POWER OF PERCEPTION IN THE COMMUNITY RULE
THROUGH STABILITY & CHANGE
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<tr>
<td>1QHa</td>
<td><em>Hodayot</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1QS</td>
<td>The Community Rule</td>
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<tr>
<td>1QSa</td>
<td>The Rule of the Congregation</td>
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<tr>
<td>1QSB</td>
<td>The Rule of Blessings</td>
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<tr>
<td>4QMMT</td>
<td>Miqṣat Maʿaše Ha-Torâ</td>
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<tr>
<td>CD</td>
<td>Cairo Damascus Document</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLT</td>
<td>Construal Level Theory</td>
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<td>CSR</td>
<td>Cognitive Science of Religion</td>
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<td>Qumran manuscripts related to CD</td>
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<td>HADD</td>
<td>Hyperactive Agency Detection Device</td>
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Power of Perception in the Community Rule
Introduction

1. The Dead Sea Scrolls
The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has forever changed our perception of the biblical world (although the change has happened gradually over time). The historical, linguistic, and religious significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls is inestimable. They comprise the oldest surviving collection of texts later included in the Hebrew Bible, and other canonical collections. More significantly, they present the oldest available interpretations, re-interpretations, and commentaries inspired by the Hebrew Scriptures. The authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls operate on several levels in relation to authoritative texts: Copying, commenting, rewriting, and reinterpreting. The scrolls provide rich evidence of the diversity of religious thought in Second Temple Judaism. Historically, they belong to a stage just before the establishment of authoritative Jewish and Christian canons. This gives the scrolls a central position as they are both challenging and helpful in understanding the processes involved in the establishment and ongoing negotiation of composing sacred texts.

1.1 The Public’s First Encounter with The Dead Sea Scrolls
Unlike what one might imagine, the earliest contemporary articles and press reports informing the public about the discoveries of the Dead Sea Scrolls are few and scarce. However, two articles from the New York Times that come closest to the date of the scroll’s discovery are worth mentioning (See press reports 1 and 2): The first article, “10 Ancient Scrolls found in Palestine,” was published on April 25th, 1948. The second article, “‘Black Market’ in Biblical Documents Rises as a result of Finds in Judean Desert Caves,” was published on February 21st, 1953. What is most striking about these two articles is their moderate length, which testifies to the gradual and hesitating process of recognizing the significance of the scrolls discovery.

At the same time, these two brief reports reflect the popular narrative that would follow the Dead Sea Scrolls for years to come in at least three ways: First, the discovery was set against a distinctively biblical background (in the article from 1948, non-biblical manuscripts are not even mentioned). Second, the scrolls are associated with a marginal sectarian group. Third, the scrolls are clothed in an atmosphere of the exotic (as in the reference to the Song of Songs) or the mysterious, dark, and clandestine (as in the description

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1 I am grateful to Dana Ryan Lande for pointing me in the right direction. She is currently working on an article arguing that Edmund Wilson's article from 1955 “The Scrolls from the Dead Sea” sets the tone for all Dead Sea Scrolls reporting that follows.
of the shops, private upper rooms, and shady business around Manger Square in Bethlehem).

Against this background, Edmund Wilson’s 1955 article from *The New Yorker* tells a different, yet familiar, story of the Scrolls. The extensive length of the article demonstrates the increased interest and curiosity attracted by the discovery. The interpretative framework remains focused on the significance of the scrolls for our perception of the Bible, and in particular for the origins and the rise of Christianity. The connection to the sectarian Essenes remains central to the narrative of the Scrolls. Likewise, as Wilson shares his travel experiences from Jerusalem, the exotic element remains strong. Accordingly, Wilson describes his encounters with renowned figures associated with the scrolls’ discovery such as the Metropolitan Samuel and Roland de Vaux, and he points to the entanglement between scrolls research and the Jewish-Arab conflict.

