

From *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, by Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, and Edward Cook (rev. ed., Harper San Francisco, 2005).

1. The Damascus Document (CD)

Geniza A + B, 4Q266–272

The Jewish scholar Solomon Schechter first discovered portions of the *Damascus Document* among manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza and published them in 1910 under the title *Zadokite Fragments*. The name is derived from the frequent mention of the “sons of Zadok” in the text. Schechter believed that the writing originated in a Jewish sect of about the first century B.C.E., although the two manuscripts he published (Geniza texts A and B) were themselves medieval copies dating from the tenth and twelfth centuries C.E., respectively. The dating of the *Zadokite Fragments* remained an issue for decades. Many scholars agreed with Schechter, but many others dismissed his theory, preferring to date the *Document* centuries later.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls settled the question in Schechter’s favor. The texts from Cave 1, especially the *Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association* (text 7), clearly stemmed from the same circles that composed the *Damascus Document* and used much of the same religious terminology. When fragments of the *Document* itself were found in Caves 4 and 5, then, the discovery simply confirmed what most scholars had already concluded: the Dead Sea sect was the source of the *Damascus Document*. Moreover, it was to all appearances one of the group’s most important texts, containing clues to its history, theology, and conception of its role in history.

Reading the *Damascus Document* can be a frustrating experience. Although many broad themes are easy to notice—the greatness of God and his covenant with Israel, the perfidy of apostates, the necessity of obeying the rules of God and the group, and so on—the train of thought rambles from subject to subject, with many digressions, asides, and pauses to explain a difficult or important quotation from Scripture. Apparently the *Document* was expanded at different times, often without care for the lucidity of the discourse.

Despite its occasional obscurities, however, the book can be easily divided into two broad sections: the “Exhortation” and the “Laws.” The Exhortation is

a sermon or perhaps a collection of sermons describing how God has always judged the wicked and rewarded the faithful throughout the history of Israel. In view of this pattern, the author exhorts his listeners to be faithful to God, to be particularly careful of obeying his laws, and to avoid living by the principle of selfishness he calls, from a biblical phrase, "the willful heart."

Two kinds of material comprise the Exhortation: the sermon proper and biblical commentary. While the sermon itself is based on biblical themes and sometimes quotes verses from the Bible, the commentary sections go into particular passages in great depth, picking out certain phrases for symbolic or allegorical expansions that relate to the life of the sect. These distinctive passages seem to have been added after the original Exhortation was composed, as they sometimes interrupt the train of thought.

The section on the Laws, a rule book similar to the Mishnah of later centuries, is more tightly written than the Exhortation, and details the kinds of behavior—moral, legal, and cultic—that the Exhortation urges in more general terms. The rules themselves fall into two groups: the rules for "those living in cities" (A 12:19), paraphrasing or expanding biblical laws, and the rules for "those living in camps" (A 12:22–23), i.e., sectarian enclaves. The camp rules are oriented to communitarian life; they describe the internal lines of authority of the camp and specify sanctions to be carried out against violators of particular rules, quite in the manner of the *Charter* and sometimes with verbatim parallels to it.

It is likely that sectarian authors added the commentaries embedded in the Exhortation and the camp rules of the Laws some time after the original *Damascus Document* was written. As originally conceived, the *Document* was less sectarian than it was later made to appear, consisting of the Exhortation originally addressed to all Israel and the city rules, also, in intent, binding on all religiously serious Israelites. This first version might have been composed as early as the third century B.C.E., although it is impossible to tell for sure. Later, members of the *Yahad*, finding the text's warnings against apostasy and call to obedience thoroughly in line with their own thinking, revised and expanded it to reflect their views, perhaps adding additional glosses and explanatory comments to both the Exhortation and the Laws with the passage of time. Scholars have been able to detect editorial expansions between the A and B Geniza texts, and perhaps there was never a final, canonical, version of the *Document*.

Besides the two Geniza texts (A contains sixteen columns, B two), which preserve the longest consecutive sections of the text, the remains of seven copies were found in the Qumran caves. Only the sections that are not paralleled in the Geniza texts are translated here. The translation attempts to use all of the available material to restore as much of the *Document* in its original order as possible, but the sequence of many of the sections in the Laws is un-

certain. The order given here generally follows the outline established by the current official editor of the Cave 4 manuscripts of the *Document*, Joseph Baumgarten.

The text, in its final form, is addressed to "those entering the new covenant in the land of Damascus" (A 6:19). Whether a literal Damascus is meant or whether the name is instead another of the symbolic pseudonyms known from other Dead Sea Scrolls is uncertain, and much debated; but such references have given the book its modern name. The letters "CD" (for "Covenant of Damascus") are the most common abbreviation used to refer to this text.

The Exhortation

Only fragments remain of the opening paragraphs of the Damascus Document. The translation that follows is pieced together from 4Q266 and 4Q268. Enough can be recovered to tell that several of the themes of the entire work are foreshadowed in the introductory paragraphs: the necessity of obedience to God, the perfidy of the wicked, the insight of the pious into the future, the importance of observing the proper times of worship, the special revelation given to the "Children of Light." This portion probably comes from the sectarian reworking of the document.

4Q266 Frag. 1 ¹[. . . the Chil]dren of Light to avoid the wa[ys] of evil . . .] ²[. . .] until the time appointed for punishment is past [. . .] ³[. . .] God [saw] all her deeds, that they brought all [. . .] ⁴[. . .] to the Boundary-Shifters and all of it will be done [in the era of] ⁵wickedness [. . . listen] to me, for now I shall make known to you [. . .] ⁶the awe-some [. . .] His wonderful [miracles] I shall relate to y[ou, hidden] ⁷from humanity [. . .] heavens, who lives [. . .] ⁸in the deepest [. . .] ⁹he has sealed [. . .] ¹⁰⁻¹³[. . .] ¹⁴in the commandments [. . .] ¹⁵in the offering [. . .] and they did not obey ¹⁶the voice of Moses [. . .] they went about spread[ing] ¹⁷lies about His laws and from God's covenant [they strayed . . .] ¹⁸both small and great [. . .] ¹⁹Please tell us about [your ways . . .] ²⁰your conversation [. . .] ²¹you appeared and understood [. . .] ²²they shall restore the [. . . and I am dust] ²³and ashes [. . .] ²⁴give he[ed . . .] **4Q268 Frag. 1 (= 4Q266 Frag. 2 Col. 1)** ¹[. . .] later [generations] for surely they will come to pass [. . .] ²[. . .] what is its beginning and what its ending [. . .] ³[. . . be]fore it comes upon them [. . .] ⁴[. . . for it is not permitted] to celebrate th[eir] holidays too early or too late. [. . .] ⁵[. . . Yes,] periods of God's w[rath] are decreed [for a people who know him not] ⁶[and He has established times of] favor for those who seek His commandments and to [those who live blamelessly in] ⁷the proper way. [He uncovered their] e[yes] to the hidden things and

opened their ears that [they might hear deep things] ⁸and understand future events before they happen to them.

This epigraph sets the tone for what is to follow: an exposition of how God punishes the wicked while leaving a righteous remnant to live exemplary lives. The Geniza manuscript A begins at this point.

Geniza A Col. 1 ¹So listen, all you who recognize righteousness, and consider the deeds of ²God. When He has a dispute with any mortal, He passes judgment on those who spurn Him.

A description of Israel's sin resulting in exile, and God's mercy on the generation that returned from exile.

³For when Israel abandoned Him by being faithless, He turned away from Israel and from His sanctuary ⁴and gave them up to the sword. But when He called to mind the covenant He made with their forefathers, He left a ⁵remnant for Israel and did not allow them to be exterminated. In the era of wrath—three hundred ⁶and ninety years at the time He handed them over to the power of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon—⁷He took care of them and caused to grow from Israel and from Aaron a root of planting to inherit ⁸His land and to grow fat on the good produce of His soil. They considered their iniquity and they knew that ⁹they were guilty men, and had been like the blind and like those groping for the way ¹⁰twenty years. But God considered their deeds, that they had sought Him with a whole heart. ¹¹So He raised up for them a teacher of righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. He taught ¹²to later generations what God did to the generation deserving wrath, a company of traitors. ¹³They are the ones who depart from the proper way. That is the time of which it was written, "Like a rebellious cow, ¹⁴so rebelled Israel" (Hos. 4:16).

The Man of Mockery. This paragraph, which introduces the principal religious opponent of the sect, appears to have been added later.

