

WOMEN AMONG THE ESSENES OR WOMEN AT QUMRAN? A STUDY ON GENDER IN THE *DAMASCUS DOCUMENT*, THE *RULE SCROLL*, AND IN THE HISTORICAL SOURCES RELATED TO THE ESSENES¹

Clarisse Ferreira da Silva²

RESUMO: Atualmente, o debate referente a questões relativas à mulher tornou-se mais acirrado entre os especialistas em Manuscritos do Mar Morto. O assunto é especialmente difícil de evitar quando pensamos que temas como relações sexuais ou casamento estão presentes nas suas regras e no seu sistema de pureza ritual em documentos tão importantes quanto o *Documento de Damasco* e o *Rolo do Templo*. É evidente a impossibilidade de que uma mesma comunidade seguisse as regras conforme as lemos no *Documento de Damasco*, na *Regra da Congregação* e na *Regra da Comunidade*. Eles simplesmente refletem realidades diversas. A comunidade vislumbrada no *Documento de Damasco*, em que famílias viviam em propriedades privadas, não pode ser a mesma que é indiretamente descrita na *Regra da Comunidade*, um documento que trata de uma comunidade em que as pessoas compartilhavam seus bens, suas refeições e seu tempo enquanto rezavam, estudavam as Escrituras e trabalhavam em conjunto. Nesse sentido, se o movimento descrito no *Documento de Damasco* incluía mulheres entre seus membros, isso quereria dizer, conseqüentemente, que a Comunidade de Qumran, vivendo isolada no deserto da Judeia, também recebia mulheres para estabelecer uma vida em comum com o grupo dentro de seus limites? Especialistas como C. Wassen e E. Schuller estão entre aqueles que devotam parte de seus estudos diretamente a esse tema, buscando respostas por meio das descobertas arqueológicas do sítio de Qumran, dos manuscritos encontrados nas suas cavernas e nas fontes históricas de Fílon, Josefo e Plínio. Esses esforços estão direcionados para a compreensão do papel social, possibilidades e cotidiano de algumas (ou muitas) mulheres judias que adentraram a dinâmica de um movimento fechado na virada do primeiro milênio e, ao mesmo tempo, para entender um pouco mais do *modus operandi* daquela sociedade.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: judaísmo antigo, Manuscritos do Mar Morto, movimento essênio, comunidade de Qumran, mulher.

ABSTRACT: Nowadays the debate on gender among the Dead Sea scholars has become fiercer. This issue can hardly be avoided when we ponder that women and themes related to sexual

¹ Versão atualizada do texto “Women at the *Yahad* or Women at Qumran? A study on gender in the Damascus Document, the Rule Scroll, and in the historical sources related to the Essenes”, apresentado no *Fourth Graduate Enoch Seminar*, realizado entre 18 e 20 de junho de 2012 na Universidade de Notre Dame, em Indiana, EUA.

² Clarisse Ferreira da Silva é graduada em História pela Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo. Pelo mesmo departamento, concluiu mestrado, doutorado e pós-doutorado tratando de temas como judaísmo antigo e os Manuscritos do Mar Morto. É autora dos livros: “O Comentário (*Pesher*) de Habacuc: a Comunidade de Qumran Reinterpreta o Passado” e “O Novo Templo e a Aliança Sacerdotal da Comunidade de Qumran”, ambos publicados pela Editora Humanitas.

relations or marriage are present in the rules and purity system of the Dead Sea Scrolls in documents as important as the *Damascus Document*, and the *Temple Scroll*. Clearly, it is impossible for such community to follow the rules as we read them in the *Damascus Document*, the *Rule of the Congregation*, and the *Rule of the Community*. They simply reflect different realities. The community glimpsed in the *Damascus Document*, where families lived in their own properties, cannot be the same as the one indirectly depicted in the *Rule of the Community*, a document about a community where people shared their goods, their meals and their time while praying, studying the Scriptures and working. In this sense, if the movement depicted in the *Damascus Document* included women among their members, does it mean that, consequently, the Qumran Community, living isolated in the Judean Desert, also received women to live a life in common with the group inside its walls? Scholars such as C. Wassen and E. Schuller are among the ones who are devoting part of their studies directly to this theme, seeking the answers through the archaeological findings in the Qumran site, the manuscripts found in the Qumran caves and the historical sources of Philon, Josephus and Pliny. These efforts are focused on understanding the social role, possibilities, daily life of some (or many) Jewish women that entered the dynamics of a closed movement in the turn of the first millennium and, at the same time, aim at grasping a little more of the *modus operandi* of that society.

KEYWORDS: Ancient Judaism, Dead Sea Scrolls, Essene movement, Qumran community, women.

Introduction

Many difficulties and questions pervade the debate around the role of women in the group, or groups, behind the Dead Sea Scrolls³ The first difficulty arises from this very assertion: are we dealing with only one or many groups? While on our part we dismiss the theory that the caves were the place where the library from the Jerusalem Temple (or the libraries of rich families from the city) was hidden just before the siege of the capital by Roman troops,⁴ it is clear that not all the Qumran Scrolls were produced or copied on site.⁵ This leads us

³ Abbreviation: DSS. Also called Qumran Scrolls.

⁴ This thesis is advocated, e.g., by Norman Golb in many articles and in his book *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* New York: Scribner, 1995. The main argument against this hypothesis is the homogeneity of the scrolls' contents and terminology (apart from the biblical and "apocryphal" books). As many scholars have noticed, there is a marked tendency in the texts to a radical and rigorous interpretation of the Jewish Law. The texts also are strongly critical on how the Temple of Jerusalem was ruled. About the common terminology and ideology shared by the "sectarians" texts see, e.g., DIMANT, Devorah, *Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts from Qumran: the Pertinence and Usage of a Taxonomy*. In: *Revue de Qumran*, No. 93, Tomo 24, Fascículo 1, 7-18, June 2009.

⁵ We can affirm that based firstly on chronological grounds, since there are many scrolls older than the settlement, which has been dated circa 100-50 BCE by archaeologists such as J. Magness (2002, 65). Another evidence is the enormous variety of handwritings.

to follow Schofield⁶ and others in their hypothesis that the Qumran Community is one group inside a broader “movement” together with other communities spread throughout Judaea that were in frequent contact with each other.⁷

Nonetheless, does it mean that all these communities lived exactly the same way? It is perhaps worth mentioning other groups from that time. For instance, we can divide the Pharisaic Judaism in its beginning into at least two houses: the House of Shammai and the House of Hillel.⁸ Christianity as well has always been very fruitful in terms of diversity. We may infer that the Jewish-Christian community that developed in Jerusalem and was depicted in the book of Acts of the Apostles was very different not only from other Christian communities within the Roman Empire, but also maybe from other Christian communities within Judaea, Galilee and Samaria. Ascetic ideologies of various types flourished in a short period of time. With that in mind, we might find it easier to imagine that something similar had happened to the group behind the sectarian manuscripts among the DSS.⁹ Excepting their very stringent manner of interpreting the law, the strict rules included in their penal code and the

⁶ See SCHOLFIELD, A. *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009.

⁷ Cf. 1QS VI, 1b-2a and 1QpHab XII, 9b-10a (in the “DSS” abbreviations, the first number, before the letter “Q” of “Qumran” is the number of the cave where the document was found. The letter(s) after “Q” defines the document, for example, “S” of “Serekh haYahad”, which is commonly translated as “Rule of the Community”). As argued in our post-doctoral work based on the comparison of the *Damascus Document* and the *Rule of the Community*, we found it valid to call the movement behind the documents “Yahad movement”, not limiting it to the Community behind the “Rule of the Community” and the site of Qumran (note that the word “Community” in this document is the translation of “Yahad” in Hebrew). Since we advocate that the Essenes are the group who wrote the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls, we consequently equate the Essenes and the *Yahad* (See SILVA, Clarisse Ferreira da. *O Caminho para o Deserto: origem e formação da Comunidade Qumran segundo análise histórica do Documento de Damasco e do Rolo das Regras*. Pós-Doutorado em História Social – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, 2013, p. 211ss.). Bearing that in mind, we can cite Philo and Josephus who inform us that the Essenes used to live in many villages and cities in the Judean territory. In fact, in *Good Person* 12.76, Philo speaks of Essenes living only in villages and avoiding cities, but in *Hypoth.* 11.1, like Josephus, he mentions Essenes in villages and cities. See *War* 2.124. About the gate of the Essenes in Jerusalem, see *War* 5.145.

