rituals will be discussed, along with how that knowledge might have also shaped social identity. All of this builds up to the final section where the doctrine of determinism, as taught in 1QS, is discussed. To gain a better understanding of how this doctrine might have affected identity within the Qumran community, Calvinism is used as constructive comparative data.

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Introduction

Jutta Jokiranta, in her book called *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement,* poses an interesting question concerning the Jewish sectarian community (the *yaḥad*) at Qumran: "What made the members to [sic.] join the group and hold together?"[1] My goal in this project is to explore specific elements of sectarian life, dictated in sectarian texts, that can answer this question.[2] Specifically, I will be exploring one of the earliest discovered and best preserved sectarian scrolls from the Qumran library: the *Serekh ha- yaḥad* (1QS).[3] The way that I will answer Jokiranta's question is by exploring two key elements of identity construction: sectarian religious ritual and knowledge of sectarian doctrine. I argue that both rituals and sectarian knowledge would have played a significant role in the construction of religious identity within the community, and subsequently would have held the group together. Following a brief introduction to the sectarian text (1QS) and definition of some frequently used terms, I will discuss four examples of sectarian rituals and doctrines that would have made the community appealing and kept members engaged. The final section will discuss the sectarian doctrine of determinism, and its possible effects on community members. In order to gain a better

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[1] Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement* (Boston: Brill, 2012), 1.

[2] I define a sectarian movement as a unified group that separates from a larger or mainstream religious body, where they claim legitimacy, and reject the authority of the mainstream religious body. This is a rather simplistic definition of an often negatively viewed term, but it suits our needs for this project. For a full discussion of the term see Jokiranta, *Social Identity,* 17-19.

[3] *Serekh ha- yaḥad* is a transliteration of the Hebrew סרך היחד (see 1QS 1:1), which translates as Community Rule. In the siglum "1QS," the 1 refers to the cave number in which the text was found. In this case, it was the first discovered cave of scrolls. The Q stands for Qumran, the location where the text was discovered. The S stands for Serekh (rule).

understanding of how this doctrine could have affected community members, I use the deterministic writings of the 16th century Protestant Reformer John Calvin as constructive comparative data.

I begin by introducing 1QS. The sectarian community responsible for this text was an offshoot of mainstream Second Temple Judaism that rejected the temple and the priesthood in Jerusalem. Paleographically, the text dates to about 100-75 BCE, but through textual criticism, evidence has been found that indicates a complex redactional history.[4] The Community Rule, as we have it today, is the product of a long sectarian tradition. 1QS is one of a larger body of sectarian rule texts, often referred to as Serekh (or S) texts. Based on the fragments discovered in other Qumran caves, scholars have classified 1QS as one of possibly 13 fragmented "copies" of the rule text.[5] It is important to note that even though the other S texts are called copies, this does not mean that each text says the same thing verbatim. There is a lot of variation. That is not to say that there are not some direct overlaps. Scholars hotly debate which textual tradition came first, and I do not expect a common consensus any time soon.[6]

1QS contains performances, regulations, and teachings that are specific to the members of the "Qumran community." I put "Qumran community" in quotation marks because there is evidence in this and other Serekh texts that suggests that the sectarians gathered in multiple sites. Hints from 1QS include: "In this way shall they behave *in all their places* of residence"[7] (בכול

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[4] Sarianna Metso, *The Serekh Texts* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2007), 1-2.

[5] Ibid., 1.

[6] Charlotte Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 109-119.

[7] Florentino Garcia Martinez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1997). All subsequent passages from 1QS will be quoted from this translation.

מגוריהם) (1QS 6:1-2), and "*In every place* where there are ten men of the Community council, there should not be missing amongst them a priest" (ובכול מקום) (1QS 6:3-4). Some scholars see these passages as evidence of gatherings of the *yaḥad* in multiple locations, and not just the site at Qumran near which the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered.[8] There is also the issue of the possible development over time in the same site. Concerning the Community Rule, Shem Miller stated, "Rule texts are more like motion pictures projecting multiple communities within a dynamic movement with divergent practices, membership, and leadership."[9]

For our purposes, we will not preoccupy ourselves with the various scholarly debates concerning the geographical location of the community(ies), nor will we engage in the ongoing textual criticism to understand which parts of 1QS come from an earlier or later period in the community's history. For our purposes, it is sufficient to approach 1QS in is current form. I assume that 1QS represents a sectarian document that was intended to influence community life. I would also argue that 1QS was carefully and intentionally compiled, and that it represents the rules and teachings of a specific point in the community's history. So, I will be discussing the hypothetical effects of the text on the specific community that would have physically used 1QS as a formative community document.

As I have mentioned a few times, 1QS is a sectarian document. Within the sectarian movement, identity construction was very important. The leaders of the sectarian community utilized various methods of identity construction to attract people to their movement, and

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[8] Shem Miller, "'Sectual' Performance in Rule Texts," *DSD* 25 (2018): 19. See also Jutta Jokiranta, "What is 'Serekh ha- Yaḥad (S)'? Thinking About Ancient Manuscripts as Information Processing," in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls*, vol. 1, ed. Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert Tigchelar (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 611-612.

[9] Miller, "'Sectual' Performance," 16.

convince them to remain in the group. Identity formation includes the distinguishing of individuals from other groups and provides a framework within which a community can emerge. As Jokiranta puts it, "Identity is defined in relation to others."[10] Carol Newsom adds, "the discourse of the Qumran community was not simply produced to maintain an established society but to create one that distinguished itself from other discursive communities within Second Temple Judaism."[11] She explains why this is the case when she argues that a new identity for the individual was needed in order to replace a preexisting identity.[12]

According to Newsom, the language, idioms, rituals, and modes of categorization in the sectarian texts all contribute to the formation of the individual who enters the community.[13] They are what unify the members of the community and encourage them to stay and abide by the community regulations. They are what make members feel a part of the group and identify with the movement. Therefore, throughout this paper I use the concepts of identity formation and appeal to stay in the community synonymously. The idea that identity construction was a motivational factor implies that the members were inclined to leave the community and leaders were constantly trying to find ways to motivate members to stay. This is not what I mean when I suggest that certain practices or beliefs motivated members to stay. What I do mean is that the stronger the individual's identity as a member of the group is, so will their willingness to stay in the group be stronger.

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[10] Ibid., 1.

[11] Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 3.

[12] Ibid., 3.

[13] Ibid., 188.

Two of the modes by which identity is constructed are the two sides of the same coin that Emile Durkheim uses to define religion: rites (or rituals) and beliefs (or knowledge).[14] Rob Kugler quotes Durkheim's definition of religion, which states, "A religion is a unified system of *beliefs* and *practices* relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden— beliefs and practices which unite into one moral community… all those that adhere to them."[15] Kugler adds, "together belief and ritual draw humans closer to what they deem to be sacred, distance them from the profane, and shape them into a community of likeminded believers and practitioners."[16] The examples from 1QS that will be discussed include both ritualized actions and the dissemination of knowledge. In the specific examples that will be used we will see firsthand the relationship between ritual and knowledge. The examples demonstrate how knowledge was presented through and fortified by rituals.

Before we analyze some of the textual evidence, it is important that we clarify the meanings of some of the terms that will be used. So far, I have casually used terms like identity, ritual, performance, and knowledge, as if there is a general scholarly consensus and understanding of these terms. It goes without saying that defining these terms in a way that appeases all scholars, in both the fields of religious and ritual studies, is a lengthy and most likely an impossible task. For this purpose, I proceed to define how these terms will be used in this research.

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[14] Emile Durkheim, "Ritual, Magic, and the Sacred," in *Readings in Ritual Studies*, ed. Ronald L. Grimes (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1996), 188.

[15] Rob Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran," *JSJ* 33 (2002): 132.

[16] Ibid., 132-133.

For a definition of identity, I turn to Jutta Jokiranta. As already noted, she explains that all identity is "defined in relation to others."[17] The nature of identity is always comparative.[18] She argues that there are multiple levels of identity; namely the individual (or personal) and collective (or social).[19] Personal identity and its construction does not have much structure, nor does it rely on a group for guidelines and standards. Jokiranta quotes Tajfel's definition of collective (social) identity as "that part of an individual's self concept which derives from [one's] knowledge of [their] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership."[20]

Sometimes, I refer to identity construction as individual. What I mean is that communities are composed of individuals, and each individual must either chose to adhere to and believe the things being taught in the community, or not. Communities do not exist without individuals choosing to participate in them. However, true individual (or personal) identity construction is nonexistent in the Rule of the Community. All the evidence of identity construction in 1QS is focused on social identity. The purpose of the text is to unite a group of people by regulating their actions and adjusting their perceptions of the cosmos. Individuals were expected to conform to the community standards of living.

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[17] Jokiranta, *Social Identity,* 1.

[18] Ibid., 2.

[19] Ibid., 1.