Apart from the attractiveness of this basic narrative of the scrolls in terms of story-telling quality, it reflects to some degree historical circumstances surrounding the scrolls. Turmoil and conflicts seem to follow the scrolls from the beginning to the end: Some of the scrolls are testimonies to and results of political and religious conflicts. Moreover, they were hidden in the caves of Qumran during the culmination of a bloody conflict between Romans and Jews. Finally, they were discovered at the height of another conflict between Jews and Arabs. Nevertheless, the Qumran material is, above all, a unique collection of sources informing us of Second Temple Judaism, the Hebrew Scriptures, and the processes of adaptation and transformation of religious tradition in a changing environment.
Introduction

Press Report 1 (1948)

10 ANCIENT SCROLLS FOUND IN PALESTINE

Books of Isaiah and Daniel Among Ten Items in Hebrew Written About A. D. 70

BY JULIAN LOUIS MELTZER
SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES

JERUSALEM, April 24 — Ten leather scrolls of the Scriptures, written in ancient Hebrew, were discovered some time ago in a hillside cave near En-Geddi, halfway down the western shore of the Dead Sea.

They are said to be inscribed with the entire book of Isaiah, the book of Daniel, and several other parts of the Old Testament. They are believed to date from the period preceding the destruction of the Second Temple in A. D. 70.

The scrolls were found by roving Bedouins. They realized the value of their discovery and brought the manuscripts to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

Some of the scrolls have reached Yale University, where they are being read. Others are in the hands of the Department of Jewish Archaeology of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, headed by Professor Elazar Barkan.

Scholars are said to agree upon the authenticity of the scrolls and are impressed by the script and style. Written on leather and sealed with pitch they were remarkably well preserved.

It is understood that the scholars believe these scrolls were among the articles of worship of a Jewish sect that existed in this area for centuries preceding the Christian era. They lived a hermitlike existence around the hot springs descending from the Rocks of the Wild Goats.

At En-Geddi David as a young man sought sanctuary from the wrath of King Saul. In an earlier epoch a city belonging to the tribe of Judah existed on this site. King Solomon sang of it: "My beloved is unto me as a cluster of camphor in the vineyards of En-Geddi."

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Press Report 2 (1953)

‘Black Market’ in Biblical Documents Rises As Result of Finds in Judean Desert Caves

By Religious News Service.

BETHELHEM, Jordan, Feb. 20

—Biblical scholars are perturbed over the mushrooming here of a thriving “black market in Apocrypha” accompanying the greatest antiquarian boom in this area since the Eighteen Eighties.

The boom was sparked by recent manuscript finds in Judean desert caves on the shores of the Dead Sea. It appears that the caves, easily reached from here, contain more manuscripts and fragments than archaeologists had expected.

Last December Father Roland de Vaux, director of the Dominican Archaeological School, identified a first century A.D. scroll found in a Dead Sea cave near Ain Fadess as the original Aramaic text of the Apocryphal “Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.” The only versions of the testament hitherto known, he said, were Greek translations from the original.

Desert Bedouins are constantly turning up in Bethlehem’s bustling Manger Square with inscribed bits of ancient, withered leather or parchment, a surprising number of which are genuine.

Although trade in antiquities outside Government supervision is strictly prescribed, wealthy collectors and curio seekers have little difficulty in making contact with the intermediaries for the Bedouins in cafes and souvenir shops that line the square. Private social clubs in the buildings above the shops and cafes offer a convenient location for further negotiations.

What distresses Franciscan and Dominican Bible scholars is not only that these black market deals prevent important documents from coming to public knowledge now, but that valuable items are frequently cut up into small bits in order to realize a greater profit.

Most of the “merchandise” on the black market comprises fragments of Torah scrolls from the destroyed synagogues of old Jerusalem. These were generally written in archaic Hebrew, and only trained scholars can date them at sight.

The Dead Sea caves appear to be the sites chosen by the ascetic sect of the Esseni [members of a brotherhood or cenobite order among the Jews of Palestine from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D.] for hiding their hallowed scrolls from enemies or for ritual interment of scrolls that had become illegible.
1.2. My Own Encounter with the Dead Sea Scrolls
I was exposed to the fascinating fact of the existence of the Dead Sea Scrolls from the caves of Qumran as a pre-graduate student at the Faculty of Theology at the University of Copenhagen. My fascination was definitely awakened after an academic field trip to Amman and Jerusalem, where I had the chance to see some of the scrolls and fragments for myself. Consequently, I tried to include as many courses and elements relevant to the study of the Qumran scrolls as would fit into my master’s program. This interest was further enhanced as I had my first working experience with the manuscript photos of 4Q184, 4Q246, 1QS, and 4QInstruction. This encounter convinced me of the central importance of the scrolls for biblical studies, and their potential for the study of religious thought.