⁸ Many issues surround the origins and the real situation of the Pharisees in Judaea at the turn of the era. On the other hand, I think maybe it is an understatement not to give any credit to what is written about the Houses of Shammai and Hillel in the rabbinic literature. After all, the tradition which the rabbis inherited from these ancient groups was used as the basis for building what we call rabbinic Judaism.

⁹ There are some good reasons for characterizing the group (with its many communities) behind the DSS as a sect. For us, the main points are the observance of a divergent calendar, which renders any communion with the surrounding society impossible, and the radical demand on its members that must be kept separated from the rest of the people (e.g., MMT(d), F14-21, 7; CD VI, 14-15; 1QS V, 1-2; the letter in lower case after the main abbreviation – in this case letter “d” after MMT– displays the exact copy that was meant; here, the fourth copy of MMT. Some documents have only one copy or only one copy found in a particular cave; therefore, there is no letter in lower case after its abbreviation).

general hierarchical structure with the priests and Levites as leaders, aspects probably imposed to all communities of the sect, there isn't any evidence that makes us think that the individual communities followed a preexisting and fixed model.

Possibly this is exactly what happened with this sect, that is, in addition to the small differences and peculiarities existing between its individual communities, the sect developed into two discernible branches: one of celibate members and another one of members who kept "the rule of the land," getting married and begetting children.¹⁰ This aspect reminds us immediately of Josephus' depiction of the Essenes as divided into two groups, the married and the unmarried.¹¹ The Essenes' celibacy is not the only peculiar and astonishing aspect regarding which all ancient historians who depicted them coincide.¹² The overall picture drawn through the analysis of these materials and the DSS, despite minor differences between the scrolls and the ancient historians, and in the opinions of these very historians, convinced me and many others that the authorship of these manuscripts is Essenean.¹³ Philo and Pliny, surprisingly, confirm this "novelty" rather than the norm within Jewish society (or in all society), since these historians mention only the celibate members of the Essenes.¹⁴ Philo probably did so because he depicted the Essenes as "heroes of virtue" or, in other words, as ideal men in his own (Hellenistic?) conception. Pliny has partial and superficial information and probably was not interested in more than that.¹⁵ Even if Josephus used a source, as suggested by Stegemann

¹⁰ See CD VII, 6b-7a. There are many scholars who advocate that part of the members of the group behind the DSS lived in celibacy, such as E. Qimron, 1992, 287-94, and Ben Zion Wacholder, 2007, 236-7. Others, such as C. Wassen and C. Hempel, do not dismiss, but at the same time do not defend openly, the possibility that there were married and celibate men within the group (Wassen, 2007, 129; Hempel, 1998, 139).

¹¹ *War* 2.160.

¹² The Essenes' "contemporaneous" historians known to us who dedicated part of their work to the group are Josephus, Philo and Pliny.

¹³ For a recent article with a systematic list of points in favor of the "Essene" theory, see SCHWARTZ, Daniel. כת מדבר יהודה והאיסיים (=The Dead Sea Sect and the Essenes). In: KISTER, Menahem. *The Qumran Scrolls and their World. Volume Two*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, p. 601-612, 2009 (in Hebrew).

¹⁴ Philo, however, contradicts himself in the *Hypoth.* 11.13. Just before his statement that the Essenes repudiated marriage he says: "Accordingly the old men, even if they happen to be childless...", which leads to infer that at least some of them, at some point in their lives, **were** married and **did** beget children. The translation is by YONGE, C.D. *The Works of Philo. Complete and Unabridged*. New Updated Edition. Hendrickson Publishers, 2007.

¹⁵ In Stegemann's opinion, Pliny and Philo never met an Essene in their lifetime (Stegemann, 126). This is probably true, especially as to Pliny. But it is not impossible that, while in Jerusalem with Titus during the siege, he learned about the Essenes through astonished Roman

and others, there is apparently no reason for us to suppose that he did not prepare his own report “because of lack of time, or interest” (Stegemann, 129). Firstly, it is legitimate to think that Josephus chose the source because he thought it was close enough to his own knowledge of the subject¹⁶ and, secondly, he had it in his hand to rework it as he wished, as he probably did.¹⁷

Another premise of this analysis of the “sectarian” DSS is that we were not able to find any evidence of a split within the group. This had happened only at the very beginning, when they decided to isolate themselves from society. We also believe that the “D community” (=the group behind the *Damascus Document*) and the “S Community” (=the group behind the *Rule of Community*) shared enough beliefs, ideology and communal structure and hierarchy to allow us to say that they belonged to the same movement, which calls our attention to keep in mind the complexity of their interconnection. I felt therefore encouraged to work with these documents as a collection reflecting the ideals and lifestyles of a movement that flourished and manifested its common beliefs in various ways. At this point, it is also worth recalling Wassen’s observation that there are references to women in all layers (or sections) that

soldiers who participated in the attack against Qumran and was surprised by their lifestyle (Pliny is clearly ironic in his depiction of the Essenes, element that is somewhat not strange if things happened as suggested here). This may explain why Pliny mentioned only the Qumran settlement, for in other villages or cities they might have lived in neighborhoods not totally separated from the other inhabitants, as it seems to be the case in Jerusalem. In the eyes of foreigners, they would probably look like Jews among other Jews (despite their peculiarities, which were ignored by those from outside that society). Philo had the same information as Pliny about celibate Essenes, and furthermore Philo belonged to the Jewish community and used to visit the province from time to time. On Pliny with Titus in Jerusalem during the siege, see Stegemann, 84. Nowadays, however, John Collins and others think Pliny had never been to Jerusalem. Collins, following Goranson, argues that Pliny’s source was the world map with comments made by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, a son-in-law of Augustus’, who visited Judaea in 14 B.C. Herod, a personal friend, showed him some sites near the Dead Sea, as Alexandreion, Herodion, and Hyrcania (Collins, p. 126-7 and GORANSON, Stephen. *Rereading Pliny on the Essenes*: Some Bibliographic Notes. http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/symposiums/programs/Goranson_98.shtml, note 4). Therefore, either his map was really Pliny’s source as advocated by Collins and Goranson, or he was told about the peculiar community that lived in Qumran during this journey, maybe by Herod himself, or he visited the surrounding area of the site personally. If that is the case, what we said above remains unchanged; practically only the “characters” are exchanged.

¹⁶ There is no evidence that the source’s author was not as acquainted to this subject as Josephus (or more). I am not the only one to have serious doubts about Josephus having any profound experience among the Essenes (supposing that it really occurred at any time).

¹⁷ If it is true that he was careful enough to “correct” the source by inserting the information about the second “kind” of Essenes – i.e., the married ones –, he depicted in his final report a clear portrait of the existence of celibate Essenes as well (contra Stegemann, 129). Indeed, the overall impression obtained from Josephus’ report would be that celibacy was the norm in Essene communities, even if that was not necessarily the case.

comprise the *Damascus Document* (=“D”): the Admonition, the “Halakhah”¹⁸ and the communal code (Wassen, 42). As a somewhat reflection of reality, the sect was also basically formed by family unities from the beginning through the end.

The current study is divided into two major parts. Firstly, we will analyze passages drawn from different documents of the DSS that present women as possible active participants of their communities and subsequently, we will see what the Qumran remains can tell us about the community established in the place circa 100-50 B.C., which disappeared in 68 A.D.