When the Man of Mockery appeared, who sprayed on Israel ¹⁵lying waters, he led them to wander in the trackless wasteland. He brought down the lofty heights of old, turned aside ¹⁶from paths of righteousness, and shifted the boundary marks that the forefathers had set up to mark their inheritance, so that ¹⁷the curses of His covenant took hold on them. Because of this they were handed over to the sword that avenges the breach of ¹⁸His covenant.

The sins of the generation of wrath and their punishment.

For they had sought flattery, choosing travesties of true religion; they looked for ¹⁹gaps in the law; they favored the fine neck. They called the guilty innocent, and the innocent guilty. ²⁰They overstepped covenant, violated law; and they conspired together to kill the innocent, for all those who lived ²¹pure lives they loathed from the bottom of their heart. So they persecuted them violently, and were happy to see the people quarrel. Because of all this God became very angry **Col. 2** ¹with their company. He annihilated the lot of them, because all their deeds were uncleanness to Him.

²So now listen to me, all members of the covenant, so I can make plain to you the ways ³of the wicked (**4Q267** adds: so you can leave the paths of sin). God, who loves true knowledge, has positioned Wisdom and Cleverness in front of Him; ⁴Cunning and True Knowledge wait on Him. He is very patient and forgiving, ⁵covering the sin of those who repent of wrongdoing.

But Strength, Might, and great Wrath in the flames of fire ⁶with all the angels of destruction shall come against all who rebel against the proper way and who despise the law, until they are without remnant ⁷or survivor, for God had not chosen them from ancient eternity. Before they were created, He knew ⁸what they would do. So He rejected the generations of old and turned away from the land ⁹until they were gone.

He knows the times of appearance and the number and exact times of ¹⁰everything that has ever existed and ever will exist before it happens in the proper time, for all the years of eternity. ¹¹And in all of these times, He has arranged that there should be for Himself people called by name, so that there would always be survivors on the earth, replenishing ¹²the surface of the earth with their descendants. He taught them through those anointed by the holy spirit, the seers of ¹³truth. He explicitly called them by name. But whoever He had rejected He caused to stray.

A homily on the willful heart.

¹⁴So now, my children, listen to me that I may uncover your eyes to see and to understand the deeds of ¹⁵God, choosing what pleases Him and hating what He rejects, living perfectly ¹⁶in all His ways, not turning away through thoughts caused by the sinful urge and lecherous eyes.

For many ¹⁷have gone astray by such thoughts, even strong and doughty men of old faltered through them, and still do.

When they went about in their willful ¹⁸heart, the Guardian Angels of Heaven fell and were ensnared by it, for they did not observe the commandments of God. ¹⁹Their sons, who were as tall as cedars, and whose bodies were as big as mountains, fell by it.

²⁰Everything mortal on dry land expired and became as if they had never existed, because they did ²¹their own will, and did not keep the commandments of their Maker, until finally His anger was aroused against them.

Col. 3 ¹By it the sons of Noah and their families went astray, and by it they were exterminated.

²Abraham did not live by it and was considered God's friend, because he observed the commandments of God and he did not choose to follow ³the will of his own spirit; and he passed them on to Isaac and to Jacob and they too observed them. They too were recorded as friends ⁴of God and eternal partners in the covenant.

But the sons of Jacob went astray by them and were punished for ⁵their errors. In Egypt their descendants lived by their willful heart, too obstinate to consult ⁶the commandments of God, each one doing what was right in his own eyes. They even ate blood; and the men were exterminated ⁷in the wilderness. <God commanded> them at Kadesh "Go up and possess <the land>"; but they chose to follow the will of<> their spirit; and they did not listen ⁸to their Maker's voice or the commandments of their teacher; instead they grumbled in their tents. So God became angry ⁹with their company.

Their sons perished because of it. Their kings were exterminated because of it. Their heroes ¹⁰perished because of it. Their land was devastated because of it, and because of it the members of the forefathers' covenant committed sin, and so were handed over ¹¹to the sword because they abandoned the covenant of God, and chose their own will, and followed their own willful ¹²heart, each man doing his own will.

But when those of them who were left held firm to the commandments of God ¹³He instituted His covenant with Israel forever, revealing ¹⁴to them things hidden, in which all Israel had gone wrong: His holy Sabbaths, His glorious festivals, ¹⁵His righteous laws, His reliable ways. The desires of His will, which Man should carry out ¹⁶and so have life in them, He opened up to them. So they "dug a well," yielding much water. ¹⁷Those who reject this water He will not allow to live.

And although they had wallowed in the sin of humanity and in impure ways ¹⁸and said, "Surely this is our business," God in His mysterious ways atoned for their iniquity and forgave their transgression. ¹⁹So He built for them a faithful house in Israel, like none that had ever appeared before; and even ²⁰at this day, those who hold firm to it shall receive everlasting life, and all human honor is rightly theirs, as ²¹God promised them by Ezekiel the prophet, saying, "The priests and the Levites and the sons of **Col. 4** ¹Zadok who have kept the courses of My sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed ²from Me, they shall bring Me fat and blood" (Ezek. 44:15).

This interpretive comment appears to be a later addition.

“The priests”: they are the repentant of Israel,³ who go out of the land of Judah and the Levites are those accompanying them; “and the sons of Zadok”: they are the chosen of ⁴Israel, the ones called by name, who are to appear in the Last Days.

This is the precise account ⁵of their names by their generations, and the time they appeared, the number of their troubles and the years of ⁶their sojourn and the precise account of their deeds.

The section that now begins explains that the “present age” is under the power of Belial, that is, Satan. Part of the beginning has been lost.

< . . . > holiness < . . . > whom God atoned ⁷for, and they acquitted the innocent and condemned the guilty, as well as all who come after them ⁸who act according to the interpretation of the Law by which the forefathers were taught, until the age is over, ⁹that is, the present time. Like the covenant God made with the forefathers to atone ¹⁰for their sin, so shall God atone for them. When the total years of this present age are complete, ¹¹there will be no further need to be connected to the house of Judah, but instead each will stand on ¹²his own tower; “the wall is built, the boundary removed” (Mic. 7:11).

But in the present age ¹³Belial is unrestrained in Israel, just as God said by Isaiah the prophet, the son of ¹⁴Amoz, saying, “Fear and pit and snare are upon thee, dweller in the land” (Isa. 24:17).

The three traps of Belial. This section, explaining the text just quoted, discloses some important ethical principles of the Qumran group that, in its members’ eyes, differentiated them from other groups: their opposition to polygamy, to the amassing of wealth, to defiling the Temple in Jerusalem, and to marriage between uncles and nieces.

The true meaning of this verse ¹⁵concerns the three traps of Belial about which Levi son of Jacob said ¹⁶that Belial would catch Israel in, so he directed them toward three kinds of ¹⁷righteousness.

The first is fornication; the second is wealth; the third is ¹⁸defiling the sanctuary. Who escapes from one is caught in the next; and whoever escapes from that is caught ¹⁹in the other.

The Shoddy-Wall-Builders who went after “Precept”—Precept is a Raver ²⁰of whom it says, “they shall surely rave” (Mic. 2:6)—they are caught in two: fornication, by taking ²¹two wives in their lifetimes, although the

principle of creation is "male and female He created them" (Gen. 1:27) **Col. 5** ¹and those who went into the ark "went into the ark two by two" (Gen. 7:9). Concerning the Leader it is written ²"he shall not multiply wives to himself" (Deut. 17:17); but David had not read the sealed book of the Law ³in the Ark; for it was not opened in Israel from the day of the death of Eleazar ⁴and Joshua and the elders who served the goddess Ashtoret. It lay buried ⁵<and was not> revealed until the appearance of Zadok. Nevertheless the deeds of David were all excellent, except the murder of Uriah ⁶and God forgave him for that.

They also defile the sanctuary, for they do not ⁷separate clean from unclean according to the Law, and lie with a woman during her menstrual period. Furthermore they marry ⁸each man the daughter of his brother and the daughter of his sister, although Moses said, "Unto ⁹the sister of your mother you shall not draw near; she is the flesh of your mother" (Lev. 18:13). But the law of consanguinity is written for males ¹⁰and females alike, so if the brother's daughter uncovers³ the nakedness of the brother of ¹¹her father, she is the flesh <of her father>.