2. The Scope of the Present Thesis
The focus of this thesis is to apply contemporary methods derived from Cognitive Sciences of Religion (CSR), social anthropology, and social psychology, on the Community Rule (1QS) from cave 1. By conducting this investigation, I aim to identify some of the underlying mechanisms engaged in the text, through a process of stability and change, which present the message of 1QS in a persuasive manner.

The Community Rule bases its message on a combination of the familiar (i.e., what is stable) and the non-familiar (i.e., what changes). The Hebrew Scriptures are the main inspirational framework in the Community Rule. Familiar ideologies, terminologies, motifs, and sometimes (though not very often) direct citations from the Hebrew Scriptures are used in the Community Rule but with different aims compared to the original contexts. Scholars have often noticed the extensive use of the scriptural background in the Community Rule, and in the Dead Sea scrolls generally (Grossman 2007; Tzoref 2012). In the present thesis, cognitive theories are employed to uncover the processes of stability and change in the composition of the Community Rule. By doing this, I hope to shed light on how the human mind perceives the surrounding world and what it takes for the mind to find a message persuasive.

2.1 Why Cognitive Theories?
Cognitive sciences study the fundamental mechanisms of human cognitive processing including perceptual, motivational, and emotional processes as well as memory functions. The point of departure for Cognitive Science of Religion (CSR) is that religious ideas, like other ideas, are processed through normal cognitive functions and distributed through regular human communication (Barrett 2000). During the last twenty years, approaches
inspired by CSR have increasingly found their way into biblical studies, opening new perspectives and giving the biblical scholars new analytical tools. CSR theories are not designed to replace our traditional approaches and methodologies. Rather, CSR theories are a welcome supplement, providing us with an overview of different mechanisms that dictate human cognition across time, space, and cultural context. However, as biblical scholars, we still need an understanding of the “particular” versus the “universal,” focusing on the texts and their contexts.

István Czachesz, one of the pioneers of CSR in biblical studies, points to three ways in which biblical scholars can fruitfully develop cognitive methods to fit their field of research. First, they can adopt aspects of cognitive science that have not yet been central to CSR, such as cognitive research on oral communication, literacy, reading, and memory, which are relevant topics for understanding the production and transmission of ancient texts. Second, they can cooperate with experimental experts, formulating hypotheses and research questions that can be tested experimentally. Third, they can adopt the use of computer modeling, analyzing semantic structures of biblical texts, or studying historical phenomena like the growth of the early Christian movement (Czachesz 2017, 23).

In this thesis, I take the cue from Czachesz’ first point. The Modes of Religiosity theory, developed by Harvey Whitehouse in the context of social anthropology, has played a central role in CSR, above all in the investigation of contemporary religious phenomena, although some scholars have applied it to ancient texts. Inspired by these attempts, and by the critical discussion of the Modes of Religiosity theory, I apply aspects of this theory to the processes of stability and change (the optimal versus the costly) in the Community Rule (Chapter Four, Article 2). Another theory, employed in this thesis, is the Construal Level Theory (CLT). This theory has emerged in the field of social psychology, and it has originally not been central within a CSR context. However, CLT has been employed to investigate a broad variety of contemporary topics. For example, the CLT theory has been used to study Science Fiction literature (Carney 2017), values and moral principles (Eyal et al. 2009; Eyal and Liberman 2012), and how people express religious faith (Grabowska 2013). These applications have convinced me that CLT will also be useful for investigating the basic cognitive mechanisms behind the processes of stability and change in the Community Rule. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time that CLT is applied to ancient texts. In this thesis, I use CLT in two different ways: First, in a general reading of 1QS (Chapter Five, Article 3), and second, in combination with a close exegetical study of Two Spirits Treatise with a focus on a particular problem (Chapter Six, Article 4).
2.2 Why the Community Rule (1QS)?
For the present Ph.D. thesis, I have chosen to work on the Community Rule, as it is represented in the well-preserved cave 1 manuscript, 1QS.

In the introduction to her critical edition of the Community Rule (2019), Sarianna Metso advocates for viewing any given fragment in its own right and not privileging the best preserved manuscripts, since we are not able to judge, which fragments or manuscripts were the most authentic copies (Metso 2019, 1–8). From the perspective of material philology, the distinction between more and less authentic versions loses its relevance since each manuscript is regarded as an equally worthy object of study.