1. Women as Active Members

a) Women as Witnesses

The *Rule of the Congregation* contains one of the most controversial passages in the DSS. From this passage (1QSa I, 11), some scholars assert that not only were women accepted as witnesses,¹⁹ but also, or specifically, against their husbands. Our point of departure here will be taking the verb “תקבל” (be received/accepted) as if it did not need to be emended from the feminine to the masculine; therefore, theories and translations based on that will not be debated.²⁰ The emendation was proposed by Baumgarten²¹ and was followed, e.g., by Schiffman (Schiffman, 1989, 18-9). In this perspective, our intention is to suggest an alternative reading of the text as it stands now, in the feminine form. Despite that, I understand the first part of the regulation exactly as Schiffman presents it in his translation (he presents such part without the emendation): “And at that time she will be received to bear witness of him (concerning) the judgment of the law.” More emphatically, it is possible to read it with the force of a law: “At that time she must be received”. The preceding

¹⁸ Wassen calls this section “the early law code”. Despite *Halakhah* is an anachronistic name, for now there is no other better name available to call the sect’s law code derived from the Scriptures. Wassen nomenclature can be useful to scholars that think this whole code of D was older than the community rules. While I can accept that a nucleus could be based on a tradition inherited by the original priestly circle that formed the community, I do not find it obligatory that this kind of exegesis of the biblical text did not take place after the appearance of the sect.

¹⁹ Differently of what is stipulated by the rabbis and is reported by writers of the period. Cf., e.g., *Mishnah, Shvuot*, 4; Babylonian Talmud, *Rosh HaShanah* 22a; and Josephus *Antiquities* IV, 8.15.

²⁰ Vermes and Wise are examples of translators that accept the emendation.

²¹ BAUMGARTEN, J. *On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa*. JBL, 1957, 266-69 (see also Licht, 257). Baumgarten changed his mind, but still not accepting the idea that women could be considered legitimate witnesses. He then translates “להעיד” for “to admonish” (DJD, 165). Nonetheless, there is no reason to not translate the verb to its more common meaning, “testify”.

regulation (ll. 10-11) had just established that young men were not supposed to get married before the age of twenty, as it says “he shall not [approach] a woman to know her by lying with her before he is fully twenty years old, when he shall know [good] and evil”.²² The expression that started our precept “ויבין” “and at that time”, with its conjunction linking the two phrases, determines that “that time” is the time when he got married. Therefore, probably sometime soon after the wedding, the new wife should be received to testify about her husband’s behavior concerning the Torah. She is not just “accepted” as some understand, but the wife is to be received in order to fulfill her obligations with the community. In addition, she does not necessarily bear witness “against” him,²³ but probably “on him”, reporting on him, including his sexual behavior, a theme also dealt with in the preceding regulation, as seen above. Despite the fact that the husband was supposed to know good and evil, the community saw him as just a young man who had just left his parents’ home. How could the community leadership possibly know if he was doing well now that he was away from his parents’ supervision and guidance for the first time? Their only channel to know whether the couple would form an observant family was the wife.

Concerning the second part of our regulation “... and take place in hearing the judgments,”²⁴ I follow Baumgarten interpreting the phrase spatially (Baumgarten, 1977, 186). Possibly, the regulation refers to both wife and husband, for the verb is in the infinitive and does not mark gender or number. Indeed, the sentence begins talking about her, and considering her the addressee is the best reading. Nevertheless, the entire context, before and after, holds the twenty-year-old man as the subject. As such, it might be valid to conjecture that, based on the report, the leadership of the sect would pronounce judgments²⁵ and teachings to guide both man and wife, correcting wrongdoings,

²² All translations transcribed here are by Vermes, except the ones explicitly said to have a different authorship.

²³ See, e.g., Martínez/Tigchelaar’s translation. Indeed, “against” is one of the possible meanings of “על”. Nevertheless, its neutral meanings as “according to”, “on account of”, “concerning”, “on” (BDB dictionary), among others, are more common.

²⁴ The translation here is my own.

²⁵ The term “משפט” in the DSS is used in the circumstance of a trial about the decision taken by a judge, but either referring to the decisions taken by the leadership or by the counsel of “the Many” (=the sect’s regulations; see in the very beginning of 1QSa, I, 1-2 and 5). Note that there is no mention of a judge or of a trial in the passage. The term is also in the plural, supporting our interpretation. If it were linked to the juridical sentence, it would probably appear in the

confirming successes or instructing ways of improvement in their new life as a married couple.

This interpretation explains all the verbs and terms used, as well as the context, the position of the regulation in the text and the link between the precept and the man's age. Likewise, it explains why there is no hint or context of conflict, uneasiness or future problems for the wife in her marriage.²⁶ She was simply giving a due report to the community. Therefore, the law was very functional for the community's dynamics.²⁷ On their side, the leaders, by acting this way, imposed a close control while having one more opportunity to inculcate its *Modus Vivendi*. On the other hand, as in the Torah, the DSS did not interdict women's testimony in any of the surviving documents. In cases of capital offense, it just stipulates the minimum age and that the person should be God-fearing. In other cases, only deliberated transgressors who did not repent were forbidden to testify (CD IX, 23-X, 3).²⁸ As we do not treat this precept as a judicial case exactly, I do not concur with Davies and Taylor that this precept presents an exception in a community that, in other cases, did not accept women's testimony (Davies et al, 227).²⁹

singular. The solution brought by Davies and Taylor that the precept means that women "may be entitled to attend judgments" (p. 228) would detach completely the beginning of the sentence from its second part.

²⁶ Schiffman, Wassen and Rothstein are some of the scholars who ponder this difficult situation. As Rothstein says: "Accordingly, a wife who testifies against her husband does so knowing that her action will affect not only her husband, but herself (and children), as well" (Rothstein, 2004, 613).

²⁷ Contra Davies and Taylor. Facing the weird situation of a woman testifying against her husband, Davies and Taylor comment: "...but we may also expect to find laws that are impelled by ideology and will not necessarily have accorded with practice." (Davies and Taylor, 234).

²⁸ If the Hellenistic and the Roman as well as the Jewish society at large in the Second Temple period did not generally accept a woman's testimony, we must remember that the community separated itself from society in order to live in accordance with their own interpretation of the Scriptures. As such, there is the same probability that they were only following society at large and did not feel the need to enact laws about it simply because this matter was taken for granted or they did not write about it because the Torah does not bring about the theme, leaving space for the inference that women were not prohibited from testifying.

²⁹ It is probably also valid to say that the "expert" midwives of 4QD(f) F3, 12b-14 functioned as a type of witnesses. I cannot see those "knowledgeable and reliable" women that made gynecological exams on future marriage candidates but who carried "bad" reputation while in their father's house as authorities. Among many reservations against this assertion, we can say: 1) they only passed information to the men who would judge the case; 2) they worked for the "establishment" of the community leaders and they were "reliable" in **their** eyes; 3) the use of plural probably pointed to two "reliable" women; 4) if they lied in order to favor the girl or made a mistake, they would certainly be punished; 5) the status "endured" only the time required to proceed the exam and that was not very frequent, presumably; 6) the leaders were not required to ask the same women every time to make the exam; 7) these women examined the candidates only because the leaders could not do that themselves.

b) Women as Mothers of the congregation

In a “D” fragment from cave 4, we have women called by a title whose significance is disputed. The text says: “[If he has murmured] against the Fathers, he shall leave and will not return [again (cf. 1QS VII, 17). [But if he has murmured] against the Mothers, he shall do penance for ten days. For the Mothers have no *rwqmh* (distinction?) within [the Congregation]” (4QD(e) F7 I, 13b-15a). Crawford is convincing when she says that the term “Mothers” used here does not refer simply to biological mothers, since there is a parallelism with “Fathers,” a group of authority within the community.³⁰ She reminds the Fifth Commandment that demands to honor father and mother (Crawford, 2003, 178-9). Nonetheless, it might not be out of the picture that these “Mothers” were spouses of the “Fathers” and eventually were real mothers (despite the lack of any biological link with each member). The importance given to marriage and motherhood for women’s lives in the community can be inferred elsewhere in the DSS. The list of people in need of financial help from the community in D (CD XIV 12b-17a; 4QD(a) F10 I, 5-10), mentions adolescent orphans,³¹ both men and women. Wassen observes that while young men need financial assistance until they find a way to be autonomous, women were supposed to be helped and save enough money for their dowry. In Wassen words: “The focus on marriage for women highlights the importance of women marrying. The ramifications for women who remained unmarried could be devastating, as they would not be able to fulfill the socially expected role of motherhood” (Wassen, 170). Being out of a family to support them, these women would inescapably be socially marginalized. It is difficult to conceive a picture where men from a conservative Jewish group in ancient times could call “mother” a single woman or maybe even a woman that is not a mother at all. The procreative role of women in society is intrinsically embedded in the title. They deserved special respect from all members because they could be the mother of any member; therefore, the fifth commandment was equally in force.