Also they have corrupted their holy spirit, and with blasphemous language ¹²they have reviled the statutes of God's covenant, saying, "They are not well-founded." ¹³They continually speak abhorrent things against them. "All of them are kindlers and lighters of brands" (Isa. 50:11); "the webs of ¹⁴a spider are their webs and the eggs of vipers are their eggs" (Isa. 59:5). Whoever touches them ¹⁵shall not be clean. The more he does so, the more he is guilty, unless he is forced.

After the interpretive section, the train of thought continues: just as the present age is an age of wickedness, God's ways in the past reveal how he punishes sin and provides for the faithful of Israel.

For in times past, God punished ¹⁶their deeds and His wrath burned against their misdeeds, for "they are a people without insight" (Isa. 27:11); ¹⁷"they are a people wandering in counsel, for there is no insight in them" (Deut. 32:28). For in times past ¹⁸Moses and Aaron stood in the power of the Prince of Lights and Belial raised up Yannes and ¹⁹his brother in his cunning when seeking to do evil to Israel the first time.

²⁰In the time of destruction of the land the Boundary-Shifters appeared and led Israel astray ²¹and the land was devastated, for they had spoken rebellion against the commandments of God through Moses and also **Col. 6** ¹through the anointed of the spirit; and they prophesied falsehood to turn Israel from following ²God. But God called to mind the covenant of the

forefathers; and He raised up from Aaron insightful men and from Israel ³wise men and He taught them and they dug the well: "the well the princes dug, the nobility of the people ⁴dug it with a rod" (Num. 21:18).

The symbolic interpretation of the verse last quoted.

The Well is the Law, and its "diggers" are ⁵the repentant of Israel who went out of the land of Judah and dwelt in the land of Damascus; ⁶because God had called them all princes, for they sought him and ⁷their honor was not denied by a single mouth. And the "rod" is the interpreter of the Law of whom ⁸Isaiah said, "he brings out a tool for his work" (Isa. 54:16). The "nobility of the people" are ⁹those who come to "dig the well" by following rules that the Rod made ¹⁰to live by during the whole era of wickedness, and without these rules they shall obtain nothing until the appearance of ¹¹one who teaches righteousness in the Last Days.

The continuation of the exhortation. These paragraphs read like a conclusion, and they may have occurred at the end of an earlier form of the text. The author summarizes the way of life expected of those who enter the sect.

None who have been brought into the covenant ¹²shall enter into the sanctuary to light up His altar in vain; they shall "lock ¹³the door," for God said, "Would that one of you would lock My door so that you should not light up my altar ¹⁴in vain" (Mal. 1:10). They must be careful to act according to the specifications of the Law for the era of wickedness, separating ¹⁵from corrupt people, avoiding filthy wicked lucre taken from what is vowed or consecrated to God ¹⁶or found in the Temple funds. They must not rob "the poor of God's people, making widows' wealth their booty ¹⁷and killing orphans" (Isa. 10:2). They must distinguish between defiled and pure, teaching the difference ¹⁸between holy and profane. They must keep the Sabbath day according to specification and the holy days ¹⁹and the fast day according to the commandments of the members of the new covenant in the land of Damascus, ²⁰offering the holy things according to their specifications. Each one must love his brother ²¹as himself, and support the poor, needy, and alien. They must seek each the welfare of Col. 7 ¹his fellow, never betraying a family member ²according to the ordinance. Each must reprove his fellow according to the command, but must not bear a grudge ³day after day. They must separate from all kinds of ritual impurity according to their ordinance, not befouling ⁴each his holy spirit, just as God has told them so to do. In short, for all who conduct their lives ⁵by these laws, in

perfect holiness, according to all the instructions, God's covenant stands firm ⁶to give them life for thousands of generations (**Geniza B** adds: as it is written, "He keeps the covenant and loyalty to those who love Him and keep His commandments for a thousand generations" [Deut. 7:9]).

An addendum on marriage. This paragraph might have been misplaced in antiquity; it belongs with the laws. Some have taken these words, apparently providing for the special needs of married members, to imply the presence also of unmarried or celibate members of the sect.

But if they live in camps according to the rule of the land (**Geniza B** adds: which existed in ancient times) and marry ⁷women (**B** adds: as is the custom of the Law) and beget children, then let them live in accordance with the Law, and by the ordinance ⁸of vows according to the rule of the Law, just as it says, "Between a man and his wife, and between a father and his ⁹sons" (Num. 30:17).

The fulfillment of prophecy, indicating the inevitability of punishment on those who reject God's laws. Geniza B has a different version of this passage. Note the interpretive section embedded in this paragraph.

But all those who reject the commandments and the rules <shall perish>. When God judged the land, bringing the just deserts of the wicked ¹⁰to them, that is when the oracle of the prophet Isaiah son of Amoz came true, ¹¹which says, "Days are coming upon you and upon your people and upon your father's house that ¹²have never come before, since the departure of Ephraim from Judah" (Isa. 7:17), that is, when the two houses of Israel separated, ¹³Ephraim departing from Judah. All who backslid were handed over to the sword, but all who held fast ¹⁴escaped to the land of the north, as it says, "I will exile the tents of your king ¹⁵and the foundation of your images beyond the tents of Damascus" (Amos 5:27). The books of Law are the tents of ¹⁶the king, as it says, "I will re-erect the fallen tent of David" (Amos 9:11). The "king" (**4Q266**: the images) is ¹⁷the congregation and the "foundation of your images" is the books of the prophets ¹⁸whose words Israel despised. The star is the Interpreter of the Law ¹⁹who comes to Damascus, as it is written, "A star has left Jacob, a staff has risen ²⁰from Israel" (Num. 24:17). The latter is the Leader of the whole nation; when he appears, "he will shatter ²¹all the sons of Sheth" (Num. 24:17). They escaped in the first period of God's judgment, **Col. 8** ¹but those who held back were handed over to the sword.

The fulfillment of prophecy, alternate version (Geniza B).

Col. 19 ⁷When the oracle of the prophet Zechariah comes true, “O sword, be lively and smite ⁸my shepherd and the man loyal to Me—so says God. If you strike down the shepherd, the flock will scatter. ⁹Then I will turn My power against the little ones” (Zech. 13:7). But those who give heed to God are “the poor of the flock” (Zech. 11:7): ¹⁰they will escape in the time of punishment, but all the rest will be handed over to the sword when the Messiah of ¹¹Aaron and of Israel comes, just as it happened during the time of the first punishment, as ¹²Ezekiel said, “Make a mark on the foreheads of those who moan and lament” (Ezek. 9:4), ¹³but the rest were given to the sword that makes retaliation for covenant violations.

The lesson to be drawn from the fulfillment of prophecy: be faithful!

Col. 8 ¹And such is the verdict on all members of the covenant who ²do not hold firm to these laws: they are condemned to destruction by Belial. That is the day ³on which God shall judge (4Q268 adds: as He has said), “The princes of Judah were those (**B**: like Boundary-Shifters) on whom I shall pour out wrath (**B** adds: like water)” (Hos. 5:10). ⁴Truly they were too sick to be healed; every kind of galling wound adhered to them (**B** adds: Truly they had entered the covenant repenting) because they did not turn away from traitorous practices; ⁵they relished the customs of fornication and wicked lucre. Each of them vengefully bore a grudge ⁶against his brother, each hating his fellow; each of them were indifferent to their closest relatives ⁷but drew near to indecency; they vaunted themselves in riches and in ill-gotten gains; each of them did just what he pleased; ⁸each chose to follow his own willful heart. They did not separate from the people (**B** adds: and their sin), but arrogantly threw off all restraint, ⁹adopting the customs of the wicked, of whom God had said, “Their wine is venom of snakes, ¹⁰the cruel poison of vipers” (Deut. 32:33).

A pause for interpretation of the verse quoted. The “chief of the kings of Greece” may refer to Antiochus Epiphanes, the Gentile ruler of Palestine at the time of the Maccabean rebellion. The sect believed that their opponents did not understand that the persecutions of that time were caused by the nation’s disobedience.

“The snakes” are the kings of the Gentiles, and “their wine” is ¹¹their customs and “the poison of vipers” is the chief of the kings of Greece, who comes to wreak ¹²vengeance on them. But the “Shoddy-Wall-Builders” and “White-washers” understood none of these things, for ¹³one who deals in

mere wind, a spewer of lies, had spewed on them (**B** reads slightly differently: one who walks in wind, and who deals in storms, one who preaches lies to men), one on whose entire company God's anger had burned hot.