It is in the light of this insight that I have chosen to focus on the best-preserved manuscript of the Community Rule, 1QS. I make no assumptions that 1QS was regarded as more authoritative than other manuscripts, in the eyes of a historical Qumran community. Nevertheless, the existence of this manuscript is a given fact, meaning that at some point, (an) author(s) or scribe(s) used resources to produce this particular version of the text, regarding it as a meaningful literary unit.

Judging both from the contents of the text and from the number of extant copies (or related manuscripts) found in the Qumran caves, the Community Rule seems to have been regarded as an important text. Furthermore, the Community Rule has played a central role in Qumran scholarship. It draws heavily on traditional material from the Hebrew Scriptures, while transforming this material to fit a radically different context. Additionally, the genre of the text is notoriously difficult to determine, and it displays a rich variety of literary modes of expression. All these features make the Community Rule an excellent candidate for a transdisciplinary investigation.

2.3. Further Methodological Delineations
My investigation of the Community Rule is conducted solely from a literary perspective. I view this composition as a meaningful literary unit. The text prescribes and describes a way of life for what the text portrays as a unique Jewish community. In this thesis, I do not engage with the redaction process of the text, or with the paleography and date of the various manuscripts and fragments of the S material. Moreover, my focus is not on uncovering to what extent the Community Rule describes or reflects historical realities. For my investigation, it has no direct relevance if the rituals and actions prescribed in the text witness to what really happened in the Qumran community. Moreover, a number of important notions such as dualism, predestination, eschatology, and sectarian and non-sectarian ideologies, have been central in the process of investigating the Community Rule (and
the Two Spirits Treatise). However, they will not be the direct object of this investigation.

3. How to Read This Thesis
The present article-based thesis is structured as follows: An introduction, six chapters, and a conclusion. The aim of Chapter One is to give a brief overview of the journey that the Community Rule has been through since its discovery in 1947. Chapter Two is designed to sketch the theoretical background of this thesis. It outlines the emergence of Cognitive Science of Religion and its application to biblical studies and, most importantly, to the field of Qumran research. Chapters Three to Six consist of four submitted articles reflecting different angles of my investigation. Each chapter (i.e., article) is equipped with an extended abstract and deals with a particular research question. Finally, a conclusion provides a summary of the findings of the four chapters (articles).

3.1. Research Questions
Chapter Three (Article 1) deals with the first research question:

1. How does the Two Spirits Treatise combine stability and change through its intertextuality with Genesis 1–3?
   This chapter consists of the article “The Two Spirits Treatise and Creative Usage of Genesis 1–3” which has been submitted to the Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha. The article examines stability and change in an important and much-debated section of 1QS, the Two Spirits Treatise. In particular, it explores the transformation of elements from the Genesis creation accounts in the Two Spirit Treatise. This article reflects a part of the process of familiarization with the text of 1QS, and, in particular, the Two Spirits Treatise, and provides the exegetical groundwork for the further investigations in the thesis.

Chapter Four (Article 2) deals with the second research question:

2. How does 1QS achieve transformation and transmission of familiar tradition into a more cognitively costly version through stability and change?
   This chapter consists of the article “How hard is it to get into the Community Rule? Exploring transmission in 1QS from the perspective of the Modes of Religiosity” which has been accepted for publication in the Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament. In this article, I apply central aspects of Harvey Whitehouse’s Modes of Religiosity theory to 1QS in order to investigate the transformation of
familiar themes from the Hebrew Scriptures into a more cognitively costly version.

Chapter Five (Article 3) deals with the third research question:

3. How can Construal Level Theory’s notions of construals (high or low-level) and psychological distances contribute to the detection of the mental mechanisms in the process of creating a persuasive and motivating message through stability and change in 1QS?

This chapter consists of the article “The Community Rule from the Dead Sea Scrolls: Identifying High- and Low-level Construals” which has been submitted to the Journal of Cognitive Historiography. The article is an attempt to break new ground by applying Construal Level Theory to uncover the cognitive mechanisms behind the process of stability and change in 1QS. The article intends to present this problem to a scholarly audience that is less familiar with Qumran research, in the hope of engaging in a transdisciplinary dialogue with colleagues from other relevant fields.