³⁰ She cites other biblical passages where “father” is not to be taken literally: 2Kgs 5, 13; Judg 17, 10 and others.

³¹ They did not mention children, who were probably educated directly by the establishment of the community.

Wacholder seems perplexed when realizing that the principle of reciprocity between women and men, in a certain way “proclaimed” in D,³² was not valid here (Wacholder, 365). After all, if it were true, the penalty inflicted on the transgressors should be the same; on the contrary, though, their difference is whopping. Nevertheless, they are in some ways still connected to the Torah which, in Lv 27, 2-7, always estimates, depending on the age-group, the value of men to be higher than that of women. The justification for this attitude in D is the lack of “רוקמה” “rwqmh,” which would mean “authority,” according to Elwold.³³ G. Brooke took it more literally, since it can designate “colorful garments”, worn by prestigious people.³⁴ Therefore, the group of the fathers would wear a kind of colorful garment that would demonstrate their prestigious status.³⁵ Anyway, even if this is the case, this garment had already turned out to be representative of their status. Wassen accepts Brooke’s hypothesis and, by observing that the term was associated with angels in the document “Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” as well as with priests in the *War Scroll*, she concludes that the fathers had “a special function within spiritual practices in the community that aimed at creating a sense of communion with the heavenly sphere” (Wassen, 193).³⁶ But there is no hint of their spiritual role anywhere. It is not likely that a priestly leadership, as in the case of the sect, would grant this type of function (identified with the angels) to laymen.³⁷ Wassen rejects the identification of this group with another one called “fathers of the congregation” also in the *War Scroll*. Maybe it is not to be discarded so easily. There, they play an important role, but not a “spiritual” one. The fathers are not among the young men in the battlefield, but they should guard the Temple complex’s gate (1QM II, 3). In line 4, we are told that these men are 50 years and above. The best analogy to the fathers may be 1QS VI, 8, which describes the entrance to the

³² CD V, 9-10 establishes that what is valid in the law for men was valid for women. However, we do not know the real range of this assertion. Indeed, this part of the text explicitly mentions only laws concerning sexual behavior.

³³ Followed by Crawford; near to it: Baumgarten, “authoritative status”, and Wise, “status”. “Distinction” (Vermes); “mingling” (Martínez-Tigheelaar); “ornate glory” (Wacholder) are other suggestions.

³⁴ See, e.g., Ez 16, 10.

³⁵ See Brooke, George. “Between Qumran and Corinth: embroidered allusions to women’s authority”. In: DAVILA, James. *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity. Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 157-76, 2003.

³⁶ See all her argumentation from p. 189 to p. 193.

³⁷ For example, in the ceremony depicted in 1QS I,18ss, only priests and Levites have spiritual leading roles, while laymen answer nothing more than “amen, amen”.

session of the Many according to the rank: the “elders” (but not “fathers”) follow the priests, while they precede “the remainder of all the people.” Based on it and on the symbolic meaning of “rwqmh” (as an actual piece of cloth or not), we may affirm that it refers to authority. While the fathers³⁸ could debate, vote, help with decisions in and out of the sessions to a larger extent when compared with the other members,³⁹ women did not have this power. If their decisions and counsels were to be seen as authoritative, the penalty could not be so lenient. They could even have the status, shared with their husbands, but their opinions and counsels were not imposed on members.

c) Women as full members?

Our conclusion above hinders us from defining women as “full members” with all men’s rights and duties, for women probably did not have the right to speak their mind in public,⁴⁰ judge or vote. However, it might be useful to remember that the sect’s model was the congregation of the desert depicted in the Bible. There, only men were censured for military reasons, but those men were counted as representative of their families. A man was never alone; his wife (or wives) and children were included in this society, just behind him.⁴¹ The terminology used for censuses and military organizations is also an essential part of the discourse in important documents of the DSS such as D, S, Sa, and M.⁴² Based on the Scriptures, however, there is no a priori reason to infer that enrolled men’s relatives were not recognized as members. In 4Q502 F1-3, 6, the community’s women are called “בת אמת” (“daughter of truth”). This shows that women were considered part of the lot of the Sons of Light and were certainly members.

4Q502 is generally defined as a ritual of marriage, or a “golden age” ritual or still another “feast” (“מיעד”; 4Q502, F7-10, 10). This document presents the members of the community celebrating in pairs: “sons and daughters”, “old

³⁸ With the elders or maybe were “the fathers” part of this group?

³⁹ See in Numbers 11, 16-25 the elders’ special authority over the people in the “desert’s camp”.

⁴⁰ Cf. even in the NT where, despite remarkable moments depicting women in favorable light (e.g., all the gospels say that women - or only Mary Magdalene - were the first witnesses of Jesus resurrection), we have also Paul’s advice against women speaking in public (1Cor 14, 34-35; cf. 1Tim 3, 11).

⁴¹ See the beginning of the book of Numbers. See also Num 26, 2.

⁴² Schiffman calls attention to the expression “לעבור על הפקודים”, which he translates as “passing among the mustered”, and that recalls the census in Numbers linked to the military service and is used to designate the entrance in the community (Schiffman, 1983, 57).

men and women,” “young men and women,” “boys and girls,” but also “adult men and youths” (Idem, 6). The first pair to appear is a “man” and “his wife” in F1-3, 3. In the document, there is an insistent call to celebrate this feast and praise the God of Israel together (F7-10, 1-2; 9 and others). In F24, 4, we read: “[... and] she will take a place in the assembly of old men and old wom[en...]”. Based on the general context, however, we may say that this “she” from fragment 4 is not present in a regular session of the community and cannot be easily transported to one. She apparently has something to do with a “he” that pronounces a blessing in “the time of happiness to praise his name” (Idem, 4-5). The theme of the blessing is fertility and fruitfulness. She apparently says a blessing to this specific man, maybe wishing that his days shall pass by in peace (l. 5). This is the sole testimony of a woman’s public speech known in the DSS, though she is told what to say.⁴³ This woman then takes a place in the midst of prestigious people from the community, the old men and the old women.⁴⁴ In the opinion of Grossman, this is the “closest thing that the scrolls offer to evidence for a more ‘egalitarian’ community” (Grossman, 229). All these elements, the beauty and joy of the feast and the contents of the liturgy convinced me that it can really be a depiction of a marriage. In any case, it is not a common assembly of the community and cannot reflect the customs of the community in everyday life.

Indeed, it does not prove that women were not allowed to participate in the community’s sessions either. Schiffman argues that the battle camp with its regulations and restrictions is a good analogy for these sessions. If women were not allowed to enter the military camp regulated by the *War Scroll*, this also meant women could not enter the sessions (Schiffman, 1989, 51-2). Yadin tried to explain this interdiction of women in the camp as a way to avoid impurity.⁴⁵ Wassen thinks children were forbidden to do that for their own protection (Wassen, 153, N. 70). Schuller, on the other hand, observed that women were not included in the list of prohibited people to enter the “congregation”⁴⁶ in

⁴³ The liturgy of this ceremony is, of course, planned beforehand. The document is written in the first person singular (F7-10, l. 16) and this figure is probably the minister of the ceremony.

⁴⁴ With her husband? The document is, unfortunately, too fragmentary.

⁴⁵ YADIN, Yigael. *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962, 71.