[20] Henri Tajfel, *Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Inter-group Relations* (London: Academic Press, 1978), 63. (Jokiranta quotes Tajfel on p. 1 fn. 1)

I will now define the terms ritual and performance. Catherine Bell prefers the term "performance" to describe religious activity.[21] Others have no problem calling religious actions ritual. In this paper, because we are not attempting to establish "a single universal construct" for the terms ritual and performance, I will be using them interchangeably.[22] Rituals (or performances), for our purposes, are defined as the physical religious actions that are routinely performed in the community. They represent the embodiment of community structure, belief, and identity. I adhere to what Ronald Grimes calls the "usual scholarly view" of ritual. The five characteristics of ritual according to Grimes are: 1. Repeated 2. Sacred 3. Formalized 4. Traditional and 5. Intentional.[23] Thus rituals are the bodily or material performances that have symbolic meaning and are regulated by religious authoritative leaders. Rituals are distinct from mundane daily activities. From an outsider's perspective some rituals may appear to be mundane daily activities, like eating a meal, taking a bath or washing hands. However, within the religious community, these performances take on new and intentional meanings. Through the setting (space), symbolism, religious affiliation, and regulation, the action transcends the mundane.

The question that now must be addressed is how does ritual shape identity? First, rituals can shape identity, specifically within the sectarian context, by socializing the members into the sectarian ways of living.[24] The repeated, sacred, formalized, traditional and intentional acts

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[21] Catherine Bell, "Performance," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 205.

[22] Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 56.

[23] Ronald L. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 60-61.

[24] Miller, "'Sectual' Performance," 16.

performed in the community function as methods of assimilating members into the community and getting them accustomed to the sectarian way of life.[25] Another way in which ritual shapes identity is by communion. Most of the rituals that we will be discussing were performed in group settings. These group-centered rituals "reinforced the members' shared experience and united them around common goals and a common identity."[26]

The final term that needs to be defined is knowledge. The meaning that I imply when I use the term knowledge is "spiritual" sectarian knowledge, or beliefs. These deal more with the religious doctrines of the community. Carol Newsom borrows the term "figured worlds" from Dorothy Holland to explain sectarian knowledge.[27] Holland divides the concept of "figured worlds" into conceptual and material dimensions. She says,

> Figured worlds in their conceptual dimensions supply the contexts of meaning for actions, cultural productions, performances, disputes, for the understandings that people come to make of themselves, and for the capabilities that people develop to direct their own behavior in these worlds. Materially, figured worlds are manifest in people's activities and practices…Figured worlds provide the contexts of meaning…[and] provide the loci in which people fashion senses of self—that is, develop identities.[28]

From this description, Newsom describes the sectarian knowledge as conceptual dimensions that contextualized the meaning of ritual performances and supplied the information needed to develop social identity.

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[25] Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 60-61.

[26] Russell C.D. Arnold, "The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, and Ritual Studies," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures Vol. 2*, ed. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 547.

[27] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space,* 93-95.

[28] Dorothy Holland, *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 60 (Newsom quotes Holland on p. 93, fn. 3).

How does knowledge shape identity in the sectarian community? Carol Newsom further explains the effects of sectarian knowledge in her argument that knowledge "establishes the connection between the very specific behavioral and dispositional features of good and bad character and the mysteries of the plan of God."[29] This knowledge then provides "'what one must know about oneself' in order to renounce those things required by sectarian discipline."[30] In other words, the sectarian knowledge provides the community members with the things they need to know about their identities to motivate them to remain engaged in their community.

Now that we have defined some of the terms that will be used throughout this research project, we can move on to discuss what effects the rituals and doctrines described in 1QS might have had on members' identity. In the next section, I will discuss examples of rituals and knowledge of sectarian doctrine that I argue would have functioned to shape the identity of the community's members. The first will be the ritualized admission process that all members had to go through to be accepted into the community, followed by a discussion of the sectarian knowledge which accompanied the ritual. The second example is the community's ritualized nightly study sessions, and the knowledge the members of the community received in that context. As a third example I will discuss the knowledge of the atoning function of the community, and as a fourth example I will explore ritualized communal meals.

These four examples of rituals and knowledge will lay the foundation for the final section of this project. The final section will focus on one particular element of sectarian knowledge, the doctrine of determinism as described primarily in 1QS 2:19-25, 1QS 3:13-15, and 4:15-17. I am

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[29] Ibid., 189. Here, Newsom is talking specifically about the knowledge from the Two Spirits Treatise in columns 3-4 of 1QS. However, the same basic principles apply to the other doctrines that will be discussed later.

[30] Ibid., 189.

particularly interested in the possible psychological and community-forming effects of such a doctrine. Due to the lack of accessible evidence concerning the effects of this doctrine at Qumran, I will be making a comparison to a more documented determinism-based religious movement: Calvinism. We will compare the doctrines of determinism in both Calvin's writings and 1QS, followed by a look into the intended (and perhaps unintended) sociological effects of Calvin's doctrine. Then we will see if the information gathered about Calvinism can provide any insight into the possible effects of the doctrine of determinism on the community addressed in the Rule of the Community.

Section II: Identity Shaping Examples from 1QS

We will now begin to explore some examples of ways 1QS might have been used to motivate members of the community to stay and create both individual and community identity. Building on the possibility that 1QS was a tool used by community leaders to create unity and identity, we will discuss how ritual performance and knowledge of sectarian doctrine might have influenced members of the community.

It is important to reiterate that what the text says does not necessarily represent reality. Jutta Jokiranta argues that "texts should not be read as direct windows into social realities, and the assumed social reality should not be read into the texts."[31] With this in mind, what we do discuss is not a representation of reality, but a look into the author's intended social influence. This requires us to modify Holland's discussion of "figured worlds." For Holland, "figured worlds" deal with observable groups and individuals, a luxury which we do not have when discussing the Qumran community. Newsom addresses the issue when she argues, "Since our sources from the Qumran community are not only literary but in some sense 'official' texts, what

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[31] Jokiranta, *Social Identity,* 14.

one cannot examine is the way in which specific individuals internalized the figural identities offered them"[32] She concludes that we are limited to only written language and "symbolic forms by which the figured world and its characters were articulated, as well as references to some of the practices by which they were realized."[33] The text only provides us with hints of the intended effects of rituals and sectarian knowledge. So, in a way, all that is available to us in 1QS is a *figured* "figured world."

Admission Process

The opening column of 1QS describes the admission process which each member had to go through in order to become a community member. Of interest for my study are both the ritual itself and the knowledge or doctrine conveyed in the course of the ritual. Column 1 states:

> When they enter the covenant, the priests and the levites shall bless the God of victories and all the works of his faithfulness and all those who enter the covenant shall repeat after them: Amen, Amen. The priests shall recite the just deeds of God in his mighty works, and they shall proclaim all his merciful favors towards Israel. And the levites shall recite the iniquities of the children of Israel…And all those who enter the covenant…shall say: We have acted sinfully, we have transgressed, we have sinned, we have committed evil, we and our fathers before us… (1QS 1:18-25)

The first ritualistic element of the admission process is its formalized nature.[34] In the passage, the new arrivals enter the community by swearing oaths and agreeing to live according to the laws of the community. There is evidence of a formal liturgy which the priests and Levites recited, followed by a response of acceptance by the initiates. There are also elements of the sacred versus the profane. New members reject their old sinful ways and covenant to adhere to the community regulations. This ritual appears also to have been performed in a public setting,

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[32] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 95.

[33] Ibid., 95.

[34] Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies,* 60-61.

where an individual verbally agreed to enter the community in the presence of witnesses. These

ritualized actions begin to shape new identity. Miller, when discussing the overall effects of all

religious performance in the Qumran community, argues that the purpose of these performative

ceremonies was to "produce a collective identity, [and] transform personal identity."[35] From the

very moment a new member arrived, the process of assimilating into the community begins by

means of a ritual.

Members not only physically entered the community through ritualized actions, but they

also began to acquire new knowledge from the language used in the ceremony. Carol Newsom

argues that in addition to members physically entering the community through the ritualized

process discussed above, their language does also. Language, which is a form and source of

knowledge, also had to go through a transitional phase.[36] Russell Arnold explains this

phenomenon as a process of indoctrination where the initiates were exposed to familiar

terminology has been given slightly different community-specific significance. Of the new

members, Arnold said that they were "taught how to talk, the modes of discourse modeled by the

members. The transformation of their use of language goes hand in hand with the indoctrination

into the sectarian worldview of the *yaḥad*."[37] Arnold points out language from the admission

ceremony that would have been familiar to initiates; for example, "in order to love everything

which [God] selects and to hate everything that [God] rejects" (1QS 1:3-4). What God loves and

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[35] Shem Miller, "The Role of Performance and the Performance of Role: Cultural Memory in the Hodayot," *JBL* 137 (2018): 359. Miller is specifically talking about the performative nature of the Hodayot in this quote, but due to the performative nature of the initiation ceremony in 1QS, I felt it appropriate to make the connection.