Despite the nation's perfidy, God will remain faithful to his covenant.

¹⁴But as Moses said (**B** adds: to Israel), "It is not for your righteousness or the integrity of your heart that you are going to dispossess ¹⁵these nations, but because He loved your ancestors and because He has kept his promise" (Deut. 9:5; 7:8). ¹⁶Such is the verdict on the repentant of Israel, those who turn away from the usages of the common people. Because God loved ¹⁷the forefathers who bore witness (**B** adds: to the people) following Him (**B**: following God), so too He loves those who follow them, for to such truly belongs ¹⁸the covenant of the fathers. But against His enemies, the Shoddy-Wall-Builders, His anger burns. (**B**: But He hates and despises the Shoddy-Wall-Builders and His anger burns hot against them and all who follow them.)

A summary of the "moral" of the exhortations. The reference to Jeremiah (only in the A manuscript) is obscure.

So there is one fate for ¹⁹everyone who rejects the commandments of God and abandons them to follow their own willful heart. ²⁰This is the word that Jeremiah spoke to Baruch son of Neriah, and Elisha ²¹to Gehazi his servant.

The B manuscript's version of the "moral" of the exhortations. The version of the Damascus Document of which the B manuscript is a later copy was more thoroughly revised to reflect the outlook of the sect. Thus two distinct versions of the text circulated in ancient times, and taken together the Geniza copies preserve both versions.

B Col. 19 ³³So it is with all the men who entered the new covenant ³⁴in the land of Damascus, but then turned back and traitorously turned away from the fountain of living water. ³⁵They shall not be reckoned among the council of the people, and their names shall not be written in their book from the day ²⁰¹the Beloved Teacher dies until the Messiah from Aaron and from Israel appears. Such is the fate for all ²who join the company of the men of holy perfection and then become sick of obeying virtuous rules. ³This is the type of person who "melts in the crucible" (Ezek. 22:21).

When his actions become evident he shall be sent away from the com-

pany ⁴as if his lot had never fallen among the disciples of God. In keeping with his impiety ⁵the most knowledgeable men shall punish him until he returns to take his place among the men of holy perfection. ⁶When his actions become evident, according to the interpretation of the Law which ⁷the men of holy perfection live by, no one is allowed to share either wealth or work with such a one, ⁸for all the holy ones of the Almighty have cursed him.

Such is the fate for all who reject the commandments, whether old or ⁹new, who have turned their thoughts to false gods and who have lived by their willful ¹⁰hearts: they have no part in the household of Law.

¹¹They will be condemned along with the Men of Mockery, because they have uttered lies against the correct laws and rejected ¹²the sure covenant that they made in the land of Damascus, that is, the New Covenant. ¹³Neither they nor their families shall have any part in the household of Law.

Now from the day ¹⁴the Beloved Teacher passed away to the destruction of all the warriors who went back to ¹⁵the Man of the Lie will be about forty years. Now at that time ¹⁶God's anger will burn against Israel, as He said, "Neither king nor prince" (Hos. 3:4) nor judge nor ¹⁷one who exhorts to do what is right will be left. But those who repent of the sin of Jacob have kept God's covenant. Then each will speak ¹⁸to his fellow, vindicating his brother, helping him walk in God's way, and God shall listen ¹⁹to what they say, and hear it, and "a record-book has been written [for him] of those who fear God and honor ²⁰his name" (Mal. 3:16) until salvation and righteousness are revealed for those who fear God. "And you shall again know the innocent ²¹from the guilty, those who serve God and those who do not" (Mal. 3:18). "He keeps faith [with thousands] of those who love Him ²²and to those who keep him for a thousand generations" (Exod. 20:6).

As for those separatists who left the city of the sanctuary ²³and relied on God in the time of Israel's unfaithfulness, but defiled the Temple: they shall return again ²⁴to the way of the people in a few matters [. . .] Each of them shall be judged in the holy council according to his spirit.

²⁵But all of the members of the covenant who breached the restrictions of the Law, when ²⁶the glory of God appears to Israel they shall be excluded from the midst of the camp, and with them all who did evil in ²⁷Judah when it was undergoing trial.

The end of the exhortations.

But all who hold fast to these rules, going out ²⁸and coming in according to the Law, always obeying the Teacher and confessing to God as follows:

“We have wickedly sinned,²⁹ we and our ancestors by living contrary to the covenant laws; just³⁰ and true are Your judgments against us” and do not act arrogantly against His holy laws and³¹ His righteous ordinances and His reliable declarations and who discipline themselves by the ancient laws³² by which the members of the *Yahad* were governed and listen attentively to the Teacher of Righteousness, not abandoning³³ the correct laws when they hear them: they will rejoice and be happy and exultant. They will prevail over³⁴ all the inhabitants of the earth. Then God will make atonement for them and they will experience His deliverance because they have trusted in His holy name.

The Laws

The rules that follow were not intended to be an exhaustive scheme for righteous living, but a summary of important points that would serve to guide the righteous Israelite in areas where controversy might arise.

The main section of the laws deals with rules applying to Israel as a whole (“those living in the cities of Israel”). A shorter section at the end contains regulations for the internal life of the sect (“those living in camps”).

The opening portions of the laws are available only in the fragmentary scrolls from Cave 4. The order of the fragments from different scrolls is hypothetical.

4Q266 Frag. 5 (= 4Q267 Frag. 5) Col. 1 ⁸[. . .] the mighty ones in what is re[vealed . . .] ⁹[. . . who hold] fast to His [ho]ly name [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] for in Judah is fo[und a conspir]acy ¹¹[to return to the sins of their ancestors . . .] to Israel when he appears [. . .] ¹²[. . . in the inhabitants of Jerusal]em and all who re[main . . .] ¹³[. . .] each according to [his] spirit [. . .] ¹⁴[. . . the stubborn in spir]it shall be banished at the command of the Overseer [. . .] ¹⁵[. . .] all the repentant of Israel [. . .] ¹⁶[. . . the so]ns of Zadok, the priests, are the [. . .] ¹⁷the most recent [interpretation] of the Law.

Now these are the laws for the wi[se man . . .] ¹⁸[. . . to teach] them to all Israel, for it will not [. . .] ¹⁹[. . .] to live blame[lessly] in his ways [. . .] **Col. 1 c-d** ²[. . .] for all the upright of heart in I[s]rael [. . . who kept] his laws, they considered righteous [. . .]

Certain acts are grounds for excommunication or severe discipline. Idolatry, sexual sin, withholding what is due to the priests, rebellion, and certain ritual offenses are all serious transgressions.

4Q270 Frag. 2 Col. 1 ¹⁰[. . . who sacrifices to sa]ltyrs or asks guidance from a necromancer or a medium ¹¹[. . .] or who profanes the [holy]

Name ¹²⁻¹⁶[. . . or any woman who has a bad reputation while] a virgin in the house of ¹⁷[her father . . .] another man lies with her ¹⁸[. . . or app]roaches his wife in the time of ¹⁹[her impurity . . .]

Col. 2 ⁶[. . . to] the Aaronites belongs the planting of [. . .] ⁷[. . . the firstfruits of] all that they have, the tithes of do[mestic animals, whether cattle] ⁸or sheep, the redemption mone[y of the firstlings of] unclean [beas]ts, the redemption money of the first[born human, the first shearing of] ⁹the flock, and the assessment money for their own redemption; [every sin for which restitution is made which] ¹⁰cannot be returned; "a fifth must be added to it" (Lev. 27:31) or [. . .] ¹¹by their names, defiling His holy spirit [. . .] ¹²or is afflicted with a skin disease or an unc[lean] bodily discharge [. . . or] ¹³reveals the secret of his people to the Gentiles or curses o[r speaks] ¹⁴rebellion against those anointed by the Holy Spirit or who speaks lies [against . . .] ¹⁵God's command or slaughters a domestic or wild animal with a living fetus [in it or who lies with] ¹⁶a pregnant woman when her monthly period [ceases . . . or lies with a man] ¹⁷as one lies with a woman: these are the ones who violate the [Way . . .] ¹⁸God has decreed to remove [. . .]

¹⁹So listen now, all you experts in righteousness, [who obey the To]rah, [I will reveal to] ²⁰you the ways that lead to life and the paths that lead to destruction; I will open [your eyes [. . . in their traps] ²¹do not be caught; and when you understand the things that have happened in every generation [. . .]