⁴⁶ On the other hand, the lack of mention of people bearing impurity in the list of excluded ones in the *War Scroll* does not mean they were allowed to enter the camp. Strikingly, *Serekh Damascus* apparently prohibits women and children of eating the Paschal lamb (4Q265 F4, 2b-

4QD(a) F8 I, 6b-9 (Schuller, 1994, 124).⁴⁷ Unfortunately, it does not say whether women could participate in the “congregation’s” sessions or councils, but that maybe they were not forbidden to be part of the congregation, as seen above. On the other hand, in the list of people to attend the assembly of the sect, women are not among priests, levites, the sons of Israel and sojourners. If we take 4Q502 as a kind of model and the priestly characteristic love for detailed narratives (as we see in P and H, the priestly sources of the Torah), we should expect that women would appear in the list together with the “sons of Israel” or, “hierarchically” speaking,⁴⁸ we would expect women to simply show after them. For Wassen, the problem with the analogy with the military camp is that women in the camp would spend the night there and could become a source of attraction for soldiers. However, it would surely not happen in the assemblies. Following this line of thought, she understands that children would come to the sessions along with their parents. The example would be in the Bible, for the Torah describes how all the people were present in the ceremonies of covenant-renewal, and we have the same in Nehemia 9-10 (Wassen, 139). Nevertheless, we knew from no source of women being active participants of the *Sanhedrin*.⁴⁹ I raise the possibility that, apart from the obvious issues of purity, women and children were out of the camp in order to prevent distractions, for the soldiers would lose the focus on their duties while involved with their families. Under this perspective, I do not think the analogy with the assemblies is out of the picture. While I believe women and children would be present in the community festivals and special ceremonies (as in 4Q502 and in the Bible testimonies), I do not think women and their children usually participated in the sessions or councils.⁵⁰

3). It is actually a very strange precept, since in the Bible it was seen as a family meal. Baumgarten tried an explanation on Dt 16; Mal 2, 10; 11QTa 17, 8-8, and Jub 49, 17 (BAUMGARTEN, J. Scripture and Law in 4Q265. In: STONE, M. and CHAZON, E (eds.) *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ, 28. Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 21 and 31-2). Nonetheless, the scroll shows a lacuna in a decisive place. Bernstein calls attention to the danger of being misled by fragmentary documents (Bernstein, 196).

⁴⁷ In this article, Schuller concludes in favor of the full membership of women in the community (p. 122-3), but she changed her mind as we can read in her article of 1998, 129.

⁴⁸ The list is hierarchical and does not have the spirit of togetherness of 4Q502.

⁴⁹ Or in pharisaic or rabbinic academies. Until today, women are not allowed to study in traditional *Yeshivot*.

⁵⁰ It might be valid to remember that a precept in D prohibits carrying children from a place to another on Shabbat (CD XI, 11). Indeed, we do not know how often sessions were held, but it is

The *Rule of the Congregation* also has no evidence on this matter at all. It is clear in Col. I, 6ss that the author was depicting a man's "carrier" inside the community. The use of the expression "אנשי חיל" ("men of valor") and its strong military connotation cannot be used in reference to women (I, 28). The depiction of women being instructed with children and newcomers in I, 4-5 is not very promising. It is not a description of the assemblies, which starts only in line 25 and has nothing to do with instructing children. These women were probably newcomers that were introduced in the community through marriage and needed basic teaching alongside with children and other newcomers.⁵¹ In this document, the 20-year-old youngsters completed their training and were supposed to enroll and "enter the lot amongst his fam[il]y",⁵² which, I think, corroborate what is said above about men being representatives of their families. Despite all we have said, in my opinion, it is not completely clear if women were in some way registered by the community leaders (but not as full members). It is also not self-evident if they took the solemn oath to enter the covenant, after all, in general, they had to obey the Torah and communal laws as men had in order to be good wives, mothers and members of the community. On the other hand, women did not have to pay the half-*sheqel* (see Exod 30, 11-16), the obligatory "Rite of Passage" for all male Israelite to be recognized as socially, militarily and religiously mature into the society of the desert and, in the Community, as full member (1QSa I, 8-11). It is likely that women were members as part of a man's family. In this perspective, they were under their husband, father, son's oath, but should respect it as they did, honoring the name of their families, even if they were not required to obey all the rules and

quite probable that they met on Shabbats. Mothers with little children probably stayed at home on the holy day.

⁵¹ If we look through the prism that 1QSa was prepared as an eschatological document (against Stegemann), these newcomers could be those people who were not so guilty or had been deceived by wicked leaders of the society and were accepted to join the congregation in the messianic days. They needed basic instruction. The phrase "so that they do not stray in [the]ir e[rrors]" (translation by Martínez-Tigheelaar) also makes sense in this context. Even though we read the text under this eschatological perspective, it does not mean that such text does not reflect actual activities inside the sect. Josephus talks about a three-year-long probation and instruction for a woman from outside the sect that would marry a member (*War.* 2, 161). Apparently, the process was the same for any man getting into the community. As the man must prove he is worthy of becoming a member, the woman was supposed to prove that she was apt to be a member's wife (see Baumgarten, 1990, 16). For me, it also corroborates the assertion that these women were accepted as members with the same rights and obligations of other women that grew within the community. But, in the case of a divorce, were they sent back home?

⁵² Translation by Martínez/Tigheelaar.

commandments (e.g., they were not allowed to attend the Passover meal, a prescription for all adult men).

2. At Qumran

Qumran is commonly associated with the material of the *Rule of Community* (=S) and there are good reasons for that. The community depicted in D could not have lived there, in a closed complex. D supposes many families living in their own properties. On the other hand, the lifestyle suggested by S is completely compatible with the site. There, a group of people could live, work and eat together. The huge quantity of pottery, the significant number of pools for purification rites (= *miqwa'ot*), and the large room that supposedly was the dining room point to a group of more than 200 people living there at a time. On the other hand, they could not all possibly live in the buildings. Some archaeologists try to explain the situation by saying that some inhabitants probably lived in the caves nearby or in huts. Differently from D, S does not mention women as present in the community. The hierarchical list of the members expected to attend their assembly does not mention old women and old men as in 4Q502, or the mothers and fathers of D, but only “elders” in the masculine. If “old women” were included in this plural, were they allowed to enter and seat before the other members? Also, differently from D, its author(s) does not (do not) interpret laws with women as subjects. Even the penal code, in many points parallel to that of D, omits the laws involving women on any level. In this context, I find myself compelled to agree with those scholars who argue that silence in S can be counted as evidence of the essential difference between the two documents: one which reflects women among the group’s members and another one which reflects a community living its life without women in its midst.⁵³ The DSS, especially the S material, and the *miqwa'ot* also point to a group extremely concerned about purity. In such a closed group, it would be absolutely necessary to guide women’s life under such special condition as the Qumran complex in the desert. S is particularly concerned about infractions related with the interrelationship among members. So, how could it be that these men did not have the necessary guidance on how to behave towards the other men’s wives and daughters if they were all sharing the exact same space?

⁵³ Archaeologist Jodi Magness (2002, 166) is one of them.

Where should women stay during menstruation or after childbirth? In a cave, a particular hut or closed in a building's room to avoid contaminating the complex? Crawford notes that, if women lived there, they could only have lived in "small numbers and for short period of time", for they did not leave "discernible evidence in the archaeological record".⁵⁴ However, if this is the case, who was allowed to have wife and children there? Only the leaders? The priests? Why the distinction? In the opinion of others, would it be just fine?

Furthermore, there is controversial evidence in the cemetery. The number of women buried in Qumran is one of the critical points subject to debate among specialists and holds a direct relation to a primordial question about the identity of the site's inhabitants. Archaeologists apparently do not agree with each other in many aspects.⁵⁵ Non-specialists in the area remain lost in the midst of contradictory data and their evaluations.