[36] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 113.

[37] Arnold, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 556.

rejects is not defined for the sectarian setting until later in 1QS 1:9-11 where the language is given a new sectarian meaning. Arnold says, "here, they are to love the children of light and hate the children of darkness, to be united in the council of God, and to walk in perfection."[38] The meaning of familiar language was slightly altered to fit the sectarian agenda. In the sectarian community, the "everything" in "loving everything that God loves and hating everything that God hates" is explicitly defined. The members of the community are told who and what they are to love and to hate, in this case they are to love the children of light and hate the children of darkness. Requiring new members of the community to adopt and learn the sectarian meaning of words was a way of shaping identity. It would have united the members under a common ideology which defined itself by comparing itself to others. Members would have motivation to stay in the community because the knowledge of the new meaning of concepts would render the old meaning obsolete.

Through the initiation ceremony, the initiates are then given knowledge about their own identities. According to the words of the ceremony, the new arrivals are informed about their collective identities, with phrases like "children of Israel" (1QS 1:23), "our fathers before us" (1QS 1:25), and "judgement upon us and upon our fathers" (1QS 1:26). These phrases in the initiation ceremony situate the members of the community into the biblical narrative as a continuation of the line of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Again, the sectarians are receiving knowledge common to all Jews, but that knowledge is given a specific *yaḥad* valence. This particular kind of "knowledge" that the new members are receiving is a phenomenon that Jan Assmann calls "cultural memory."[39] Shem Miller summarizes Assmann's concept of "cultural

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[38] Ibid., 556.

[39] Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 24-29.

memory" as, "the part of an individual's memory that is 'socially and culturally determined.'"[40]

For the initiates to the community addressed in 1QS, they are assuming the "cultural memory" of

the patriarchs and the children of Israel. Miller adds,

> This speech act functions to evoke and create a common descent of membership. In short, history is instrumentalized for the purpose of identity formation…Similar to the portrayal of the past in Deuteronomy, history becomes a "foundational myth," a story that is told in order to frame sectarian laws and to explain the origins of the sectarian movement.[41]

The ritual and the knowledge revealed through the ritual both act to influence the initiates to

remain in the community. If the initiates were to buy in to what was being taught they would

have felt the need to stay in the group that claimed to be the legitimate heirs of the covenant

dating back to the patriarchs in the Hebrew Bible. This "cultural memory" could have

encouraged members to stay, because it meant that there were no other legitimate groups that

could make the same claim. This is a classic form of identity construction. Recall Jutta

Jokiranta's observation that "identity is defined in relation to others."[42] The claim of being true

Israel is a clear form of othering and defining oneself in relation to both other Jews and non-Jews

alike. It is also a way for the leaders of the community to claim authority and legitimization.

Claiming to be God's true chosen people legitimizes their interpretations of the law and

authorizes any decisions made by the community leaders.

Later in 1QS, more is revealed about the admissions procedure. 1QS 5:7 reads, "these are

the regulations of their behavior concerning all these decrees when they are enrolled in the

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[40] Miller, "The Role of Performance," 369. Miller is quoting Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 8.

[41] Miller, "'Sectual' Performance," 32.

[42] Jokiranta, *Social Identity*, 1.

Community." It is not clear how the activities described in this column relate to those described in column 1. However, the text indicates that the knowledge in it would have been presented to the initiates at some point during or following the initiation ceremony. The text continues:

> He shall swear with a binding oath to revert to the Law of Moses, according to all that he commanded, with whole heart and whole soul, in compliance with all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant and interpret his will…He should swear by the covenant to be segregated from all the men of injustice who walk along the path of wickedness. (1QS 5:8-11)

In this passage the initiates are required to agree to three things. First, members must agree to follow the Law of Moses. Then they are required to abide by the community rules and the authoritative figures' interpretation of the law. Finally, the initiates were asked to separate themselves from all outsiders. Shem Miller recognized these three requirements as a way to socialize the new members.[43] The mix of ritual and knowledge is again apparent. The evidence of ritual is the swearing of an oath. The members make an oath to adhere to certain knowledge. The knowledge is the learning and abiding by the Law of Moses but also the fact that special teachings about the law have been revealed to the priests.

An example of one of the community's interpretations of the Torah is interpretation of Exodus 23:7 that discusses the physical separation from all wickedness. Concerning outsiders and unclean members of the community, 1QS explains, "No-one should associate with him in his work or in his possessions in order not to encumber him with blameworthy iniquity; rather he should remain at a distance from him in every task, for it is written as follows (Exod 23:7): 'You shall remain at a distance from every lie'" (1QS 5:14-15). Physical separation from anyone not in the community, and even separation from disobedient members of the community, is based on the community leaders' interpretation of the Torah. If the members of the community strictly

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[43] Miller, "'Sectual' Performance," 34.

abided by this rule, the members would not be exposed to differing opinions. It would be an environment where community identity and structure would not be threatened.

Nightly Study Sessions

The admission process would have been the first of many ways in which the community leaders shaped identity and incentivized people to remain in the community. Another way that the leaders did this was through the training of both new and matriculated members during nightly study sessions.[44] The lines directly preceding the instructions concerning the nightly study session provide some context. They read, "Whenever one fellow meets another, the junior shall obey the senior in work and in money. They shall eat together, together they shall bless and together they shall counsel" (1QS 6:2-3). From this passage we see elements of hierarchy and social control. The text suggests that members of the community were regulated and observed by an authoritative or senior member of the community. The text continues, "In every place where there are ten men of the Community council, there should not be missing amongst them a priest" (1QS 6:3-4). Similar to the previous lines, this passage reiterates the presence of social control in the community. The community made sure that there was a priest or a leader present in almost every setting, including the nightly study sessions described in the subsequent lines. Having a leader present likely gave the study groups legitimacy by regulating what was being taught.

Instructions directly preceding the nightly study session read, "And in the place in which the Ten assemble there should not be missing a man to interpret the law day and night, always, one relieving the other" (1QS 6:6-7). The practice of interpreting the law at all times, if understood in light of 1QS 6:3-4, would have required the presence of a priest. Again, this

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[44] Ibid., 22. I am using Miller's title "nightly study session" to refer to what is described in 1QS 6:6-8.

demonstrates a need to have an interpreter or leader present in the group to make sure the correct

interpretation of the law is being taught. Then the text reads "and the Many shall be on watch

together for a third of each night of the year in order to read the book, explain the regulation, and

bless together" (1QS 6:7-8).

The question then arises, to whom do these regulations apply? Who were the "many"

(רבים)? Were new initiates part of the רבים, or did it only consist of fully-fellowshipped

members? There is some scholarly debate concerning the terms the Many (הרבים) and the *yaḥad*

(יחד), and it is based on a larger debate concerning the nature of the communities described in the

Dead Sea Scrolls. There are two scholarly schools of thought: the "satellite" and the "precursor."

The latter position, according to Miller, "argues that 1QS 6:1b-7a [with its reference to multiple

groups] is integral to the Community Rule and demonstrates that the *yaḥad*—the name of the

entire sectarian movement in the broadest sense—consisted of the community at Qumran as well

as smaller satellite communities…"[45] Miller is citing Alison Schofield who first formulated this

school of thought. Schofield argues that the *yaḥad* is a term used to broadly describe the entire

movement, and that the Many refers to the "fully-fellowshipped membership of a given

congregation, described as such only when functioning as a judicial body."[46] So for Schofield,

the Many refers only to the fully-fellowshipped members acting in a judicial capacity, and not

the new members of the community.

According to Miller, the "precursor" school of thought suggests that 1QS 6:1b-7a,

represents an earlier period in the history of the sectarian movement, predating the large Qumran

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[45] Miller, "'Sectual' Performance," 20.

[46] Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 146-147.

community. Therefore the "small communities described in 1QS 6:1b-7a were not contemporaneous with the large Essene community at Qumran."[47] Within this school of thought the Many represents "the totality of full membership of the community, consisting of both priests and laymen."[48] Without going any further into the debate, one thing that is clear is that in the current form of 1QS, a nightly study session was held within the community. This study session had the potential to shape and construct social identity, even if it's not clear exactly who would have taken part. The debate does, however, raise some interesting questions about the structure of the community, and about the intended audience of this nightly indoctrination.

So, each night community members would gather together "to read the book, explain the regulation, and bless together" (1QS 6:7-8). It is not clear to which book the text refers. It could have been the Pentateuch, the Rule of the Community, both, or some other text. Either way, presumably the community-specific rules and interpretations of biblical law were explained. It is not clear exactly how these meetings would have been carried out, but we do see some ritualistic elements to the practice. Miller argues that the nightly reading sessions were ritualistic and performative: "the verb 'read' (קרא) therefore usually denotes oral performance, either reading aloud or recitation from memory, rather than silent reading."[49] He then quotes G. Brooke who said, "[the reading] seems to involve comprehension and some kind of active engagement with the text as it was performed."[50] Mladen Popović agrees with Brooke and Miller, and

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[47] Miller, "'Sectual' Performance," 20.

