

does not alter its message or purpose. The Reworked Pentateuch's approach appears to be rather conservative: Material is added to the existing biblical material or its sequence is altered, but the essential character of the biblical narrative remains unaltered. The changes are sometimes simply for embellishment, as in the Song of Miriam, but sometimes the changes serve a larger purpose, such as giving the Mosaic imprimatur to the Festival of the Wood and the Festival of the Fresh Oil. As stated above, there is no scribal indication in the manuscripts that changes have been introduced. This may indicate that the scribe did not wish his audience to be consciously aware of the changes. This raises the question of the authority of the Reworked Pentateuch: did it have the same authority as the "canonical" text of the Torah?

Authoritative Status. The words *canon* and *scripture* are anachronisms in regard to the Qumran texts. However, it is clear that some texts at Qumran were authoritative. One good test of this is an instance of a certain text being cited by another, such as the Damascus Document citing the book of *Jubilees*. Other criteria may be brought into play as well, such as the number of copies of a particular work. Many of the books that seem to be authoritative at Qumran later became part of the Jewish canon: the Torah, the Prophets, and *Psalms*. Others that seem to have authority were not included in the later canon, for example, *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*. However, there are many texts whose authoritative status is unclear, including the Reworked Pentateuch.

The Reworked Pentateuch's claim to authority rests on its relationships to other Torah manuscripts, the book of *Jubilees*, and Temple Scroll^a. *Jubilees* was certainly authoritative at Qumran; Temple Scroll^a may have been. As shown above, fragment 3 of the Reworked Pentateuch^b and *Jubilees* 27 have similar texts concerning Jacob's departure from his parents. If *Jubilees* is drawing its material from the Reworked Pentateuch, that may imply that the Reworked Pentateuch's version of the Pentateuch was in some way authoritative. If, however, the Reworked Pentateuch is here relying on *Jubilees*, we have no information concerning the Reworked Pentateuch's authority.

The Reworked Pentateuch's relationship to Temple Scroll^a is somewhat more complicated. Fragment 23 of Reworked Pentateuch^c contains material related to the tribal order of the offerings for the Festival of the Wood (4Q365 23.10-11), which is parallel to material found in Temple Scroll^a (11Q19 xxiv). This tribal order is not found elsewhere in ancient Jewish literature. [See Sacrifice.] Once again, if Temple Scroll^a is dependent on the Reworked Pentateuch and if Temple Scroll^a was authoritative at Qumran, then this may imply that the Reworked Pentateuch was authoritative as well. In addition, there exists a group of five fragments, in the handwriting of

the scribe of Reworked Pentateuch^c, that contain material parallel to the Temple Scroll. These were originally placed with Reworked Pentateuch^c; however, the editors decided that they were not part of the manuscript and published them separately, under the rubric Temple Scroll? (4Q365a). If, however, these fragments were, after all, part of Reworked Pentateuch^c, the relationship between the Reworked Pentateuch and Temple Scroll^a is even more complex. The question of the direction of dependency remains unresolved. Finally, the text to which the Reworked Pentateuch is most closely related is the "Proto-Samaritan" version of the Pentateuch, found in other Torah manuscripts at Qumran (e.g., Paleo-Exodus^m 4Q22). The Reworked Pentateuch contains many of the same pluses and harmonizing passages as the Proto-Samaritan text, although it goes farther than the Proto-Samaritan text in introducing additional material and harmonizing changes. The unresolved question is when a text ceases to be simply a full or harmonizing text of the Torah and instead becomes rewritten. The Reworked Pentateuch may have been accepted by the inhabitants at Qumran as another version of the authoritative Torah or it may have been considered a rewritten version that did not carry the same authority. The question remains unanswered.

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REWRITTEN BIBLE. The term *Rewritten Bible* refers to any representation of an authoritative scriptural text that implicitly incorporates interpretative elements, large or small, in the retelling itself. Some scholars suggest that the term constitutes a distinct literary genre. Geza Vermes (1986, p. 326) defines it as "a narrative that

follows Scripture but includes a substantial amount of supplements and interpretative developments." Other scholars are inclined to define the term as a loose overarching category for a number of compositions of different genres. George Nickelsburg (1984, p. 89) includes paraphrases, narrative blocks in a nonnarrative genre, and poetic presentations of biblical stories.