Magness compared the Qumran cemetery with others in the region. While similar to the Nabatean cemetery in Khirbet Qazone, she points out two main differences: proportionate numbers of men, women and children buried in Khirbet Qazone, some of them with grave goods (differently from Qumran), and the finding of five funerary stelae (Magness, 2002, ps. 173-4). Zias has some determining data, in case his evaluation turns to be proved correct. Some of the peculiar characteristics of the Qumran cemetery according to him are: 1) practically all women and children were found out of the Western and main cemetery, except one buried in an abnormal manner;⁵⁶ 2) in the secondary cemeteries the tombs were oriented East-West according to Islamic –therefore, Bedouins– customs (in the main cemetery the orientation is North-South); 3) in the main cemetery the tomb rows are all ordered and their depth are between

⁵⁴ Especially comparing with caves like the one at Nahal Hever, with plenty of evidence of the presence of women (and they did not live there for almost 200 years!).

⁵⁵ See, e.g., the dispute between Zias and Sheridan on the identification of male and female skeletons on account of their height. For Zias, some skeletons, firstly defined as female, could only be men due to their high stature comparing to the average stature of women at that time and region. The skeletons were 1.59 and 1.60 m, while the tallest woman found in Ein Gedi was 1.54/5 (the stature range among men in Qumran is 1.59 and 1.68 m; Zias, 2006, 452-5). For Sheridan, "the plasticity of the human skeleton precludes such generalization without careful analysis..." (Sheridan, 238-9). In her estimative, the average female height was 1.58 (taller than the tallest Zias's sample) and would fit "the statistical bounds of neighboring groups" (Idem, 246)

⁵⁶ Zias quotes de Vaux: "only the rectangular grave, which is abnormal in type and situated apart from the rows, contained a female skeleton" (R. de Vaux. *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 47. In: Zias, 2003, 88, N. 18. In the "Qumran-type" cemetery in el-Ghuweir, men and women were buried without any distinction of gender, following the Jewish practice.

1.5 and 2 m (in the secondary cemeteries they are shallower and not planned before-hand);⁵⁷ 4) in two tombs in the Southern cemetery jewelry beads were found, although that was not a custom among Jewish families;⁵⁸ 5) the jewelry beads retain their luster while they should be duller in texture, pitted and fragile if they were more than 2,000 years old;⁵⁹ 6) the remains of those children and women are better preserved than those of males in the main cemetery, but skeletons of women and children are more fragile than men's, therefore, we are supposed to have the opposite evidence.⁶⁰

Still, even if those women were part of the community, all the problems raised above remain. And more, there must be an explanation for why they and their children were buried separately in the secondary cemeteries. It would be also significant to ask why we did not have the opposite ratio. Women and children living in such conditions (particularly women during childbirth) would certainly have a higher mortality rate than men.⁶¹ The picture expected should be of plenty of young women, children and babies buried there. But not even one baby was found! It is also valid to cite Joseph Patrick's argument in his debate with Kapera, when he recalls that in the Byzantine monastery of Hozeba, exclusively masculine, tombs of a few women were found amongst 300 funerary inscriptions of monks (In: Wise et al, 112). As in this monastery, the sect did not forbid the presence of women, as we have seen. It is not impossible that some festivals and ceremonies took place in Qumran. Anyway, the cemetery evidence fits well with the lack of archaeological data on the presence of women at the

⁵⁷ See Magness, 168; Broshi, 2009, 46. Zias informs that one of the tombs in the secondary cemetery was excavated only 40 cm from the soil (Zias, 2006, 447. 456). To specialists as Zias, Broshi and Magness, the tombs oriented East-west did not belong to same group of the main cemetery. The characteristics of the former point to Bedouin practices common to other Islamic groups in the region (Magness, p. 168; Zias, Idem, 450 and Broshi, 1992, 111-113). Despite those apparent differences between the main cemetery and its extensions, some scholars argue for the unity of the cemetery (Kapera, In: Wise et al, 1994, 99).

⁵⁸ Zias explains that sometimes finger rings and rings in pierced ears are found in Jewish tombs, probably due to the difficulty in removing them without injuring the body (Zias, Idem, 449 and N. 20). In Bedouin cemeteries the practice is usual (EAKINS, J. K. *Tell El-Hesi: the Muslim Cemetery in Filds V and VI/IX (Stratum II)*, ed. SPENCER, J.R. com O'Connell, K. G.. ASORER, Joint Archaeological Expedition to Tell el-Hesi 5. Wynona Lake: Einsenbrauns, 1993. In: Zias, Idem, 451 e N. 27).

⁵⁹ Zias, 2006, p. 449, N. 19. Galor, however, dates the jewelry from the Roman period. On the other hand, apparently, she ignores or sets aside the information cited here. She says basically that its design does not preclude the jewelry to be estimated as ancient, but, admits, could also be from Byzantine and Early Islamic times (Galor, 31).

⁶⁰ Zias, 2006, 456. It would be another proof that the secondary cemeteries are older than the main one.

⁶¹ Apparently, even men died early there. The average age in time of death is 35-40 (Sheridan, 225).

Qumran complex. Clearly, the excavated tombs were only part of the cemetery and this scenario may change based on different findings which demonstrate that the percentage analyzed up until this point may not be representative of the whole.

Conclusion

It is noteworthy that the single hint in the DSS that we are dealing with a movement with two branches is not in S, but in D. We read in CD-A VII, 4-9 and CD-B XIX, 1-5: “For all who walk in these (precepts) in perfect holiness, according to all the teaching of God, the Covenant of God shall be an assurance that they shall live for thousand generations (MS. B: as it is written, *Keeping the Covenant and grace with those who love me and keep my commandments, to a thousand generation*, Deut. vii, 9). And if they live in camps to the rule of the Land (MS. B: as it was from ancient times), marrying (MS. B: according to the custom of the Law) and begetting children, they shall walk in accordance with the rule of the Law which says, *Between a man and his wife and between a father and his son* (Num. XXX, 17). And all who despise (MS. B.: the commandments and the statutes) shall be rewarded with the retribution of the wicked...”. I agree with Wassen (contra Qimron, 290) that “those who walk in perfect holiness” are not a subgroup and are not in opposition to the ones who “live in camps,” but to “all who despise” (Wassen, 124-5). These people who lived in perfect holiness are simply the ones who lived under the precepts of D, and in these precepts we also have regulations on marriage. The promise of long life or immortality belongs to the entire group, begetting or not begetting children (Wassen, 127). I am not so sure that, as suggested by Wassen, the phrase in D includes women and children in the “men of perfect holiness,” for the subject in the context are the ones who live in the camps and “take wives.” Anyway, it does not mean this is not intrinsically true, because these men’s wives and children must correspond to that. On the other hand, I do not concur with Schuller that celibacy was an option also for women (Schuller, 1998, 130). Apparently, only men could choose whether or not to take a wife and have a family. Women did not choose to take a husband. 4QD(f) F3, 9b-10a shows that the father was responsible for finding an appropriate groom for his daughter. As seen above, the community had the obligation of providing the dowry to female

orphans with no redeemers. However, despite all that, Wassen is right in not leaving aside the conditional “and if,”⁶² which suggests there were two ways of living God’s precepts: marrying and begetting children or not doing so.