[48] Sariana Metso, "Qumran Community Structure and Terminology as Theological Statement," RevQ 20 (2002), 441.

[49] Miller, "'Sectual' Performance," 20.

[50] Ibid., 24. Miller is quoting George J. Brooke, "Reading, Searching, and Blessing: A Functional Approach to Scriptural Interpretation in the יחד," in *The Temple in Text and*

characterizes the community that used 1QS as a "textual community." For Popović, "textual

community" refers to communities that engage with and develop their identities around the study

and group discussion of texts. He argues that "reading and studying texts together would then

have contributed to a continuous formation and discipline of identity and community."[51] The

community built identity around the ritual activity of reading and interpretation of texts.

There was a nightly ritualized gathering, during which authoritative texts were read and

discussed, followed by some form of blessing (ולברך ביחד). The ritual conveyed knowledge in a

performative way. The knowledge conveyed provided the members of the community with daily

instruction and reinforcement of community rules. The nightly study sessions would therefore

have acted both to develop group identity and provide incentive to remain in the community. The

incentive would come as the members were exposed to interpretations of the Torah and other

texts which set their community apart from others and claimed to be the correct interpretations.

The knowledge received would have shaped individual and community identity and reinforced

the legitimacy of the community and its leadership.

Community as Temple

The third example deals with the knowledge each member received concerning the duty

and function of the community. According to 1QS, the community acted as temple, replacing

what they deemed an illegitimate temple in Jerusalem. The text reads,

> The Community council shall be founded on truth, to be an everlasting plantation, a holy
> house for Israel and the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron, true witnesses for the
> judgement and chosen by the will (of God) to atone for the land and to render the wicked

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Tradition: A Festschrift in Honor of Robert Hayward, ed. R. Timothy McLay (London:
Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 145 (See Miller, p. 24, fn. 36)

[51]Mladen Popović, "Reading, Writing, and Memorizing Together: Reading Culture in
Ancient Judaism and the Dead Sea Scrolls in a Mediterranean Context," *DSD* 24 (2017): 451-
452.

their retribution. [ ] This (the Community) is the tested rampart, the precious cornerstone that does not [ ] whose foundations shake or tremble… (1QS 8:4-8)

John Collins states that "the function of atoning, which was traditionally exercised by the temple cult, is here claimed for the *yaḥad*."[52] He also clarifies that the *yaḥad* is not just made up of elite leaders of the community, but includes each member of the community.[53] Carol Newsom discusses in detail the "community as temple" metaphor in this passage. She recognizes the paradoxical nature of the usage of the term metaphor, because of the "'is and is not' quality of a metaphor."[54] The community was not the temple, but the community was claiming to be legitimately performing the roles of the temple. She also argues that the "community as temple" metaphor is a foundational belief that shapes individual and community identity.[55]

There were multiple potential effects of this belief. Newsom argues, for instance, that "the self-understanding of the community as temple and the transformed understanding of the atoning work of the community/temple explains the intense focus on the notion of perfection in this teaching."[56] According to Newsom, the belief was what motivated the community to maintain strict moral and ritual purity practices. Living an ethical life for your own sake was not the focus. If a member of the community was ritually or morally impure "the community/temple would be polluted and unable to carry out its functions…"[57] The purity of the members of the

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[52] John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 69.

[53] Ibid., 71.

[54] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 157.

[55] Ibid., 156.

[56] Ibid., 159.

[57] Ibid., 159.

community affected the overarching purpose of the community: atonement for the land. This knowledge would have greatly influenced members to strive to live according to the community's regulations (i.e. an ethical life). The knowledge of what Newsom calls "reconstituted Israel" and "reconstituted priesthood", which suggests that the temple and priesthood in Jerusalem were no longer legitimate, would have motivated members of the community. [58] This aspect of the figured world included the claim that they were the legitimate Israel and that only they could perform temple duties.[59] This claim to legitimacy is another example of cultural memory.[60] Within this figured world, the *yaḥad* was given a place and a function within the narrative of the origins of the community. This belief would have unified the community under a common "legitimate" identity, and would have kept the members engaged. It also meant that only way atonement could be made for the land relied on their individual and communal purity. This also would have caused members to feel invested in the community and abide by its regulations.

Communal Meals

The last example of ritual and knowledge that acted as a motivator to remain in the community is the practice of communal meals. These communal meals would have had a multi-level impact on the members of the community. The basic outline of the communal meal includes the preparation for the meal, the meal itself, and blessing and taking counsel. The text reads,

> They shall *eat together*, together they *shall bless* and together they *shall take counsel*. In every place where there are ten men of the Community council, there should not be missing among them a priest. And every one shall sit according to his rank before him,

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[58] Ibid., 155.

[59] Ibid.*,* 93-95.

[60] Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory,* 24-29.

and in this way shall they be asked for their counsel in every matter. And when they *prepare the table* to dine or the new wine for drinking, the priest shall stretch out his hand as the first to bless the first fruits of the bread. (1QS 6:2-5)

Other details may be filled in from elsewhere in 1QS and other sources. Though further information concerning the preparation for the meal is scarce, a few clues can be found in the archaeology at Qumran and the writings of Josephus. Column 5 hints at the practice of ritual bathing before members could participate in the communal meal: "He should not *go into the waters* to share in the pure food of the men of holiness, for one is not cleansed unless one turns away from one's wickedness, for he is unclean among all the transgressors of his word" (1QS 5:13-14). This text both addresses members of the community who were refused entrance into the communal meal, and suggests that ritual bathing was required before entry into the dining area.[61] The archaeological remains at Qumran strongly indicate the practice of ritual bathing. Jodi Magness concluded that there are eight identifiable miqva'ot on site at Qumran, with possibly two more.[62] It is only through the Qumran texts and the writings of Josephus that the connection can be made between the miqva'ot and the communal meals.

Following the ritual bathing, members of the community would then participate in the communal meal. Every element of Ronald Grimes's definition of ritual is seen in 1QS 6:2-5. The meals were repeated, sacred, formalized, traditional, and intentional.[63] As part of the communal meal, the members present would take counsel. The text does not explicitly explain what taking

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[61] James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today,* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 111. For an overview of Josephus's description of the Essene's communal meal, see pages 111-112.

[62] Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 151.

[63] Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 60-61.

counsel actually looked like, but the word implies that members would have received instructions and insight from the authoritative figures of the community. Concerning the meal and the knowledge received, Russell Arnold stated that "the combination of these activities reinforced the members' shared experience and united them around common goals and a common identity."[64] The meal and the communion involved acted as means of developing communal identity.

In addition to receiving instruction and food, Arnold argues that "at the same time that the communal meals strengthened the *yaḥad's* group identity… they serve as both rites of communion (emphasizing common identity) and political rites (establishing order)."[65] The political aspect of the meals is manifested in the order by which the community members organized themselves. "And every one shall sit according to his rank before him, and in this way shall they be asked for their counsel in every matter" (1QS 6:4). The members of the community were ranked according to their deeds and insight during an annual spirit evaluation ceremony: "Their spirit and their deeds must be tested, year after year, in order to upgrade each one to the extent of his insight and the perfection of his path, or to demote him according to his failings" (1QS 5:24). According to what was decided at the spirit evaluation, the members would be arranged in order during the communal meals.[66] Members always knew where they stood in comparison to everyone else in the community. This public hierarchical ranking system would

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[64] Arnold, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 559.

[65] Ibid., 559.

[66] The annual spirit evaluation ceremony will be discussed in greater detail in section 3. The context, however, is different. Instead of understanding the spirit evaluation in connection with the communal meal, it will be discussed in light of the sectarian belief in determinism.

have encouraged some members to acquire more sectarian knowledge and strive harder to be

purer and more obedient with respect to the sectarian laws.

Another layer to the community meals deals with who was and was not permitted to

attend the meals:

> He should not go into the waters to share in the pure food of the men of holiness, for one
> is not cleansed unless one turns away from ones [sic] wickedness, for he is unclean
> among all the transgressors of his word (1QS 5:13-14).

> And depending on the outcome of the lot in the council of the Many he shall be included
> or excluded. When he is included in the Community council, he must not touch the pure
> food of the Many until they test him about his spirit and about his deeds, until he has
> completed a full year (1QS 6:16-17).

New and unclean members of the community were not allowed to participate in the communal

meals until they had gone through a period of purification proving that they were qualified to be

numbered among those in full fellowship. Arnold concludes that "initiates, those being punished,

and of course non-members were all excluded from participation."[67] It is not clear where or what

the new members of the community would have eaten, nor does it matter for our purposes. What

is clear it that eating with the "council of the Many" appears to have been a desirable reward and

incentive for remaining obedient to the community rules.[68] This alone could have been a

motivating factor for the new members to remain faithful to the sectarian rules.