Rules for the priests. Improper recitation of Scripture, profaning the Temple, and eating holy food in an impure state are all grounds for expulsion.

4Q266 Frag. 5 Col. 2 (= 4Q267) ¹[. . . Aar]on and all w[ho speak too quickly or in a harsh voice] ²[or who does] not speak his words clearly to make [his voice] heard, [none of these shall read from the book of] ³[the Law,] lest he incur the penalty of death [. . .] ⁴[. . . to assist] his brothers, the priests, in the worship [. . .] ⁵Any of the Aaronites who is captured by the Gentiles [. . . may not come] ⁶to profane the Temple by their impurity, he may not approach the worship [. . . he may not go] ⁷within the curtain or eat of the holy [food . . .] ⁸any Aaronite who befouls the wor[ship of God . . .] ⁹to instruct with him in the council of the people; and also [. . .] to betray the truth [. . .] any of the ¹⁰Aaronites whose name is dropped from the truth [. . .] ¹¹in his willful heart to eat any of the holy [food . . .] ¹²of Israel the counsel of the Aaronites [. . .] if he has eaten any of] ¹³the food and become guilty by consuming blood [. . . he shall not be named] ¹⁴in their genealogy.

This is the rule for those living in [the cities of Israel . . .] ¹⁵holine[ss in] their [camps and] their cities in a[ll . . .]

This section is an interpretation of the law concerning "leprosy," or infectious skin diseases, in Leviticus 13–14. It displays a rudimentary knowledge of the circulation of the blood through arteries, a phenomenon not fully described until the seventeenth century by William Harvey.

4Q272 Frag. 1 (= 4Q266 Frag. 6) Col. 1 ¹[. . . a sore or] scab or in[flammation . . .] ²[. . . a sore of any kind and a scab due to a wound from a piece of wood or] stone. In the case of a wound, when the spirit comes [and possesses the artery, the blood stops] ³[flowing] above and below the wound, and the artery [. . .] ^{4–5}[The priest shall examine the] healthy [skin] and the diseased skin [. . . If] the diseased skin is [greater than] ⁶[the healthy skin, he shall isolate him] until [the tissue] grows back [and] ^{6a}[until] the blood [re]turns to the artery. [Then] on [the seventh day] the priest [shall examine him] and compare. ⁷[If the spir]it of life rises and falls [and] the tissue has grown back, ⁸[he is healed . . .] the scab, the priest shall not examine the skin of the bo[dy] ⁹[. . . If the] sore or the sc[ab] is lower [than the skin . . .] ¹⁰[and the priest sees] that it looks like raw flesh [. . .] ¹¹[. . . a skin disease has taken ho]ld in the healthy skin, and according to [this] regulation [. . .] ¹²[. . . The priest shall examine on the seve]nth [day]. If the [healthy] ¹³[tissue] has given way [to diseased tissue, . . . it is an]curable [skin disease.]

The skin diseases ("scall") of the hair of head and beard (Lev. 13). The conditions described may refer to kwashiorkor, caused by protein deficiency, or to favus.

4Q266 Frag. 6 Col. 1 ⁵The regulation pertaining to scall of the head and be[ard . . .] ⁶[. . . The priest shall examine it;] if the spirit has entered into the head or the beard to possess ⁷[the artery and the disease] spro[uts underneath the ha]ir and makes it resemble thin yellow growth; for it is like grass ⁸with a worm under it, which then cuts its root and the blossom dries up. As for the verse ⁹that says, "The priest shall order the head to be shaven without shaving the scall" (Lev. 13:33), this is so that ¹⁰the priest can count the diseased and healthy hairs. He shall examine the skin, and if the ¹¹diseased tissue has encroached on the healthy tissue after seven days, the man is unclean. But if the diseased parts have not encroached ¹²on the h[ea]lthy, and the artery is full of [b]lood and the sp[ir]it of life rises and falls in it [he is healed] ¹³[from] this disease.

Such is the regulation of the l[aw] pertaining to infectious skin disease so that the Aaronites can separate [. . .]

Uncleanness caused by bodily discharges. These regulations are based on the laws of Leviticus 15.

The man with a discharge (see Lev. 15:1–18).

¹⁴The regulation pertaining to the man with a bodily discharge. Every man who [has a discharge] ¹⁵from [his] flesh [o]r w[ho] allows [hi]mse[lf] thoughts of depravity or [who . . .] ¹⁶[. . .] contact with him [is like the contact with . . .] **4Q272 Frag. 1 Col. 2** ⁶he shall wash his clothes [and bathe in water . . .] ⁷whoever touches him [shall bathe in water . . .]

The woman with a discharge (see Lev. 15:19–30).

4Q266 Frag. 6 Col. 2 ¹[The regulation pertaining to the woman with a bodily discharge . . . Whoever] has intercourse ²[with a menstruating woman] contracts the [defile]ment caused by menstruation; and if she sees a discharge a[gain] but not ³[during her] seven-day [menstrual period], she shall not eat of the consecrated food or e[nter] ⁴the sanctuary until the sun sets on the eighth day.

Purification after childbirth (see Lev. 12).

⁵A woman who [becomes pregna]nt and bears a male child [shall be unclean] seven [days] ⁶[a]s [the days of her] menstrual [flow. And on the eighth day the flesh of his] foreskin [shall be circumcised.] ⁷[Thirty-three days she shall remain in blood purification. And if she bears a female,] ⁸[she shall be unclean two weeks as with] her [menstrual f]low. Sixty-six days she shall remain in blood ⁹purification; and she] shall not eat [any consecrated food or enter the sanctuary, ¹⁰fo]r this is a capital crime [. . . she shall give] ¹¹[the c]hild to a nurse who is in a state of ritu[al] purity . . .] ¹²[and] if [she] cannot afford [a lamb, let her get a turtledove or pigeon for a whole burnt offering ¹³and] exchange for t[he] lamb . . .]

Regulations about harvest, gleaning, and tithes.

4Q266 Frag. 6 Col. 3 ⁴[These shall be given as priestly levies: . . . and] the single bunches of the vi[neyard: up to ten grape]s [make the bun]ches ⁵[. . .] and all the gleanings [up to a seah for the area sown with a s]ea[h] of

seed]; ⁶[a vineyard] that has no seed in it, there is no [levy] in it or grape-gleanings ⁷and (there is not) a maximum of ten [grapes] in its bunches.

4Q270 Frag. 3 Col. 2 (= 4Q267 Frag. 6) ¹⁵[As for] that which is beaten from the olive tree [and the fruit of its yield,] if the yield is in good condition, the beaten olives, [one-] ¹⁶[thirti]eth, [should be . . . from] it; but if the field has been trampled down or [burned] ¹⁷[with fire and there was separated out] a seah for each area sown with a seah of seed, it is subject to tithe; and if ¹⁸[one person] shall glean one [seah] from it in one day, it is subject to the priestly levy, a tenth of ¹⁹[an ephah . . .] the loaves for the priestly gift for all the families of Israel who eat bread ²⁰[. . .] to set aside for an offering once a year: one-tenth of an ephah there will be for one (loaf) [. . .] ²¹[. . . before they] have been completed for Israel let no man [re]move **Col. 2a** ¹[. . .] t[he] unleave[ned bre]ad [. . .] ²[. . .] the best grain [. . .]

Measurements and offerings (see Ezek. 45:11-15).

4Q271 Frag. 2 ¹[. . .] from the threshing floor shall bring down the tenth of the h[omer, which is the] ephah ²[. . .] the ephah and the bath, the two of them are the same measurement. From [the wheat,] a sixth of ³[an ephah for each homer, and a tenth of a bath for the fruit of] the trees. One must not set apart for an offering o[ne] lamb out of every hundred ⁴[. . . one must not] eat [. . . from the threshing floor] and from the garden, until [the pries]ts stretch out their hand ⁵[to ble]ss first of all. [. . .] to a man, he may sell it and when he [. . .] and then he shall be free of obligation ⁶[. . .] a field mixed ⁷[. . .]

Various rules of purity with respect to Gentile meat, metals, corpse impurity, and the qualifications for sprinkling for impurity.