But why and how did this take place? In Jewish society, “from ancient times,” respectful men had to get married and beget as many children as possible. Polygamy was not an infrequent practice. According to Stegemann, the existence of a group of celibate Jews in the Second Temple time is an impossible phenomenon (Stegemann, 130s). Were those men influenced by the ideals and ascetics of the Hellenistic world, as seemed to be the case with Josephus and Philo? This may be part of the explanation since it is difficult to prove that any particular group can be not at all affected by the air breathed in its own time. Nevertheless, if this is the case, they certainly changed it, giving it new meanings in accordance with their beliefs. In Qimron’s opinion, the celibate “men of perfection” were a subgroup that thought they were a temporary substitute of the Temple and as such, they should keep chastity, avoiding the impurities associated with intercourse (Qimron, 288). Baumgarten, in turn, argued in favor of a “perpetual state of purity” in order to receive the “new insights into the law” for the group believed to be in an ongoing process of revelation (Baumgarten, 1990, 20).⁶³ As seen above, however, the “men of perfect holiness” may be both married and unmarried. I am not particularly convinced that the *Yahad* members considered themselves a substitute to the temple. My presupposition is that the sect was born in a circle of married priests (or at least some of them were married while others were not, but not due to any ideology). Before breaking up with society, they were an organic part of the social establishment. The desire for a deeper dedication to God on the part of some grew along with concepts that were developing at that moment within the group. It was not an issue, but a choice, which is why it did not call for

⁶² Wassen raises the possibility of a celibate group among the Essenes: “The group described as ‘those who walk in these [the statutes] in perfect holiness) CD VII 4b-5a) may have included celibate persons, because the introduction of the interpolation (VII 6a) begins with ‘and if’.” (Wassen, 129). For another interpretation of the use of “ואם” in this passage, see Regev, 258. In his opinion, the text only seeks to encourage people to live in the camps. However, in my opinion, it is not convincing.

⁶³ He also thinks it could happen in the later stages of their lives. 4Q502 would depict a “golden-age” ritual, when the couple blessed each other in their decision to keep physically apart (Idem, p. 17).

justification, neither was it a reason for controversy.⁶⁴ The merit was not about being holier or purer than others, but about being prepared to serve God like in the Temple, to receive God's revelation or to be ready for war. The origin of this concept might be traced back to the first sect's groups in Jerusalem: a group that banned intercourse in the city of the sanctuary as we can see in 11QTA, XLV, 11-12 and CD XII, 1-2/4QD(f) F5 I, 17-18. A group of those celibate Essenes might still have been in Jerusalem (*War* 5.145) at the time of Josephus and Philo, therefore, they are likely to have known these Essenes more directly. Maybe this is also the reason why Josephus did not speak about the Essenes in Qumran, for he had another community of celibate Essenes in mind.⁶⁵

Linking a celibate group to the material of S is the same as linking it to the *Yahad* movement. Thus, at least we can conjecture that part of the *Yahad* was formed by celibates. 1QSa is in the same scroll as 1QS and speaks of a "congregation" (like D) as well as of the *Yahad*. From this, we can conclude that the *Yahad* accepted marriage, at least for the eschatological future. The similarity between the QSa group and the community of D is so overwhelming that Hempel argues that its nucleus came from D. Also, D has many parallels with S. D does not mention the *Yahad*,⁶⁶ but talks about "מורה היחיד" (lit.: "Unique Teacher"), which could be a play on words with "יחד" (*Yahad*: community/unity) and *Yahid* (unique), mentioning the Teacher of Righteousness, the sect's leader, as the "unique" teacher of the

⁶⁴ I think that the movement that happened inside early Christianity is very similar. I do not think Paul thought sexual relations as a sin or something not pure *per se* (Contra Regev, p. 269-70; he quotes 1Cor 7, 1-2.25-40). The apostle thought his celibacy was the ideal condition exactly because he was able to dedicate more time and was free to serve God (1Cor 7, 7 and 32-34). Jesus, in the Gospel of Matthew, apparently had the same opinion when he says that some men made themselves "eunuchs" because of the Reign of Heaven (Mt 19, 12). Is he talking about the future or about groups among Jews that were living as celibates in the benefit of the "reign of God" (he himself counted among those)? If we believe part of the Essenes were celibates we can understand why celibates John the Baptist, Jesus and Paul (and others that acted equally) were not seen as "different" persons among their own people. There is no hint of it in the NT. No-one was amazed by Jesus' celibacy and he is not criticized (or John and Paul) by his enemies because of that.

⁶⁵ Then we do not need to accept the strange list of reasons offered by Stegemann in order to explain why the ancient historians had the "impression" that the Essenes were celibates (Stegemann, 132-4).

⁶⁶ Wacholder argues that D is older than S and that in the time of D the peculiar terminology used by the sect was starting to develop (Wacholder, 352.367). It is a thesis to be considered. And, even with the argumentation that the passages that cite the Teacher would be later insertions made by the group of Qumran and that CD-B reflects an up-to-date version (or vice-versa), maybe it is good to remember that this up-to-date version has an up-to-date version of this important passage, as we have seen above (CD-A VII, 4-9 and CD-B XIX, 1-5).

“Unity/Community”.⁶⁷ Therefore, CD VII, 4-5 can be the key to grasp these various forms of living religion inside the sect. *Serekh Damascus*, 4Q502 and others allow us to glimpse at other aspects of this peculiar, living and not at all monolithic world created by this group of ancient Jews. As Crawford says based on D and S: “Thus the two documents existed side by side, because the two groups of Essenes existed at the same time. These groups would not have been separate or isolated, but in constant dialogue and communication.” (Crawford, 2003, 149). Women were part of the sect and participated in it, but not as equally as men. Like so many women until today, they were probably in the same struggle for dignity, a place, and a voice in human society as the daughters of Zelophehad⁶⁸ and even those before them.

Abbreviations

CD – Cairo Damascus (copies of the Damascus Document found in the Cairo Geniza)

CD-A (=MS. A) and CD-B (=MS. B) – the first and the second Damascus Document’s manuscripts found in the Cairo Geniza

(Q)D – Damascus Document/the community behind the Damascus Document

F – Fragment

MMT – Some Observances of the Law

(Q)M – War Scroll

QpHab – Pesher Habakkuk

(Q)S – Rule of the Community/the community behind the Rule of the Community

QSa – Rule of the Congregation

QT – Temple Scroll

⁶⁷ It is valid to remember that the form “קִיָּה” in CD XX, 32 can only mean “community”.

⁶⁸ Cf. Numbers 27, 1-11 and Joshua 17, 3-4.

Bibliography

Dictionary

BROWN, Francis with the co-operation of DRIVER, S.R. and BRIGGS, C.A. (=BDB). *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951.

General Bibliography

BAUMGARTEN, Joseph M. *Studies in Qumran Law*. Estudos sobre a Lei de Qumran. 1ª edição. Leiden: Brill, 1977.

_____. The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage. In: SCHIFFMAN, Lawrence H. (ed.). *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*. Arqueologia e História nos Manuscritos do Mar Morto. A Conferência da Universidade de Nova Iorque em Memória de Yigael Yadin. 1ª edição. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990, p. 13-24.

_____. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVIII – Qumran Cave 4 XIII. The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)*. Descobertas no Deserto da Judeia XVIII Caverna 4 de Qumran XIII. O Documento de Damasco. 1ª edição. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

BERNSTEIN, Moshe. Women and Children in Legal and Liturgical Texts from Qumran. In: *Dead Sea Discoveries. A Journal of Current Research on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*. Volume XI. Leiden; Boston: Brill, p. 191-211, 2004.

BROSHI, Magen. The Archeology of Qumran – a reconsideration. In: DIMANT, D; RAPPAPORT, U. (ed.). *The Dead Sea Scrolls : Forty Years of Research*. Os Manuscritos do Mar Morto: Quarenta Anos de Pesquisa. 1ª edição. Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J.Brill. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, p. 103-115, 1992.

_____. אורחות חיים בקומראן. Modos de Vida em Qumran. In: KISTER, Menachen (ed.). *The Qumran Scrolls and their World. Volume One*. Os Manuscritos de Qumran e seu Mundo. 1ª edição. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2009 (em hebraico).

CHARLESWORTH, James H. (ed.); with BAUMGARTEN, J., DAVIS, M.; DUHAIME, J. OFER, Y; RIETZ, H.; ROBERTS, J.; SCHWARTZ, D.; STRAWN, B. and WHITAKER, R. Tradução de BAUMGARTEN, J.M.; SCHWARTZ, D. *The Dead Sea Scrolls - Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations Volume 2: Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents*. Os Manuscritos do Mar Morto – Textos Hebraicos, Aramaicos e Gregos com Traduções para o Inglês Volume 2: *Documento de Damasco, Regra da Guerra e Documentos Relacionados*. 1ª edição. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck e Louville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995.