From the admission process and the nightly study sessions, to ideas of atonement and

communal meals, we have seen some of the ways that the community, as represented in 1QS,

would have received its motivations to remain faithful in the group. This is not an exhaustive list

of methods dictated in the Community Rule, but it provides some insight into the sectarian text,

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[67] Arnold, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 559.

[68] VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today,* 111-112.

and how it could have been applied to shape social identity, and in turn, motivate its members to remain engaged in the community.

Section III: The Doctrine of Determinism

Jonathan Klawans, in an article called "The Dead Sea Scrolls, the Essenes, and the Study of Religious Belief," makes a striking claim in passing. While discussing how determinism in Calvinism acted as a motivator "compelling believers to try harder," Klawans, in turn, connects this idea to the deterministic ideas dictated in the Community Rule. He essentially argues that the doctrine of determinism would have had the same impact on the community members who used 1QS as it did for Calvinists.[69] However, he does not expound on the idea; it was merely a passing comment. Above, we discussed some of the methods used in 1QS to construct identity and provide motivation for members of the community to remain in the group. Now we will explore the possibility that the knowledge of the idea of determinism, as exemplified in the Treatise of the Two Spirits and a few other key passages in 1QS, could have also acted as a significant motivational factor.

I begin by stating the obvious. Unless there is a text explicitly explaining how another text affected a community in the ancient past (which there is not for 1QS), the probability of accurately describing the effects of a text on a community is rather low. Even if there were such a text, how much could we rely on it? For this reason, I plan on building off Klawans's article, by using Calvinism as constructive comparative data for understanding the ancient Jewish community. I refer to this method as the "Jurassic Park Method." Just as John Hammond used

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[69] Jonathan Klawans, "The Dead Sea Scrolls, the Essenes, and the Study of Religious Belief: Determinism and Freedom of Choice," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods*, ed. Maxine L. Grossman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 281.

living frog DNA to fill in the fragmented pre-historic dinosaur DNA (which was extracted from ancient mosquitos trapped in amber), I will use the better-known Calvinism and studies on the effects of determinism in that context to gain an understanding of how the deterministic doctrine in 1QS may have impacted the community members. Hopefully, this model does not take the same dark turn as Jurassic Park. As Ian Malcolm states perfectly in the sequel: "Oh, yeah. Oooh, ahhh, that's how it always starts. Then later there's running and screaming."[70]

Determinism in 1QS

Before we can begin, we must first understand what the Community Rule says about determinism. After discussing determinism in the Qumran text, we will compare it to the determinism expressed in Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Once both have been discussed, we will consider how sociologists have measured the impact of the doctrine of determinism on Calvinists, and determine if Calvinism can help us understand an ancient community.

Determinism, loosely defined, is the idea that God has already planned the outcome of certain events, and nothing that people do can alter it. The doctrine of determinism, as we will see shortly, can refer to the predestined outcome of events, and also the predestined fate of individuals. One explicit example of a deterministic worldview, among several, is found in The Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13- 4:26). The beginning of the Treatise reads: "From the God of knowledge stems all there is and all there shall be. Before they existed, he established their entire design. And when they have come into being, at their appointed time, they will execute all their works according to his glorious design, without altering anything" (1QS 3:15-16). Emmanuel Tukasi argues that three different forms of determinism appear throughout 1QS.

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[70] Steven Spielberg, *The Lost World: Jurassic Park* (1997).

As we will see, these three forms of determinism are interrelated, and a clear distinction between them is difficult to maintain. The first form of determinism that Tukasi extracts from the sectarian text is cosmological determinism, illustrated by the example cited above (1QS 3:15-16). Cosmological determinism, according to Tukasi, is where "creation goes through its motions in accordance with the foundational principles set by the 'God of knowledge'."[71] Armin Lange makes a similar observation regarding 1QS 3:15-16, and adds that the text outlines the "pre-existent order of the world."[72] On the basis of the phrase "all there is and all there shall be" (כול הויה ונהייה), Tukasi argues that this type of determinism not only includes the pre-planning of the creation, as the term cosmology implies, but also includes historical events planned before creation that will unfold without variance in accordance with that plan.[73]

The second form of determinism that Tukasi identifies is eschatological determinism.[74] He uses the text found on column four which reads: "God, in the mysteries of his knowledge and in the wisdom of his glory, has determined an end to the existence of injustice and on the appointed time of the visitation he will obliterate it forever" (1QS 4:18-19). According to the text, God has foreknowledge of the eschatological period, where injustice will be destroyed, and a period of peace and righteousness will replace it. Like cosmological determinism, this form of

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[71] Emmanuel O. Tukasi, *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer In John and the Dead Sea Scrolls: an Ideological Reading of John and the Rule of the Community (1QS)* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 33.

[72] Armin Lange, "Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls," DSD 2 (1995): 346.

[73] Tukasi, *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer*, 34.

[74] Ibid., 49.

determinism includes the idea of a predetermined event in history, but for this specific example it deals with a predetermined eschaton that had not yet occurred.

The third form of determinism that Tukasi lists is soteriological determinism. This form of determinism deals with the will of God that was revealed to Moses and the prophets and incorporated in 1QS. The concept essentially means that the will of God which was revealed to Moses and the prophets, and recorded in the Hebrew Bible, was predetermined and applies to the sectarian community. They were held to the same standard and promised the same salvific promises as the ancient Israelites. According to Tukasi, the will of God is determined, and therefore unchangeable, and the community was subject to the predetermined will of God.[75]

The three distinct forms of determinism that Tukasi has categorized can be combined into one all-encompassing idea, that God has decided since before creation the way that everything would unfold and ultimately end. In other words, God does not change his mind about how events should unfold. The question then arises whether the determinism in 1QS is merely the determinism of historical events, or do the parameters of determinism in 1QS also incorporate individual human determinism (or the predestined fate of people). Tukasi does not think that 1QS has any indication of individual determinism. He strongly argues that the dualistic language, and hints of choice and personal change found in the Community Rule, indicate that determinism did not apply to human choice, but that it only applied to outcomes, events, and God's will. The main sources for his stance on individual determinism are the dualistic concepts found in the Treatise of the Two Spirits. The Treatise states,

> He created [humans] to rule the world and placed within [them] two spirits so that he
> would walk with them until the moment of his visitation: they are the spirits of truth and
> deceit. From the spring of light stem the generations of truth, and from the source of
> darkness the generations of deceit. And in the hand of the Prince of Lights is dominion

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[75] Ibid., 50.

over all the sons of justice; they walk on paths of light. And in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is total dominion over the sons of deceit; they walk on paths of darkness. (1QS 3:17-21)

Tusaki uses these lines (among others) to argue that individuals were able to change and move back and forth from the light to the dark, and that individual humans decide their own fate. He argues that the dualistic language in the Treatise suggests that each individual chooses which spirit they ultimately follow.[76] Jörg Frey comes to a similar conclusion and points out three different kinds of dualism found in 1QS: cosmic dualism, ethical dualism, and psychological dualism.[77] The cosmic dualism is found in the two spiritual beings, the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness. John Collins summarizes Frey's description of ethical dualism as "the opposition of two classes of human beings with virtues and vices."[78] The psychological dualism deals with the idea that within each individual there are two competing tendencies or spirits. Tusaki and other scholars argue that duality itself was predetermined by God, but that the final state of the individual depends on which spirit they choose to heed. According to Tusaki and Frey, the members of the community were free to choose their outcomes. Therefore, they highlight the language of choice and dualism to argue that the members of the community were not bound by a predetermined outcome.[79]

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[76] Ibid., 57.

[77] Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on their Background and History," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995: Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. Moshe Bernstein Kampen, Florentino Garcia Martinez, and John Kampen, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 289-295.

[78] John J. Collins, *Scriptures and Sectarianism: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls,* WUNT 332 (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 183.

[79] Tukasi, *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer*, 57.

On the contrary, I would argue that the determinism in 1QS extends to individuals and choice, and that the כול הויה ונהייה (all that is and all that will be) is meant to include the determined fate of individuals in addition to the determined outcome of events. The first evidence I have to support this claim is found in the introduction to the Treatise. Above we discussed part of the introduction of the Treatise in 1QS 3:15-16, where the text reads, "[God] established their entire design." This comes directly after the opening lines of the Treatise, which read:

> The Instructor should instruct and teach all the sons of light about the nature of all the sons of man, concerning all the ranks of their spirits, in accordance with their signs, concerning their deeds in their generations, and concerning the visitation of their punishments and the times of their reward (1QS 3:13-15).

We can see that the members are being called the "sons of light," which begins to demonstrate ideas of being chosen and distinguishing themselves from other Jews and outsiders. From this we can assume that they are either confirmed "sons of light," or are attempting to prove that they are.[80] Being addressed as a "son of light" does not necessarily prove individualistic determinism because some could interpret it as an individual's choice to be a son of light. However, as the text continues, the evidence becomes clearer.