4Q271 Frag. 2 ⁸One must never bring [Gentile meat in the blood of their sacrifices . . . or any such blood on] his [clo]thing into the zone of purity; nor is one to bring any portion of ⁹gold or silver [or bronze] or tin or le[ad that the Gentiles used to make i]dols. No one can bring ¹⁰it into the zone of puri[ty, unless it is ne]w, straight from the furnace [. . .] No one can br[ing] any skin or garment or part of ¹¹any too[l] with which [w]ork [is done] that is unclean by reason of a cor[pse, un]less it has been sprinkled according the regulation ¹²[. . .] impurity, in the era of wickedness, a man is pu[re from all unclean]ness, who ¹³[sees the sunset. But any young man who] is [no]t old enough to be included among the re[gistrants shall not sprinkle . . .]

Immediately preceding this section is a section on the woman suspected of adultery (Num. 5:11–31), but it is too fragmentary for accurate translation. Following it are various rules among which are those on full disclosure in business, including betrothal, which is considered a commercial transaction.

4Q271 Frag. 3 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] with silver [. . .] ²[. . . and his means are not sufficient for re[payment], and the year of [jubilee] shall arrive [. . .] ³[. . .] God will release hi[m from all] his obligations.

Prohibition of cross-dressing (Deut. 22:5).

[The garments of a male] should not ⁴[be worn by man and woman] alike, for that is an abhorrent thing.

Full disclosure in business transactions, including betrothal.

As for the verse that says “When [you sell] ⁵[anything or buy anything from] your neighbor, do not defraud him” (Lev. 25:14). Now this is the mean[ing . . .] ⁶[. . . he must be frank about] all that he is aware of that is found [in whatever he is selling:] ⁷[if there is a fault in it] and he is aware of it, he is cheating him, whether it is human or animal.

And if ⁸[a man betroths his daughter to another ma]n, he shall tell him about all her defects, lest he bring upon himself the judgment of ⁹[the curse, which say]s, “Cursed is he who leads the blind astray on the road” (Deut. 27:18). Moreover, he should not give her to someone who is not proper for her, for ¹⁰[this is a case of “forbidden mixtures,” like plowing with an o]x and ass, or clothing made of wool and flax together.

Rules concerning women with a history of promiscuity.

Let no man bring ¹¹[a woman into the covenant of holi]ness whom he knew to “do the deed” for a trifle or whom he knew ¹²[to “do the deed” while in the house of] her father; or a widow who has had intercourse after she became a widow, or any ¹³[woman who has a] bad [repu]tation while a virgin in the house of her father. Let no man marry such a one unless ¹⁴[she is examined by] dependable and knowledgeable [women] who are selected at the command of the Overseer who is over the ¹⁵[general membership; the]n he may marry her, but when he marries her let him do according to the re[gul]ation [and not] tell others about [her . . .]

Rules on taking oaths. The translation of Geniza A resumes here.

Geniza A Col. 15 ¹[A man must not sw]ear either by Aleph and Lamedh (*Elohim*) or by Aleph and Daleth (*Adonai*), but rather by the oath of those who enter ²into the covenant vows. He must not make mention of the Law of Moses, because the Name of God is written out fully in it, ³and if he swears by it, and then commits a sin, he will have defiled the Name. But if he has sw[orn] by the covenant vows in front of ⁴the judges, if he has violated them, he is guilty; he should then confess his sin and make restitution and then he will not bear the burden of sin ⁵and die.

Whoever enters the covenant, for all Israel this is a perpetual observance: any children who reach ⁶the age to be included in the registrants, they shall impose the covenant oath upon them.

This is an excursus on the procedure for becoming a member of the Yahad, apparently suggested by the topic of oaths, since an oath was administered to new members.

This ⁷is the rule during all the era of wickedness for all who repent of their wicked ways: On the day he speaks ⁸to the Overseer of the general membership, they shall register him by the oath of the covenant that ⁹Moses made with Israel, the covenant to ret[urn] to the Law of Moses with a whole heart, and [with] a who[le] ¹⁰soul to that which is found therein to do during al[ll] the era of [wickedness]. No one is allowed to tell him ¹¹the rules until he appears before the Overseer, so that he, the Overseer, is not fooled by him when he examines him; ¹²and when he imposes upon him the oath to return to the Law of Moses with a whole heart and with a whole soul, ¹³they are innocent with respect to him if he proves false.

Everything that is revealed from the Law for the multitude of the ¹⁴Camp, and in which he (the postulant) has imperfect knowledge, the Overseer should tell him and command him to study ¹⁵for one full year; and then according to his knowledge he may draw near.

But no one who is a fool or insane may enter; and no simpleton or ignorant ¹⁶or one with eyes too weak to see or lame or crippled or deaf or minor child, ¹⁷none of these shall enter the congregation, for the holy angels are in your midst.

Col. 16 ¹[. . .] with you a covenant, and with all Israel. Therefore let a man take upon himself the oath to return to ²the Law of Moses, for in it everything is laid out in detail. But the specification of the times during which all Israel is blind to ³all these rules is laid out in detail in the "Book of Time Divisions by ⁴Jubilees and Weeks." On the day a man takes on himself

the oath to return ⁵to the Law of Moses the Angel of Obstruction will leave him, if he keeps His words. ⁶That is why Abraham was circumcised on the day he gained true knowledge.

A return to the subject of oaths.

As for the passage "observe what comes out of your lips" (Deut. 23:24), ⁷it means to abide by every binding oath in which a man promises ⁸to do anything from the Law: he may not break it, even at the price of death. Every ⁹promise a man makes to depart from the Law he shall not keep, even at the price of death.

¹⁰Concerning a woman's oath: The passage that speaks of her husband annulling her oath (Num. 30:9) means he should not ¹¹annul an oath if he does not know whether it should be allowed to stand or be annulled. ¹²If it violates the covenant he should annul it and not allow it to stand. The rule also applies to her father.

Offerings and vows to God.

¹³Concerning the rule of freewill offerings: A man shall not vow to the altar anything stolen, nor ¹⁴shall the priests accept it from an Israelite.

A man shall [not] consecrate the food ¹⁵of his mouth to God, for that is referred to by the passage, "Men trap each other with what is consecrated to God" (Mic. 7:2); nor should ^{16a}a man consecrate any [. . .] And the rule also applies if he ¹⁷consecrates part of a field he owns himself [. . .] ¹⁸The one who so vows shall be punished [. . .] money of its value [. . .] ¹⁹to the judges [for a fair decision and to evaluate . . . after the thing is vowed . . .] ²⁰If [it is gained by extortion, the extorter shall pay, if he has not spoken the truth to his fellow . . . As for the verse that says,]

Col. 9 ¹⁴"Anything <ms.: any man> a man proscribes" (Lev. 27:28), if a human being is proscribed, he shall be put to death by the laws of the Gentiles.

Accusations against fellow Israelites.

²As for the passage that says, "Take no vengeance and bear no grudge against your kinfolk" (Lev. 19:18) any covenant member ³who brings against his fellow an accusation not sworn to before witnesses ⁴or who makes an accusation in the heat of anger or who tells it to his elders to bring his fellow into disrepute, the same is a vengeance-taker and a grudge-bearer.

⁵It says only, "On his enemies God takes vengeance, against his foes he bears a grudge" (Nah. 1:2).

⁶If he kept silent day by day and then in the heat of anger against his fellow spoke against him in a capital case, ⁷this testifies against him that he did not fulfill the commandment of God which says to him, "You ⁸shall reprove your fellow and not bear the sin yourself" (Lev. 19:17).

Another law about oaths.

About oaths. The passage ⁹that says, "You may not seek a remedy by your own power" (1 Sam. 25:26), a man who makes someone take an oath out in the countryside ¹⁰and not before judges or at their bidding: such a one has "sought a remedy by his own power."

Lost property.

Everything that is lost ¹¹and it is not known which of the men of the camp stole it, its owner shall pronounce a malediction ¹²by the covenant oath and whoever hears it, if he knows and does not tell, is guilty.

Restitution in the absence of an owner.

¹³Every sin for which restitution is to be made in the absence of an owner to whom it is to be paid, the one making restitution shall confess to the priest ¹⁴and it shall belong to the priest alone, aside from the ram of expiation. So also every lost item that is found with no ¹⁵owner present shall belong to the priests, if the one who found it does not know the proper thing to do with it. ¹⁶If no owner is found, they shall have custody of it.

The law of witnesses.