On the basis of the observation that there are rewritten forms of a multitude of books of the Bible, this article will adopt a loose definition of the term and offer some overall characteristics of the category. The category is to be found in the Bible itself and seems to have been common in the late Second Temple period. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls the majority of compositions to which the label is commonly attached were written in Hebrew, but some were composed in Aramaic.

The rewriting seems to have a variety of purposes, among which are the following: to improve an unintelligible authoritative text, making it more comprehensible (11Q10); to improve a text by removing inconsistencies—often through internal harmonization (4QpaleoExod^m); to justify some particular content by providing explanations for certain features in the base text (1QapGen); to make an authoritative text serve a particular function, perhaps in a liturgical setting (4Q41); to encourage the practice of particular legal rulings (*Jubilees*); and to make an old text have contemporary appeal (Temple Scroll). Rewritten Bible texts thus have features of both pure and applied exegesis, but the interpretation is never formally explicit.

In one sense, whenever a scribal copy of a biblical book is not exact in every detail, then a Rewritten Bible text is produced. However, it can generally be said that Rewritten Bible texts are those compositions which closely follow their scriptural base text and which clearly display an editorial intention that is other than or supplementary to that of the text being altered.

Biblical Rewritten Bible. The two most significant examples of Rewritten Bible within the Bible are *Deuteronomy* and *Chronicles*. *Deuteronomy*, as its latinized Greek name suggests, is a second, even secondary, version of a collection of laws; the primary texts are to be found in *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers*. From at least the fifth century BCE, *Deuteronomy* seems to have been widely accepted as being of equal authority with the other four books usually designated as the Torah. This authoritative status of *Deuteronomy* is significant since it may have encouraged further rewritten versions of parts of the Law in subsequent centuries. The authoritative place of *Chronicles* as rewritten forms of the earlier history books is unclear; it is worth noting that virtually nothing of *Chronicles* has survived among the biblical manuscripts found in the Qumran caves.

Rewritten Torah in the Dead Sea Scrolls. There are three types of rewritten texts that are applicable to the Torah: Reworked Pentateuchs, rewritten narratives, and rewritten laws.

Reworked Pentateuchs. Some manuscripts found at Qumran are apparently extensive rewritten versions of the whole Torah. These copies of the so-called Reworked Pentateuch (4Q158; 4Q364–367) generally follow the text of the Torah very closely. They acutely raise the issue of whether textual variants should be understood as constituting Rewritten Bible or whether they should be understood as merely belonging to the everyday and largely unintentional scribal practices of copyists. The Reworked Pentateuch manuscripts share many minor readings with the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint and with the Samaritan Pentateuch, but in places they contain more significant variations, notably additions, such as the so-called Song of Miriam in Reworked Pentateuch^c (4Q365 6a.ii and 6c). Some fragments written by the same hand as that of Reworked Pentateuch have been classified as a separate manuscript (4Q365a) because they contain material that is predominantly nonbiblical; whether this is the correct editorial judgment remains to be seen, since it seems to be based on certain assumptions concerning how close the Reworked Pentateuch should be to the biblical base text.

Rewritten Pentateuchal narratives. Several compositions found among the scrolls from Qumran are rewritten forms of the narrative portions of the Torah. The Aramaic Genesis Apocryphon, one of the first seven scrolls to come to light, has stimulated the investigation of Rewritten Bible texts like no other. In its extant portions it is a rewritten form of the stories from Noah to Abraham, offering various kinds of explanatory expansions. The extant fragments of Exposition on the Patriarchs (4Q464) contain reworked biblical material relating to Abraham and Jacob.

Much of the Moses tradition is also presented in a reworked form: Apocryphon of Moses (2Q20), Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition (4Q374), Apocryphon of Moses B^a (4Q375), Apocryphon of Moses B^b (4Q376), Apocryphon of Moses C (4Q377), and possibly five copies of a Pseudo-Moses text (4Q385a; 4Q387a; 4Q388a; 4Q389; 4Q390).