In addition to referring to community members as sons of light, the text describes a systematic ranking of the spirit ("concerning all the ranks of their spirits"; 1QS 3:14). This passage suggests that there was a hierarchical and organized order to the spirits of the "sons of man." This passage may allude to a process established in the community that helped the leaders determine if each member was indeed a "son of light," or merely an imposter. Scholars refer to

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[80] Here I allude to the sectarian practice known as the annual spirit evaluation. This will be discussed shortly and will further support the claim that the doctrine of determinism in 1QS includes the determinism of individual choice.

this process as the spirit evaluation, and it was conducted annually. The results of the spirit evaluation then allowed the community leaders to assign each member a spiritual rank.

The Treatise then continues, "in accordance with their signs concerning their *deeds*" (1QS 3:14). Similar terminology is found elsewhere in 1QS when describing the testing of the spirit, and other community functions. One example is found on column 5, which reads, "And their spirit and their *deeds* must be tested, year after year, in order to upgrade each one to the extent of his insight and the perfection of his path…" (1QS 5:23-24; see also 1QS 5:21; 6:14, 18). The annual spirit evaluation was the ritualized action through which the doctrine of determinism was made manifest.[81] The annual testing of the spirit consisted of an inquiry into the *knowledge* and *deeds* of the individual. The text even describes what the spirit of a son of light and that of a son of darkness would look like. The text provides the following description of the spirit of a son of light:

> To enlighten the heart of man, straighten out in front of him all the paths of true justice, establish in his heart respect for the precepts of God; it is a spirit of meekness, of patience, generous compassion, eternal goodness, intelligence, understanding, potent wisdom which trusts in all the deeds of God and depends on his abundant mercy. (1QS 4:2-4)

In contrast, the spirit of a son of darkness is described with the following characteristics:

> To the spirit of deceit belong greed, sluggishness in the service of justice, wickedness, falsehood, pride, haughtiness of heart, dishonesty, trickery, cruelty, much insincerity, impatience, much foolishness, impudent enthusiasm for appalling acts performed in a lustful passion, filthy paths in the service of impurity, blasphemous tongue, blindness of eyes, hardness of hearing, stiffness of neck, hardness of heart in order to walk in all the paths of darkness and evil cunning. (1QS 4:9-11)

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[81] The connection between the doctrine of determinism and the annual spirit evaluation will become clearer. Since there are contrasting scholarly opinions concerning the determinism of individual fate, I must first provide evidence demonstrating that there are indeed clues to the sectarian belief in the doctrine of determinism.

The annual spirit evaluation acted as a way to determine whether or not the spirit of a member of the community was influenced by the Prince of Light or the Angel of Darkness. It also provided a way to evaluate the members and discover those who entered the covenant community hypocritically.[82] It is not clear exactly how this procedure was performed, but Carol Newsom argues that the spirit evaluation "was a formal and ceremonious occasion."[83] Once evaluated, the members were ranked in the order of their spiritual lot.

Still, the ranking and the spirit evaluation can be viewed in two ways. It can either be viewed as language of choice where the individual could ascend and descend the spiritual ladder as a result of their actions, as Tusaki argues.[84] Or the purpose of the testing of the spirit was to prove what had already been determined by God: their predetermined spiritual rank. I argue the latter.

The textual evidence that further supports the claim that determinism extended to the individual is found in the following passage:

> The priests shall enter in order foremost, one behind the other, according to their spirits. And the Levites shall enter after them. In third place all the people shall enter in order, one after another, in thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens, so that each Israelite may know his standing in God's community *in conformity with an eternal plan.* And *no-one shall move down from his rank nor move up from the place of his lot.* For all shall be in a Community of truth, of proper meekness, of compassionate love and upright purpose, towards each other, in a holy council, associates of an everlasting society. (1QS 2:19-25)

The passage begins with the same language of spiritual rank as mentioned above. It then explains why the order matters: "so that each Israelite may know his standing in God's community…" This passage suggests that the purpose of spiritual ranking was to demonstrate to the individual

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[82] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space,* 120-121.

[83] Ibid., 139.

[84] Tukasi, *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer,* 57-61.

and to the community where the community member stood (spiritually speaking), in relation to the other members. Furthermore, this ranking is "in conformity with an eternal plan." The rank that someone is assigned reflects a predetermined design, suggesting that God already knew where each member's spirit would be ranked. According to the text, everything, even the spiritual nature of individuals, conforms to God's eternal plan.

The idea of individual determinism is made even clearer by the following sentence: "And no-one shall move down from his rank nor move up from the place of his lot." When the leader determines the rank of the spirit of the community member, he is not the one deciding where to rank the community member, he is merely revealing to the members what God had already determined: "his lot." Some would argue that the fact that members could move up and down the social rank (see 1QS 5:24) suggests that the individual's fate was not determined, but their choices ranked them.[85] However, this passage (1QS 2:19-25) suggests that the movement up and down is not an individual achievement, it is merely the leaders discovering what God had already determined. Another passage from 1QS supports this conclusion: "every deed they do (falls) into their divisions, dependent on what might be the birthright of man, great or small, for all eternal times. For God has sorted them into equal parts until the last time, and has put an everlasting loathing between their divisions" (1QS 4:15-17). The text indicates a determined outcome for all individuals. People are divided, and sorted by God, and have been "for all eternal times."

Alex Jassen comes to a similar conclusion, arguing that "it was assumed that if one did convert from the Sons of Darkness to the Sons of Light or atone for personal sins, then this set of experiences was already preordained by God."[86] Jassen still has hints of human free will when he

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[85] Ibid., 46.

[86] Alex P. Jassen, "Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Religion Compass (ANE)* 1 (2007): 11.

suggests that members could "convert" from one way of life to another. Jassen's use of the verb "convert" is unclear, and could be more precise. The way Jassen uses it suggests a spiritual transformation from darkness to light, but he concludes that this spiritual conversion was predestined to occur. I would argue that conversion, in the context of the *yaḥad*, did not mean changing from one spiritual nature to another, but it just refers to the action of joining the community. The text suggests the spirit of each member was already predetermined, which supports the idea that the person was a son of light all along, and entering the community just confirmed this. What then can be said about the constant push in 1QS for members to learn and obey community rules? Obedience to the community rules, and full participation in its rituals and practices, did not demonstrate a member's choice to become a "son of light", but rather their knowledge and deeds became an outward manifestation of their spiritual rank that had already been determined by God. The obedience of community members was a way for leaders to uncover the predetermined spiritual nature of the members.

Calvin's Doctrine of Determinism

As we have seen in section 2, there are various rituals and doctrines in 1QS that, if actually performed and understood, would have influenced the members of the *yaḥad* to remain in the community. In this section we have taken a closer look at the doctrine of determinism as taught in 1QS. We have also discussed how the sectarians revealed their predetermined natures thorough the ritualized annual spirit evaluation. The question concerning how knowledge of this doctrine of determinism affected members of the *yaḥad* remains unanswered.

In order to understand how the doctrine of determinism in 1QS might have affected the community members, I now move on to discuss John Calvin's doctrine of determinism as a point

of comparison. We will begin by briefly discussing the background and theological meaning of Calvin's doctrine of determinism. This will be followed by a discussion about the intended effects of the doctrine on believers, which will act as a point of contact where we can understand how the comparable sectarian doctrine might have played a similar role in identity construction.

There is disagreement between scholars about the role that God plays in Calvinistic determinism. François Wendel, on the one hand, explains John Calvin's doctrine of God's providence (or determinism) as God's constant activity in the world.[87] He then quotes Calvin's *Institutions,* which says, "When we speak of the providence of God, this word does not signify that he, remaining idle in the heavens, watches over what is happening on earth: rather is he like the captain of a ship, holding the helm in order to cope with every event."[88] Kevin Cameron, on the other hand, argues that the doctrine of predestination demonstrates God's indifference towards humans. According to Cameron, because everything is determined in advance, God does not care about lowly humans. Cameron says, "the point of Calvin's doctrine of predestination is to demonstrate God's overall providence even when it appears that he has turned his back on the world."[89]

Despite the contradicting views concerning the role of God, scholars unanimously agree about the role of the doctrine of determinism in Calvinism. "God has foreordained everything…[and] God chose to save a few and has damned all others."[90] The doctrine of

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[87] François Wendel, *Calvin: Origins and Development of His Religious Thought,* trans. Philip Mairet (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1997), 178.

[88] Ibid., 178. Wendel is quoting Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion (Book 1:16)

[89] Kevin Cameron, "Sovereignty of the Perverse: Democratic Subjectivity and Calvin's Doctrine of Predestination," *Literature and Psychology* 49 (2003): 18.

[90] Christopher Adair-Toteff, "Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Politics: Weber on Conscience, Conviction and Conflict," *HHS* 24 (2011): 24.

determinism meant that God was involved in everything, at least initially, determining the

outcome of all historical events, and predetermining the natures of each individual.

Unfortunately, Calvin did not discuss the determinism of events explicitly in his writings.