Anything in which a man shall violate the Law ¹⁷and his fellow sees it, he alone, if it is a capital case, he shall tell him of it ¹⁸to his face in a denunciation to the Overseer, who shall then personally make a written note of it, until he does it ¹⁹again in the presence of a sole witness, who again makes it known to the Overseer. If he is caught doing it yet again by one ²⁰witness, his fate is sealed. But if there are only two witnesses, who yet disagree ²¹about the offense, then the man should be banned only from the community meal, if they are reliable, and if ²²the day the man saw the offense, he tells the Overseer. Two ²³reliable witnesses may bring charges in a property

case; only one is required for a ban from the community meal. **Col. 10** ¹⁻²A witness who is not old enough to be enrolled among those numbered as fearing God may not be admitted before the judges to put anyone to death on his evidence. ²⁻³No one who has knowingly violated a single word of the commandment will be considered a reliable witness against his fellow until he is considered fit to return to full fellowship.

Qualifications for judges.

⁴This is the rule for the judges of the nation. They shall be ten men in all chosen ⁵from the nation at the proper time: four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and from Israel ⁶six men learned in the Book of Meditation and in the basic covenant principles, from the age of ⁷twenty-five to sixty. No one above the age ⁸of sixty shall hold the office of judge of the nation, because when Adam broke faith, ⁹his life was shortened, and in the heat of anger against the earth's inhabitants, God commanded ¹⁰their minds to regress before their life was over.

The amount of water necessary for purification.

About purification by water. A man may not ¹¹wash himself in water that is filthy and too shallow to make a ripple. ¹²A man may not purify any vessel in such water or in any stone cistern that does not have enough water in it ¹³to make a ripple and that something unclean has touched, for its water will defile the water of the vessel.

Rules on keeping the Sabbath. This subject receives the greatest amount of attention, reflecting its importance to the sect.

¹⁴About the Sa[bb]ath, how to keep it properly. A man may not work on the ¹⁵sixth day from the time that the solar orb ¹⁶is above the horizon by its diameter, because this is what is meant by the passage, "Observe the ¹⁷Sabbath day to keep it holy" (Deut. 5:12).

On the Sabbath day, one may not speak any ¹⁸coarse or empty word.

One is not to seek repayment of any loan from his fellow.

One may not go to court about property or wealth.

¹⁹One may not discuss business or work to be done the next day.

²⁰A man may not go about in the field to do his desired activity on ²¹the Sabbath.

One may not travel outside his city more than a thousand cubits.

²²A man may not eat anything on the Sabbath day except food already prepared. From whatever was lost ²³in the field he may not eat, and he may not drink unless he was in the camp.

Col. 11 ¹If he was on a journey and went down to bathe, he may drink where he stands, but he may not draw water into ²any vessel.

One may not send a Gentile to do his business on the Sabbath day.

³A man may not put on filthy clothes or clothes kept in fleece unless ⁴he launders them in water or if they scrub them with spice.

A man may not voluntarily cross Sabbath borders ⁵on the Sabbath day.

A man may walk behind an animal to graze it outside his city ⁶up to two thousand cubits. One may not raise his hand to hit it with a fist. If it is ⁷un-cooperative, he should leave it inside.

A man may not carry anything outside his house, nor should he ⁸carry anything in. If he is in a temporary shelter, he should not take anything out of it ⁹or bring anything in.

No one should open a sealed vessel on the Sabbath. No one should carry ¹⁰medicine on his person, either going out or coming in, on the Sabbath. No one should pick up stone and dust ¹¹in an inhabited place. No caregiver should carry a baby on the Sabbath, either going out or coming in.

¹²No one should provoke his servant, his maid, or his employee on the Sabbath.

¹³No one should help an animal give birth on the Sabbath; and if it falls into a well ¹⁴or a pit, he may not lift it out on the Sabbath.

No one should rest in a place near ¹⁵to Gentiles on the Sabbath.

No one should profane the Sabbath for wealth or spoil on the Sabbath.

¹⁶Any living human who falls into a body of water or a cistern ¹⁷shall not be helped out with ladder, rope, or tool.

No one should offer any sacrifice on the Sabbath ¹⁸except the Sabbath whole burnt offering, for so it is written, "besides your Sabbaths" (Lev. 23:38).

The last law suggested the topic of sacrifices.

No one should send ¹⁹a whole burnt offering, cereal offering, incense offering, or wood offering to the altar through anyone impure by any ²⁰of the impurities, thus allowing him to defile the altar; for it is written, "The sacrifice ²¹of the wicked is abhorrent; but the prayer of the righteous is like an offering received with favor" (Prov. 15:8). No one who enters the ²²house of worship shall enter in impurity, with garments requiring ritual laundering. When the trumpets for assembly are blown, ²³let him go earlier or later so that they need not stop the whole service, [fo]r it is a place of **Col. 12** ¹holiness.

The holiness of the sanctuary applies to the city itself. A similar point of view is taken by the Temple Scroll.

A man may not lie with a woman in the city of the Temple, defiling ²the city of the Temple by their uncleanness.

A law counseling flexibility in the treatment of the demon-possessed. Lesser violations of the ritual law should be treated by confinement, not execution, as we would say, "for reasons of insanity."

Everyone who is controlled by the spirits of Belial ³and who advises apostasy will receive the same verdict as the necromancer and the medium; but all such who go astray ⁴to defile the Sabbath and the festivals shall not be put to death, for it is the responsibility of human beings ⁵to keep him in custody. If he recovers from it, they must watch him for seven years and afterwards ⁶he may enter the assembly.

Laws relating to contact with Gentiles.

Let no one attack any of the Gentiles with intent to kill ⁷for the sake of wealth and spoil, nor may anyone carry away any of their wealth, so that they may not ⁸blaspheme, except by the counsel of the commonwealth of Israel.

No one may sell a clean animal ⁹or bird to the Gentiles, lest they sacrifice them to idols; neither from his threshing floor ¹⁰or from his winepress shall he sell to them, in all his property; his servant and his maidservant he may not sell ¹¹to them, for they have entered with him into Abraham's covenant.

Laws relating to impure foods.

No one may defile himself ¹²with any creature or creeping thing by eating them, from the larvae of bees to any living ¹³creature that crawls in the water; and the fish may not be eaten unless they are split open ¹⁴while living and their blood poured out. All species of locust must be put in fire or water ¹⁵while they are alive, because that befits their nature. Every piece of wood or stone ¹⁶or dust that is desecrated by human uncleanness, with stains of oil: according to their ¹⁷uncleanness, whoever touches them will become unclean. Every instrument, nail, or peg in the wall of ¹⁸a house where a corpse lies shall be unclean, with the same impurity as a work tool.

Summary and conclusion to the laws for Israel in general.

¹⁹The regulations above are the rule for those who live in the cities of Israel, with these regulations to separate ²⁰unclean from clean and to discriminate between holy and profane. These are the rules ²¹for the sage to live by with all that is living, according to the regulation for every occasion. If ²²the seed of Israel lives according to this law, they shall never know condemnation.

Rules for those living in camps.

This is the rule for those who live in ²³camps, who live by these rules in the era of wickedness, until the appearance of the Messiah of Aaron **Col. 13** ¹and of Israel: up to ten men at least, for thousands, and hundreds, and fifties, ²and tens. For every group of ten, a priest knowledgeable in the Book of Meditation should always be present; by ³his command all shall be ruled. If he is not qualified in these rules and a Levite is qualified in ⁴them, then the allotment shall proceed in all its ways at his command, all the members of the camp. But if ⁵it is a case of the law of skin diseases, then the priest must come and be present in the camp, and the Overseer ⁶shall instruct him in the details of the Law, and even if the priest is ignorant, it is he who must isolate the one suffering from skin disease, because that duty ⁷is the priests' alone.

Qualifications for an Overseer.

This is the rule for the Overseer of a camp. He must teach the general membership about the works ⁸of God, instruct them in His mighty miracles, relate to them the future events coming to the world with their interpretations; ⁹he should care for them as a father does his children, taking care of all their problems as a shepherd does for his flock. ¹⁰He should loosen all their knots, that there be no one oppressed or crushed in his congregation.

¹¹He shall observe everyone who is added to his group as to his actions, his intelligence, his ability, his strength, and his wealth ¹²and write him down by his place according to his share in the allotment of Light.

Relationships with outsiders.