In addition, there are multiple copies of *Jubilees*, which is a rewritten form of Genesis 1-Exodus 12 (Jubilees^{a,b} = 1Q17–18; Jubilees^{a,b} = 2Q19–20; 4Q176a; Jubilees^{a,b} = 4Q216–224; Jubilees = 11Q12). *Jubilees* is echoed in a series of related so-called Pseudo-Jubilees compositions (4Q225–227). The broad purpose of these narrative retellings is twofold: to make the antediluvians and the patriarchs keep the law in various respects and to represent

the whole of history according to a divinely ordained scheme of Jubilee periods. The very great significance of *Jubilees* as an example of Rewritten Bible is its apparent authoritative status at Qumran (CD xvi.3; 4Q228).

In Aramaic the *Books of Enoch*, the *Book of Giants*, and the various collections concerning Noah all attest the wide variety of forms in which pre-Abrahamic traditions could be passed on. Not all of these were deliberate attempts to rewrite the biblical narrative; sometimes a short biblical passage is used as a springboard for an extensive work of another kind.

Rewritten Pentateuchal laws. The most extensive collection of rewritten laws is the so-called Temple Scroll (4Q365a?; 4Q524 11QT^{a-c}). This may be divided into four parts, which are joined together with editorial paragraphs. After the opening, which imitates parts of *Exodus* 34 but also harmonizes the *Exodus* narrative with corresponding passages of *Deuteronomy*, there is a lengthy section of reworked passages from the Torah containing regulations for the ordering of the Tabernacle and for the sacrifices that are to be performed there; these all refer to the temple that has yet to be built. Then, after a collection of rewritten purity laws, there is a lengthy section that rewrites much of *Deuteronomy* 12–22. This last section seems to be presented as a revised law for living in the land. It is interesting to note what is omitted as well as what is included or expanded. Most prominent among the omissions are all references in the corresponding chapters of *Deuteronomy* to the gentiles; perhaps this was done to suggest a hope of the authors that only Israelites would belong in the land as properly inhabited by virtue of God's gift. The most obvious expansion is the so-called King's Law (11QT^a lvi.12–lix.21), which extends *Deuteronomy* 17.14–20 in a variety of ways to limit the powers of the king; perhaps this was written against a contemporary ruler, possibly one of the Hasmoneans. The literary device of having God speak in the first person suggests that the editor was trying to provide this secondary text with a self-authenticating authority.

There are several other manuscripts that contain rewritten forms of Pentateuchal laws. A brief mention of some of them will show how extensive and varied the phenomenon was: Words of Moses (1Q22), the Liturgy of the Three Tongues of Fire (1Q29; 4Q376), the Greek Paraphrase of *Exodus* (4Q127), the Targum of *Leviticus* (4Q156), Meditation on Creation A^{a,b}, B (4Q302a–304), the Apocryphon of Joseph^{a-c} (4Q371–373; 4Q539), the Apocryphon of Jacob (4Q537), and various Aramaic traditions associated with Levi, Qahat, and Amram (4Q540–548).

Rewritten Former Prophets. There are a few compositions found at Qumran that seem to allow us to see rewritten forms of the various books assigned to the former

Prophets. For Joshua, it may well be that the Qumran evidence permits the conclusion that the version of the book in Masoretic Text is in fact the rewritten one: 4QJosh^a (4Q47) contains an ordering of events that could well be more original than that displayed in the Masoretic Text. Also, for Joshua there exists something of a rewritten form in the so-called Psalms of Joshua, a version of the narrative containing poetic additions, which, like *Jubilees*, may have been considered authoritative (cf. 4Q175 14–21). There is also a Paraphrase of Joshua in paleo-Hebrew (4Q123).

For *Kings*, which is dominated by the Elijah and Elisha cycles of stories, the scrolls have provided very fragmentary copies of what appear to be rewritten forms: 4QParaphrase of Kings et al. (4Q382), 4QApocryphon of Elisha (4Q481a). The fragment mentioning Elisha (frg. 2) seems to contain some poetic or liturgical material. A common feature of expanded versions of biblical books is the addition of such material that may enhance the appeal of the narrative and even encourage audience participation.

Rewritten Latter Prophets. Rewritten forms of the literary prophets were known before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls; among these were the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the expansions to the Jeremiah traditions in the series of works associated with Baruch, the so-called Ezekiel Apocryphon, and the Lives of the Prophets. For the scrolls from Qumran, no rewritten forms of *Isaiah* or the Twelve Minor Prophets have come to light; conversely, no *peshet* or running commentary on Jeremiah or Ezekiel has yet been identified.