Eschatological teachings were not one of his major theological focuses.[91] However, Calvin's

determinism of individual fate is discussed extensively. For Calvin, no matter what choice a

person made, the outcome was already predetermined.

> Calvin speaks for himself in his 1556 version of *Institutes*:
>
> We say, then, that Scripture clearly proves this much, that God by his eternal and immutable counsel determined once for all those whom it was his pleasure one day to admit to salvation, and those whom, on the other hand, it was his pleasure to doom to destruction. We maintain that this counsel, as regards the elect, is founded on his free mercy, without any respect to human worth, while those whom he dooms to destruction are excluded from access to life by a just and blameless, but at the same time incomprehensible judgment.[92]

According to Calvin, salvation is predetermined. There is no room for personal agency. Or, in

other words, personal agency did not affect the predetermined fate of your soul. Calvin also

believed that "God's eternal decree flows from his will, but he is neither tyrannical nor lawless.

God's justice is beyond human comprehension, and we must accept whatever God wills as

righteous."[93]

John Calvin based much of his doctrine of predestination on the works of Augustine who,

in turn, based his doctrines on certain New Testament epistles. Thomas Davis argues that many

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[91] J.H. van Wyk, "John Calvin on the Kingdom of God and Eschatology," *In die Skriflig/In Luce Verbi* 32.2 (2001): 192.

[92] John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge (Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2002), 571-572 (Book 3 Chapter 21:7).

[93] Bruce Gordon, *John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 86.

of the deterministic ideas upon which both Augustine and Calvin established theirs come from

the books of Romans and Ephesians.[94] For example, Rom 9:18-19 reads, "so it depends not on

human will or exertion, but on God who shows mercy…so then he has mercy on whomever he

chooses, and he hardens the heart of whomever he chooses."[95] Similarly, Eph 1:4-5 reads,

"…just as he chose us in Christ before the foundation of the world to be holy and blameless

before him in love. He destined us for adoption as his children through Jesus Christ, according to

the good pleasure of his will." Augustine and Calvin interpreted these verses to signify God's

ultimate sovereignty over historical events, as well as individual actions. From these verses

emerged doctrines of determinism which questioned free will and salvation through personal

effort.

Augustine, as mentioned above, accepted the doctrine of determinism based on his

interpretation of these biblical verses. Peter Thuesen summarizes Augustine's understanding of

the doctrine in the following way:

> All humans are born terminally ill with sin and thus deserve damnation. Birth defects
> prove the point. If babies suffer defects through no fault of their own, then we are forced
> to abandon all faith in divine justice. Surely, then, some infants are born disfigured or
> crippled as punishment for their own inbred sin. The fact that God preserves other
> equally sinful infants from harm—and elects only certain persons to ultimate salvation—
> merely reveals grace for what it is: something completely unmerited.[96]

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[94] Thomas J. Davis, introduction to *John Calvin's American Legacy*, ed. Thomas J, Davis
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 7.

[95] *The Harper Collins Study Bible: New Revised Standard Version*, ed.
Harold W. Attridge (San Francisco: Harper One Publishers, 2006). (All subsequent biblical
verses will be quoted from this Bible.)

[96] Peter J. Thuesen, *Predestination: The American Career of a Contentious Doctrine*
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 21-22.

David Fergusson, after discussing Augustine's influence on Calvin's doctrine of providence, then maps out the growing schism between the determinism of Augustine and Calvin's. One of the main differences between the two approaches to determinism is authority. Augustine balances the authority of God with the authority of the Church and its sacraments, where Calvin only recognizes the authority of God. In Calvin's idea of predestination, no choice, practice, or institution would be able to change the will of God. Consequently, Calvin rejected the sacraments, viewing them as unnecessary.[97]

Another aspect of Calvin's determinism that parts ways with Augustine's is the personal knowledge of one's election. Both Augustine and Calvin would agree that those who are saved have already been chosen by God. The difference between the two is in their degree of emphasis on discovering who is among the elect. According to Fergusson, Augustine did not believe that an individual's election could be known, and therefore he ignored the idea. Calvin, on the other hand, believed that one's election could be known, or at least believers could reach a state of confidence about their election. As a result, Calvin thematizes predestination for social purposes.[98]

This leads to the discussion about the effects the doctrine of determinism had on those who accepted Calvin's theology. Unfortunately, as for 1QS, there is little existing research that deals with the effects of determinism on specific followers of Calvin's doctrine. Most of the scholarship deals with Calvin's intended effects. Calvin, in his *Institutes* (just like the authors of 1QS), develops a "figured world." Scholars then can analyze and speculate about the intended effects of his "figured world." Like the community that used 1QS, there is no way to observe the

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[97] David Fergusson, "Calvin's Theological Legacy," *Ecclesiology* 6 (2010): 280.

[98] Ibid., 280-281.

way that Calvin's texts—with their "figured worlds"—actually affected the believers.[99] What we have, through the text, is only the intended outcome, not a concrete reality. From 1QS and from Calvin's writings, we can gain a better understanding of the "figured world" created by the doctrine of determinism. However, unlike 1QS, there has been more scholarship on the possible effects of Calvin's doctrine of determinism due to the fact that Calvin was more explicit in his explanation of the intended effects of his doctrine of determinism. This is what makes it a potentially useful analogue for understanding 1QS.

Calvin's "figured world" is one that promotes the idea of predestination along with the idea that one can know whether or not one is predestined to salvation or damnation. Calvin said, "Therefore as those are in error who make the power of election dependent on the faith by which we perceive that we are elected, so we shall follow the best order, if, in seeking the certainty of our election, we cleave to those posterior signs which are sure attestations to it."[100] From this quote, it is clear that individual faith and action will not assure one's salvation. It also clearly indicates that one can know if they are saved or not. Calvin adds, "Among the temptations with which Satan assaults believers, none is greater or more perilous, than when disquieting them with doubts as to their election, he at the same time stimulates them with a depraved desire of inquiring after it out of the proper way."[101] Calvin adds to his "figured world" the role that Satan has in both raising doubt concerning one's election, and making people think that they are saved because of their own works. As mentioned above, "figured worlds" help form identities, and

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[99] Refer to sections 1 and 2 for the discussion on "figured worlds."

[100] Calvin, *Institutes*, Book 3 Chapter 24:4.

[101] Ibid., Book 3 Chapter 24:4.

shape communities; they are methods—intentional or not—used for the purpose of affecting and shaping individual and communal identity.

Calvin gives clear indications in his *Institutes* of how he sees the impact of his deterministic "figured world." It is important to note, however, that Calvin did not consider determinism as something he constructed ("figured world"). Calvin believed that determinism was a reality, and that it was God's doctrine and not his own invention.

Calvin addressed his critics who thought that the doctrine of predestination would instill in its believers an idle and sinful disposition. He responded by saying,

> They say that they feel secure in vices because, if they are of the number of the elect, their vices will be no obstacle to the ultimate attainment of life. But Paul reminds us that the end for which we are elected is, "that we should be holy, and without blame before him" (Eph. 1:4). If the end of election is holiness of life, it ought to arouse and stimulate us strenuously to aspire to it, instead of serving as a pretext for sloth. How wide the difference between the two things, between ceasing from well-doing because election is sufficient for salvation, and its being the very end of election, that we should devote ourselves to the study of good works.[102]

As Klawans points out, Calvin's doctrine of predestination was intended to act as a motivator for ethical action.[103] Klawans bases this statement in part on Max Weber's sociological work on religion. While discussing Calvinism and the doctrine of predestination, Weber states that a deterministic religion has "the capacity for inducing dedication and rigor in its devotees."[104] He continues, "The belief in predestination, although it might logically be expected to result in fatalism, produced in its most consistent followers the strongest possible motives for acting in

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[102] Ibid., Book 3 Chapter 23:12.

[103] Klawans, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 281.

[104] Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. Ephraim Fischoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 202.

accordance with god's pattern."[105] Some of the examples Weber uses to demonstrate these

effects are dated and problematic by today's standards.[106] He mentions Muslim warriors who,

assured by their understanding of predestination, were fearless and diligent in their military

duties to their God. Another example he used is the Puritans, whose belief in predestination

(according to Weber) provided motivation to be ethically rigorous.[107] Weber then provides a

possible reason why the doctrine of determinism would have had this effect:

> Ethical behavior could never bring about the improvement of one's own chances in either this world or the next. Yet [ethical behavior] might have another significance, the practical psychological consequences of which could in certain circumstances be of even greater moment; it might be considered as a symptom or index of one's own state of religious grace as established by god's decree.[108]

Max Weber first argues that according to Calvinists, good works will not change the predestined

will of God. He then suggests that ethical behavior acts as evidence of one's election. If what

Weber argues is true, and ethical behavior indicated that you were one of God's elect, then the

doctrine would have triggered a possible performative culture, where believers would have lived

as ethically as possible to demonstrate to themselves and others that they were among those God

chose to save. This performative culture would have strongly impacted identity formation. The

community of believers would have been shaped by the pressure to conform to the ethical

standard, and prove to themselves and others that they were among God's elect.