No members of the camp are allowed ¹³to bring anyone into the group except by permission of the Overseer of the camp; ¹⁴and none of the members of God's covenant should do business with corrupt people, ¹⁵except

hand to hand. No one should do any buying or selling unless he has informed ¹⁶the Overseer who is in the camp and taken counsel (with him), [lest they err unwittingly. Likewise] with [an]y man who m[arr]ies a wom[an] ¹⁷let [it be with] the counsel (of the Overseer); and likewise (4Q266 adds: let him instruct) a man who wishes to divorce. He shall edu[cate their sons and daughters] ¹⁸[and young children] in a spirit of meekness and love of mercy. He must not bear against them [a grudge in anger] ¹⁹[and wrath for] their [tr]ansgressions. And one who is not bound [. . .]

²⁰This is the <rule for> those living in camps, for all [. . .] ²¹[If any have broken] these rules, they will not prosper when they live in the land [. . .]

A second section of the camp rules begins here. These rules seem to apply to the camps in full convention, instead of considered individually.

²²These are the re[gulation]s for the Instructor [. . .] ²³[. . . when the verse comes true that says, "There shall come upon your people days] **Col. 14** ¹that have not been seen since the day Ephraim separated from Judah" (Isa. 7:17). But as for all who live by these rules, ²God's covenant stands firm for them, delivering them from all the traps of corruption; but "the ignorant pass them by and are punished" (Prov. 22:3, 27:12).

Rank within the camps.

³The rule of dwelling in all the camps. All shall be mustered by their names: the priests first, ⁴the Levites second, the children of Israel third, the proselyte fourth. Then they shall be recorded by name, ⁵one after the other: the priests first, the Levites second, the children of Israel ⁶third, the proselyte fourth. In the same order they shall sit, and in the same order they will inquire of all.

Qualifications for the presiding priest and general Overseer. For more on the mysterious Book of Meditation, see the introductions to the Charter for Israel in the Last Days (text 8) and the Secret of the Way Things Are (text 105).

The priest who presides ⁷at the head of the general membership must be between thirty to sixty years old, learned in the Book of Meditation ⁸and in all the regulations of the Law, speaking them in the proper way. The Overseer of ⁹all the camps must be between thirty and fifty years old, master of every ¹⁰secret of men and of every deceptive utterance. At his command the

members of the congregation shall enter, ¹¹each in his turn. Anything that any man might have to say, let him say it to the Overseer, including ¹²any kind of dispute or legal matter.

Contributions for the needs of camp members.

This is the rule of the general membership for meeting all their needs: a wage of ¹³two days every month at least shall be given to the Overseer. Then the judges ¹⁴will give some of it for their wounded, with some of it they will support the poor and needy, and the elder ¹⁵[bent with age], the man with a skin disease, whoever is taken captive by a foreign nation, the girl ¹⁶without a near kinsman, the boy without an advocate; and for whatever is common business, so that ¹⁷the common house should not be cut off.

This is the exposition for those who live in the ca[m]ps, and these are the pillars of ¹⁸the foundations of] the assembly.

Rules dealing with punishments for infraction of the rules. Some of these rules are the same as those found in the Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association (text 7).

And this is the exposition of the regulations by which [they shall be governed ¹⁹until the appearance of the Mess[ia]h of Aaron and of Israel, so that their iniquity may be atoned for. [Cereal offering and sin offering . . .]

²⁰[Who]ever [li]es knowingly in a matter of money shall be ex[pelled from the common me]al ²¹[. . . and suffer redu]ced rations six days; and whoever spea[ks . . .] ²²[and whoever bears a grudge against his neighbor, which] is not lawful, [shall suffer re]duced rations [. . .] **4Q266 Frag. 10 Col. 2** ¹[. . . shall be expelled two] hundred days and suffer reduced rations one hundred days. If he has born a grudge in a capital case, he shall not ever come back.

²[Whoever . . .] his fellow without taking counsel shall be [ex]pelled one year and suffer reduced rations ³s[ix months.]

Whoever speaks audibly a coarse word shall suffer reduced rations t[went]y ⁴[days, and expelled] three month[s].

Whoever] speaks while [another is speaking] and disturbs him ⁵[will suffer reduced rations ten] days.

[Whoever lies do]wn [and] sleeps in the [general me]etin[g . . .] ⁶[shall be expelled] thirty days [and] suffer reduced rations ten days.

[And likewise for whoever lea]ves ⁷[with]out the permission of the g[en]eral membership, [for n]o [reason,] up to three ti[m]es in] one [meet-

ing,] ⁸[shall suffer reduced rations] ten days. If [he continues] to leave [the meeting, he shall suffer reduced rations thirty] ⁹days.

Whoever goes around [naked] in front [of his] fellow [in the house or whoever goes about naked outside before] ¹⁰the world must be expelled for six [months . . . Whoever] ¹¹brings his penis out of [his] clothing, [being dressed in rags, and his nakedness is seen, shall be expelled for thir]ty ¹²[da]ys and shall suffer reduced rations ten.

Whoever laughs foolish[ly in an audible voice must be expelled] ¹³[th]irty days and suffer reduced rations fif[teen] days.

[Whoever puts out] his le[ft ha]nd ¹⁴[to gestu]re with it must suffer reduced rations [ten days.

Whoever] spreads [slander] ¹⁵[about his nei]ghbor [must be banned from the common meal for one year . . .]

4Q270 Frag. 7 Col. 1 ⁶[Whoever spreads slander about the general membership] ⁷[is to be sent away and must never] return a[gain. If he complains about his fellow unlawfully, he must suffer reduced rations six] ⁸[months.

The man] whose [spirit] deviates [from the fundamentals of the *Yahad*, proving unfaithful to the truth, and walking in his willful heart,] ⁹[mu]st be [expelled two years and su]ffer reduced rations sixty [days. When his two years are complete, the general membership will inquire] ¹⁰about [his] ca[se; if he draws near, let them] write [him down in his rank and then he may be examined about the law . . .]

. . . ¹¹[Who]ever rejects the ruling of the general membership shall depart and [never return.

Whoever takes his] ¹²food outside contrary to the rules must return it to the one he took it from. [. . .]

Whoever appoa[ches] ¹³to fornicate with his wife, which is not according to the regulation, shall depart and never return.

[Whoever complains] against the fathers, ¹⁴[he must leave] the congregation and never return; [but if] against the mothers, he must suffer reduced rations ten days, for the mothers have no such status within ¹⁵[the congregation.

These are the] regulations by wh[ich they judge] all who are disciplined.

Procedure for punishment of the offender.

Whoever ¹⁶[is disciplined] must come and tell it to the priest who presides over **4Q266 Frag. 11** ¹the general membership, he must receive his verdict willingly, just as it says through ²Moses concerning the person who

sins unwittingly, that they shall bring ³his sin offering [or] his guilt offering; and concerning Israel it is written, "I shall go ⁴to the ends of heaven and I will not smell the odor of your incense" (Lev. 26:31). In another place ^{5a}it is written, "Rend your hearts and not your garments" (Joel 2:13), ⁵and, "Return to God with weeping and fasting" (Joel 2:12). Anyone who rejects these regulations, ⁶which are in keeping with the statutes found in the Law of Moses, shall not be considered ⁷one of those who belong to his truth, for his soul is repulsed by righteous discipline. ⁸He shall be sent away in the presence of the general membership for the crime of rebellion, and the priest who presides over the general membership shall speak, and raise his voice ⁹and say:

Blessed art Thou! Thou art the All, in thy hands are all things, and Maker of All, who hast established ¹⁰the [p]eoples by clans and tongues and nations, then led them astray in a wasteland without ¹¹a way, but Thou hast chosen our fathers, Thou hast given to their descendants the statutes of Thy truth, ¹²and the judgments of Thy holiness, which, if humankind shall do, they shall have life; and boundaries hast Thou made ¹³for us, and they that transgress them Thou hast cursed; but we are Thy redeemed people, and the sheep of Thy pasture. ¹⁴Indeed, Thou hast cursed the transgressors; but Thou hast made us firm.

Then the excommunicated shall leave. Anyone ¹⁵who uses any of their property or who greets him or who agrees with him, ¹⁶this matter shall be recorded by the Overseer with an engraving tool, and his fate is sealed.

And all ¹⁷[those who live in] camps shall convene on the third month and curse those who stray from the Law to the right ¹⁸[or to the left.]

Conclusion of the rule.

This is the exposition of the regulations that they shall follow during the era ¹⁹[of wickedness, for which] they are [respon]sible [in all] the times of wrath and the stages of their journeys, for all those ²⁰[who live in their camps and all those who live in their cities.

Behold, all] of this is [o]n the basis of the most [recent in]terpreta[tion] of the Law.

—E.M.C.