For the prophet Jeremiah, the rewritten forms feature in what may be five apocryphal compositions, Apocryphon of Jeremiah A–E (4Q383, 4Q384, 4Q385b, 4Q387b, 4Q389a). For Ezekiel, the rewritten forms are preserved in five manuscripts of Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385; 4Q386; 4Q387; 4Q388; 4Q391). Sometimes the biblical text is followed very closely, sometimes not.

Rewritten Writings. The books now collected together in the Writings pose some particular problems for the student of Rewritten Bible texts. Because the majority of the works among the writings attained authoritative status later than other sections of the Hebrew scriptures, it is not always clear how alternative forms of these works should be understood. For example, from the various collections of Psalms discernible in the Qumran Psalms manuscripts, it is not clear whether the collection of 150 Psalms as in the Masoretic Text was one of several collections available in the Second Temple period or the dominant collection against which all other collections should be deemed secondary.

More obviously there are several collections of biblically based Psalms among the scrolls from Qumran.

These apocryphal psalms imitate their biblical counterparts in phrasing or in form, or both. It is difficult to determine when a nonbiblical Psalm should be labeled as Rewritten Bible and when it should be labeled as a new nonbiblical composition. For example, in 4QNoncanonical Psalms B (4Q381 24) there is a re-presentation of Psalm 18 (parallel to 2 Sm. 22).

For *Job* there are two Targums (4QtgJob, 11QtgJob). In these Aramaic versions of the wisdom book, minor interpretative improvements are introduced into the text. Some of these may have been provoked by the difficulty of the Hebrew of *Job*, with which even the ancients struggled.

Many of the biblical wisdom sayings are reworked into new groupings and new contexts in the wisdom texts from Qumran. The order of the original source is usually lost, so texts like Sapiential Work A (4Q415-418) are not fairly classified as Rewritten Bible.

For *Canticles*, it is clear that Canticles^a (4Q106) and Canticles^b (4Q107) represent alternative secondary excerpted versions of the text. The *Book of Esther* has a complicated textual history, as the Greek versions of it attest. Though the *Book of Esther* itself is not extant in any of the fragments from the Qumran caves, the Aramaic 4QProto-Esther (4Q550) may enable us to see how the canonical *Book of Esther* is a rewritten form of earlier court tales. The Pseudo-Daniel manuscripts (4Q242-245) do the same thing for the *Book of Daniel*, revealing something of the sources that were available to the author of the biblical book and showing us how he reworked or rewrote earlier traditions.

Overall Characteristics of Rewritten Bible in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Several features characterize these Dead Sea Scroll Rewritten Bible compositions, though not all are necessarily present in every work mentioned in this article.

Rewritten Bible works generally follow the biblical text closely; the appropriateness of the label depends on discerning that the biblical text acts persistently as the primary control on what is re-presented. Rewritten Bible texts thus reflect a consistent attitude of respect to the authoritative base text. They do not replace the biblical text, but offer alternative or supplementary versions of it.

Rewritten Bible texts generally reflect a coherent overall editorial purpose of some kind. Sometimes this is fairly easy to determine, as in *Jubilees*; sometimes the fragmentary nature of many of the scrolls prevents us from being sure what the purpose might have been. Since all Rewritten Bible compositions are interactions with a scriptural base text, all of them are exegetical in some form. Yet the exegesis is always implicit, never explicit, as in formal commentaries (such as the *pesharim*).

Rewritten Bible texts display a wide variety of exeget-

ical practices, some of which can be considered as simply scribal improvements to the text, but others of which are more elaborate. A common strategy is harmonization. Whereas later rabbinic interpreters enjoyed discovering different significances for two similar biblical passages, those responsible for the Rewritten Bible compositions commonly tried to make two similar passages correspond as closely as possible, or might remove one altogether.

Rewritten Bible texts come in almost as many genres as can be found in the biblical books themselves. Rewritten Bible is a label that is suitable for more than just narrative retellings of the biblical stories. It is a general umbrella term describing the particular kind of intertextual activity that always gives priority to one text over another.