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[105] Ibid., 203.

[106] Weber, based on today's standards, would be considered culturally insensitive. Hints of orientalism are found in his writings, especially in the way he talks about Muslims.

[107] Ibid., 203.

[108] Ibid., 143.

Kevin Cameron comes to a similar conclusion, and adds to the conversation the concepts of doubt and faith. He argues that Calvin taught "we must merely live our lives *as if* we were the elect and sacrifice our own individual will and all the questioning, anxiety and doubt that accompanies it, to God's will."[109] Cameron argues that what Calvin meant when he said that people could know of their divine election, was that the individual was free of doubt, and that they "never waiver [sic] in their faith that they are the elect."[110] He adds that "anxiety over one's election is for Calvin a sign of weak faith and increasingly a testament to one's damnation."[111] Where Cameron aligns with Weber and Klawans is where he argues that character and ethical behavior become a sign of one's election. To demonstrate one's election, one must be unwavering in the faith, and exemplifying a pious and faithful life.[112] This had the potential of significantly altering behaviors and shaping individuals and communities. It also had the potential to motivate members in the Calvinistic community to increase their devotion, and live exemplary lives.

In addition to the increased religious devotion effect that the doctrine of determinism has on its believers, other effects are mentioned by scholars. For example, the intended effect of the doctrine was a sense of peace that comes from the assurance and security of knowing one's election. Weber, for instance, observes that "the powerful mood of happy certainty, which releases the tremendous tension caused by the feeling of sinfulness, seemingly breaks over the

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[109] Cameron, "Sovereignty of the Perverse," 21.

[110] Ibid., 21.

[111] Ibid., 22.

[112] Ibid., 22.

faithful with great suddenness."[113] Michael LaChat makes a similar claim about the effects of determinism: "predestination enables people to persevere in periods of anxiety and moral uncertainty by giving purpose to the perceived irrationality of the world…"[114] Weber and LaChat, however, do not base their claims on any firsthand account. They both are speculating on the possible, or the intended, effects of such a doctrine.

For Calvin, peace clearly was one of the intended effects of the doctrine of predestination. Bruce Gordon explained, "Calvin was clear that predestination was good news for Christians, a source of assurance, and should be preached from the pulpits."[115] Gordon bases himself on comments by Calvin such as the following: "because we know not who belongs to the number of the predestinated, or does not belong, our desire ought to be that all may be saved; and hence every person we meet, we will desire to be with us a partaker of peace."[116] In Calvin's view, the doctrine of determinism was supposed to give people assurance and peace. Because salvation depended completely in the predestined will of God, believers no longer had to worry or doubt. Their salvation was God's will and there was nothing that they could do to alter it.

It is important to mention that Calvin's doctrine of predestination had other effects. Feelings of peace and security, and a motivation to live an ethical life, are not the only two side-effects of determinism. Doubt, guilt, and shame could also result from determinism. If one is

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[113] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism with Other Writings on the Rise of the West*, trans. Stephen Kalberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 105.

[114] Michael R. LaChat, "Troeltsch on the Social Impact of the Doctrine of Predestination," in *Studies in the Theological Ethics of Ernst Troeltsch*, eds. Michael R. LaChat and Max A. Myers (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 166.

[115] Gordon, "John Calvin's Institutes," 86-87.

[116] Calvin, *Institutes*, Book 3 Chapter 23:14.

concerned that one's behavior does not live up to the standard, or cannot convince oneself of their own election, this would lead to guilt and shame. Weber describes another effect of the doctrine, a distrust of political and religious authority: "every consistent doctrine of predestined grace inevitably implied a radical and ultimate devaluation of all magical, sacramental, and institutional distributions of grace…"[117] For those who accepted Calvin's doctrine of determinism, no religious institution, authoritative figure, nor even one's own works could influence God's predestined plan. Of course, according to Weber, another effect of the Calvinistic doctrine of determinism is the rise of capitalism in America.[118]

We can conclude that Calvin's doctrine of determinism played a pivotal role in the development of individual and community identity. We can also conclude that the doctrine could have acted as a significant motivator of ethical actions and remaining faithful in a Calvinist religious community.

1QS in Light of Calvin

We will now begin to discuss the possible effects of the doctrine of determinism in 1QS in light of Calvinism. Both religious communities shared similarities in their doctrines of determinism and in their explicit mention of and ability to know one's own election. I would argue that these similarities allow us to make the connection between the two communities. In both, the doctrine of determinism extends to cosmic and historic events. And in both, the doctrine of determinism also includes a lack of free will because God has already decided each individual's destiny. For Calvinists, you were either saved or damned.[119] For the members of the

[117] Weber, *Sociology of Religion*, 203.

[118] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 69-88.

[119] Calvin, *Institutes*, Book 3 Chapter 21:7.

Jewish sectarian community, you were either a son of light or a son of darkness (1QS 3:15-19). The only main difference is the amount of space that each text devotes to the subject. Calvin leaves no doubt concerning the parameters of his doctrine of predestination. 1QS, on the other hand, is not as explicit, which gives rise to varying scholarly opinions regarding the scope and implications of determinism.

The second similarity—one's knowledge of one's election—acts as another point of contact between the two religious communities. We have concluded that both groups had a way of knowing whether or not they were predestined to salvation. Even though the methods were different, we can still assume that each had a similar sociological impact. Calvinists waged a psychological battle of remaining faithful and avoiding doubt concerning their election. Doubt, along with bad behaviors, acted as an election litmus test.[120] The process of knowing where you stood spiritually in the Community Rule was the annual spirit evaluation. "And their spirit and their deeds must be tested, year after year, in order to upgrade each one to the extent of his insight and the perfection of his path…" (1QS 5:23-24). The leaders of the community would evaluate each member according to their insight and deeds (see 1QS 4:2-11). What the leader discovered, once the ceremony was completed, was the member's predetermined lot. If you were found unworthy, and were eventually removed from the community, you were never destined to be there in the first place. If you were ranked at a certain rank, you were always supposed to be there. And if at one time you were ranked at a certain level, and then your rank lowered, you did not change the will of God, you merely fooled the leaders and yourself. The spirit evaluation was a way to discover your predetermined lot.

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[120] Cameron, "Sovereignty of the Perverse," 22.

Thus, we see that both Calvinists and members of the Jewish sectarian community had a method of discovering their predetermined status. It is also clear that coming to know one's status before God and the community played a formative role in the development of individual and community identity.

Because of these connections, I would argue that the doctrine of determinism could have theoretically had the same impact on the sectarian community members as it did on those who accepted Calvinism and its doctrine. Just as the intent of the doctrine was meant to provide Calvinists with feelings of security, assurance, and a "happy certainty,"[121] it also could have had the same effect on the community addressed in 1QS. The members of the community could have found peace in knowing that they were a "son of light," destined to assist in God's divine plan and be one of his chosen people, or agony if they felt doubt or acted wrongly. The process of revealing one's identity, like in Calvinism, would have acted as a significant motivator to comply with community regulations. Members would find peace knowing that they had demonstrated sufficiently good deeds to their superiors. They would also find peace knowing that they were among God's chosen people. The alternatives, doubt and shame, could have also motivated members to comply to community rules.

In addition to members of the *yaḥad* finding peace, they would have also been motivated to live an ethical life (as defined by the sectarian community). As noted above, an increased desire and motivation to live an ethical life was the intended effect of Calvin's teaching that one could know if they were among God's Chosen.[122] I argue that the effects would have been the same in the *yaḥad*. If a member's knowledge and deeds—determined during the annual spirit

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[121] Weber, *Protestant Ethic,* 105.

[122] Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 202.

evaluation—were an indication that they were a "son of light," this would have motivated a member to dedicate more time and effort into living ethically and learning and abiding by the rules of the community. The knowledge of one's predetermined place in God's plan would have been a significant motivator to remain in the community and dedicate oneself to the precepts of the community.

Conclusion

Rituals and knowledge of sectarian doctrines, as described in 1QS, provided members with the motivational tools necessary to accept and maintain their sectarian identity. This study has demonstrated that the identity-forming knowledge, and the rituals that reinforced these ideas, were essential components by which community members physically and intellectually defined themselves in relation to others.[123] The admission process, the nightly study sessions, the community as temple ideology, and the communal meals all provide possible clues for the way that identity was constructed and maintained.

In addition, this study has shown that the doctrine of determinism may have also played a significant role in identity formation and community cohesion. This idea is reinforced by exploring a more documented deterministic religious movement: Calvinism. This comparative inquiry revealed some of the possible effects that determinism may have had in the formation of sectarian identity.

In conclusion, this project represents an attempt to understand an ancient community through one of its texts. There is no way of fully understanding the actual nature of the *yaḥad,* but from the textual evidence that the Qumran community left behind, we can get glimpses into how the text may have impacted the members.

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[123] Jokiranta, *Social Identity*, 1.

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