COLLINS, John J. *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Além da Comunidade de Qumran: o Movimento Sectário dos Manuscritos do Mar Morto. 1ª edição. Grand Rapids; Michigan; Cambridge: William B. Eedmans Publishing Company, 2010.

CRAWFORD, Sidnie White. Mother, Sisters, and Elders: Titles for Women in Second Temple Jewish and Early Christian Communities. In: Davila, James (ed.). *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity. Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001*. Os Manuscritos do Mar Morto como Contexto para o Judaísmo Pós-bíblico e o Cristianismo Primitivo. Trabalhos da Conferência Internacional de St. Andrews em 2001. 1ª edição. Leiden; Boston: Brill, p. 177-191, 2003a.

_____. Not According to Rule: Women, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran. In: PAUL, S.; KRAFT, R; SCHIFFMAN, L.; FIELDS, W. (ed.). *Emanuel Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*. Estudos de Emanuel na Bíblia Hebraica, Septuaginta e Manuscritos do Mar Morto em Honra a Emanuel Tov. 1ª edição. Leiden, Boston: Brill, p. 127-150, 2003b.

DAVIES, Philip; TAYLOR, Joan. On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa. In: *Dead Sea Scrolls Discoveries. Volume III*. Leiden: Brill, p. 223-235, 1996.

ELWOLDE, John. RWQMh in the Damascus Document and Ps 139:15. In: MURAOKA, T. e ELWOLDE, J.F. (ed.). *Diggers of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*. Escavadores de um Terceiro Simpósio Internacional sobre o hebraico dos Manuscritos do Mar Morto e Ben Sira. 1ª edição. Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, p. 65-83, 2000.

GALOR, Katharina. Gender and Qumran. In: GUNNEWEG, Jan; ADRIAENS, Annemie; DIK, Joris (ed.). *Holistic Qumran: Trans-Disciplinary Research of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Qumran Holístico: Pesquisa interdisciplinar de Qumran e dos Manuscritos do Mar Morto. 1ª edição. Leiden; Boston: Brill, p. 29-38, 2010.

GROSSMAN, Maxine. Reading for Gender in the Damascus Document. In: *Dead Sea Discoveries. A Journal of Current Research on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Volume XI*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, p. 213-239, 2004.

HEMPEL, Charlotte. The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa. In: *Dead Sea Discoveries. A Journal of Current Research on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Volume III*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, p. 253-269, 1996.

_____. *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Source, Tradition and Redaction*. As Leis do Documento de Damasco: Fonte, Tradição e Redação. 1ª edição. Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1998.

KAPERA, Zdzislaw. Some Remarks on the Qumran Cemetery. In: WISE, Michael; GOLD, Norman; COLLINS, John; PARDEE, Dennis (ed.) *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present*

Realities and Future Prospects. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences Volume 722. Métodos de Investigação dos Manuscritos de Qumran e do Sítio de Khirbet Qumran: Realidades Presentes e Perspectivas Futuras. 1ª edição. New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, p. 97-113, 1994.

LICHT, Jacob. מגילת הסרכים, ממגילות מדבר יהודה: סרך היחד . סרך העדה . סרך הברכות . *Rolo das Regras dos Rolos do Deserto da Judeia: Regra da Comunidade . Regra da Congregação . Regra das Bênçãos. 1ª edição. Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1956 (em Hebraico).*

MAGNESS, Jodi. *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls. A Arqueologia de Qumran e dos Manuscritos do Mar Morto. 1ª edição. Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing, 2002.*

_____. & TIGCHELAAR, Eibert J.C. (ed.). *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition. Volumes I and II. Os Manuscritos do Mar Morto : Edição de Estudo. Volumes I e II. 1a edição. Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill, 1997 e 1998 respectivamente.*

QIMRON, Elisha. Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Two Kinds of Sectarians. In: BARRERA, Julio Trebolle e MONTANER, Luis Vegas (ed.). 1a edição. *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Madrid 18-21 March, 1991 (Volume One). O Congresso de Qumran em Madri: Procedimentos do Congresso Internacional dos Manuscritos do Mar Morto. Madri 18-21, Março, 1991 (Volume 1). Leiden; New York; Köln: E. J. Brill; Madrid: Editorial Complutense, p. 287-294, 1992.*

_____. *The Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew Writings. Volume One. Os Manuscritos do mar Morto. Os Escritos Hebraicos. Volume I. 1a edição. Jerusalem: Yad ben-Zvi Press, 2010.*

REGEV, Eyal. Cherchez les Femmes: Were the Yahad Celibates? In: *Dead Sea Discoveries. A Journal of Current Research on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Volume XV. Leiden; Boston: Brill, p. 253-284, 2008.*

ROTHSTEIN, David. Women's Testimony at Qumran: the Biblical and Second Temple Evidence. In: *Revue de Qumran, Número 84, Tomo 21, Fascículo 4, dezembro de 2004.*

SCHIFFMAN, Lawrence H. *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls : Courts, Testimony and Penal Code. Lei Sectária nos Manuscritos do Mar Morto: Cortes, Testemunho e Código Penal. 1ª edição. Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983.*

_____. *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: a Study of the Rule of the Congregation. A Comunidade Escatológica dos Manuscritos do Mar Morto: um Estudo da Regra da Congregação. 1ª edição. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.*

SCHULLER, Eileen. Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In: WISE, Michael O.; GOLB, Norman; COLLINS, John; PARDEE, Dennis (ed.). *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present*

Realities and Future Prospects. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences Volume 722. Métodos de Investigação dos Manuscritos de Qumran e do Sítio de Khirbet Qumran: Realidades Presente e Perspectivas Futuras. Anais da Academia de Ciências de Nova Iorque Volume 722. 1ª edição. New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, p. 115-131, 1994.

_____. Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In: FLINT, P; VANDERKAM, J. (ed.). *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment. Volume Two. Os Manuscritos do Mar Morto após Cinquenta anos. Uma Avaliação Abrangente. Volume Dois. 1a edição. Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, p. 117-143, 1999.*

_____. Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Some Observations from a Dictionary. In: *Revue de Qumran*, No. 93, Tomo 24, Fascículo 1, p. 49-59, junho de 2009.

SHERIDAN, Susan Guise. Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen, Elites?: Analysis of French Collection of Human Remains from Qumran. In: *Dead Sea Discoveries: A Journal of Current Research on the Scrolls and Related Literature, Volume IX*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 223-248, 2002.

STEGEMANN, Hartmut. The Qumran Essenes – Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times. In: BARRERA, Julio Trebolle e MONTANER, Luis Vegas (ed.). *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Madrid 18-21 March, 1991 - Volume One. O Congresso de Qumran em Madri: Procedimentos do Congresso Internacional dos Manuscritos do Mar Morto. Madri 18-21, Março, 1991 - Volume Um. 1a edição. Leiden; New York; Köln: E. J. Brill; Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1992, p. 83-166.*

VERMES, Geza. *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English. Os Manuscritos do Mar Morto Completos em Inglês. 5ª edição. New York: Penguin Books, 1998.*

WACHOLDER, Ben Zion. *The New Damascus Document: The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary. O Novo Documento de Damasco: o Midrash sobre a Torá Escatológica dos Manuscritos do Mar Morto: Reconstrução, Tradução e Comentário. 1ª edição. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007.*

WASSEN, Cecilia. *Women in the Damascus Document. Mulheres no Documento de Damasco. 1ª edição. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005.*

WISE, Michael; ABEGG Jr., Martin; COOK, Edward. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation. Os Manuscritos do Mar Morto: Uma Nova Tradução. 1ª edição. San Francisco: Harper, 2005.*

ZIAS, Joe. Qumran Archaeology Skeletons with Multiple Personality Disorders and Other Grave Errors. In: *Revue de Qumran*. No. 81, Tomo 21, Fascículo 1, pp. 83-98, Junho de 2003.

_____. The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest? In: CHARLESWORTH, James (ed.). *Jesus and Archaeology*. Jesus e Arqueologia. 1a edição. Grand Rapids; Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, p. 444-471, 2006.