None of the Rewritten Bible compositions found at Qumran is narrowly sectarian. It is not even clear that the Temple Scroll was compiled by the Qumran community or the movement of which it was a part. In light of the Dead Sea Scrolls it would seem that for the whole of the Second Temple period and beyond, rewriting authoritative texts was a widespread practice in early Judaism. Once both the form and content of the biblical books were fixed in Hebrew, Rewritten Bible continued only in the Targums.

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RIGHTEOUSNESS. The concept of righteousness is a hallmark of Qumran theology. The Hebrew term for "righteousness" (*tsedeq, tsedaqah*) appears fifteen times in *Hodayot*^a from Qumran Cave 1 (hereafter, 1QHodayot^a 1QH^a), the hymnbook of the Qumranites, and twelve times in the Rule of the Community (hereafter 1QRule of the Community, 1QS, and Serekh Damascus, 4QS), which contains the community's laws and regulations. The latter scroll introduces the collection with the claim that those who enter the community have dedicated themselves "in order to perform truth and righteousness (*u'sedaqah*) and justice upon the earth (or land)" (1QS i.5–6).

God as Righteous. The founder of the Qumran community remains anonymous; however, he is known as the Teacher of Righteousness (Peshar Habakkuk, 1QpHab i.12–13). He was "righteous" in contrast to the high priest in Jerusalem, who is the Wicked Priest and most likely drove the Teacher of Righteousness and his small group of followers from that city. The famous passage in *Habakkuk* 2.4, "the righteous one shall live through his steadfastness," is interpreted at Qumran to denote only those who patiently suffer and remain steadfast to the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab viii.3), and it is to him and him alone that God has revealed all the mysteries of the words of his prophets (1QpHab vii.5).

It is God, and God alone, who constitutes righteousness in the Qumran documents. A human cannot obtain righteousness by obeying the Torah or following special rules for purification unless God grants it; a major tenet of Qumran theology is the repeated emphasis that God, and

only God, can make one righteous: That theme is clearly stated in 1QHodayot^a:

And I, I know that righteousness is not of man,
Nor perfection of way of the son of man.
To God Most High (are ascribed) all works of righteousness.
(1HQ^a xii.31–32 [iv.30–31])

Particularly striking and, in a way, unique in contrast to the theology in the Hebrew scriptures, is the way in which the people of Qumran think of righteousness along with forgiveness and judgment. According to 1QHodayot^a, God is the only judge, and forgiveness derives only from God's goodness (1QH^a xix.8–10 [xi.5–7]). Perhaps indicative of the Qumranite rejection of the Temple cult and the atonement obtained there, especially on Yom Kippur, and surely evidence of the Qumranite conceptual linking of righteousness and ritual cleansing, is the following section from 1QHodayot^a:

[I] lean upon your kindness
And (upon) your abundant compassion,
For you atone for iniquity
And you clea[nse the hum]an from guilt through your righteousness.
(1QH^a xii.36–37 [iv.34–35])

While the Holiness Code (*Lev.* 17–26) stipulates holiness at the heart of God's goodness (*Lev.* 19.1–20.27), the Qumran texts place righteousness at the heart of God's nature (Ringgren, 1995). Thus, while the Holiness Code requires holiness, the Qumran scrolls demand righteousness. Both writings stress that a life pleasing to God is an imitation of God. This contrast is not to be overdrawn; yet, it is significant how much the members of the Qumran community stressed the demand for righteousness when they revered and exhorted holiness and developed the concept of the Holy Spirit as an entity separate from God and when they referred to their community as the "House of Holiness."

How the Community Will Become Righteous. What the members of the community perceived is the contrast between God and human beings. God is totally righteous, but humans are completely unworthy of God's attention (1QS xi.20–22). Many Qumran passages are in line with some verses in the Prophets (*Is.* 45.9) and the Wisdom literature (*Jb.* 7.32, *Eccl.* 7.20) that stress human's lack of goodness. The Qumran community chanted the conviction that "no one is righteous in your ju[dgme]nt" (1QH^a xvii.14–15 [ix.14–15]). God's creature, the human, can praise God, but God alone is righteous because he is the Creator: To you, you (alone belongs) righteousness, For you have made a[ll things] (1QH^a viii.28 [xvi.9]).

In contrast to 1QHodayot^a, which only once (in 1QH^a xii.37 [iv.36]) mentions how one will be cleansed through God's righteousness, the 1QRule of the Community em-