Chapter Six (Article 4) deals with the fourth research question:

4. How do knowledge and actions in TST, from the perspective of Construal Level Theory, provide stability and change - as the text encourages attaining knowledge (of the end-goal) and directing actions towards it?

This chapter consists of the article “The Two Spirits Treatise: Exploring the Why and the How Using Construal Level Theory” which has been submitted to the Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. This article applies Construal Level Theory to the particular text of the Two Spirits Treatise, and to the particular problem of the relationship between knowledge and actions.

The reader will encounter a number of overlaps and potential redundancy, which have been difficult to avoid. These overlaps occur because all the applied theoretical approaches are presented in Chapter Two (“What is Cognitive Science of Religion?”), while the specific articles also outline the relevant theoretical frameworks. The occurrences of overlap are pointed out in the footnotes.
Power of Perception in the Community Rule
Chapter One:
The Journey of the Community Rule (1QS)

“The Community Rule” is the title commonly assigned to a literary composition represented primarily by the 1QS manuscript discovered in cave 1 at Qumran. The Community Rule has been a central document in almost all discussions concerning the nature and history of the Qumran community, the literary heritage, and the Qumran scrolls. Some of the main reasons for this are its early discovery, its state of preservation, and most prominently its content.

1. The History of the Community Rule (1QS)
In this chapter, I will follow the main aspects of the Community Rule’s journey from its discovery in 1947 up to the present date. This document, along with its relatives, the other Dead Sea Scrolls, has had an enormous and unexpected impact on our understanding of scriptural function and interpretation. It is beyond the scope of the present thesis to engage with all aspects of the history of Qumran scholarship where the Community Rule has played a role. My focus will be on the characteristic ways in which this particular composition has been approached and interpreted.

Before moving on, a note on terminology: The abbreviation “1QS,” strictly speaking, refers to the manuscript that occupies the larger part of the scroll also containing 1QSa (the Rule of Congregation) and 1QSb (the Rule of Blessings). The term “Community Rule” refers to the literary work represented by this manuscript and presumably by a number of other manuscripts from Qumran. However, it is not clear if there was in fact one “work” behind all the Community Rule-related manuscripts found in the caves. In practice, however, “1QS” is often used as a shorthand for “the Community Rule.” Some scholars prefer the siglum “S” when referring to the literary composition. Since, in the present thesis, I have chosen to work only with the version of the Community Rule preserved in the manuscript 1QS, I use “1QS,” for practical purposes, meaning strictly the version of the Community Rule found in this manuscript from cave 1.

This brings us to consider more closely the relation between the manuscripts as existing artefacts and the literary compositions they reflect. Liv Ingeborg Lied, in her study of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (Lied 2015), makes a useful distinction between the three categories “text,” “manuscript,” and “work.” She defines a “text” as “a series of words in a particular order” or, more precisely, as “the words on the page.” A “manuscript” is “the text-bearing unit.” The manuscript is a materially tangible object, “a culturally produced material artefact that contains the
text-on-page.” Within the framework of a manuscript, it may be possible to detect different “text-units,” textual entities that are distinguishable by “textual and visual features.” The third category, “work,” is more elusive. Lied defines “work” as a “conceived compositional unit.” A work is an identifiable literary entity that is supposed to have circulated in a more or less fixed and consistent form. Work is “both a representation and an abstraction,” and not to be confused with a text. The notion of a work is linked to the idea of a purposeful, intended composition. Lied notes that the work can exist in history as an entity that ancient authors and readers would have recognized, but the work may also be a modern scholarly projection, “something we bring to bear on the empirical material” (Lied 2015, 52–53).

Lied’s distinction is relevant for the manuscripts from Qumran in general and certainly for the Community Rule, as Charlotte Hempel has most recently argued (Hempel 2020, 2). The fact is that we cannot know whether the literary work we call “the Community Rule” corresponds to an entity that ancient Jewish authors and readers would have identified as a purposeful composition in its own right. The matter is further complicated since ancient scribes in many cases do not seem to have held to an ideal of an unchangeable text. Even if they may have been conscious of copying the same literary work, they might still feel free to make deliberate changes for the sake of clarity or relevance. In light of this state of affairs, Hempel prefers to speak of “Community Rules” rather than “the Community Rule.” Likewise, Sarianna Metso maintains that, at least in theory, “we should refrain from attempting to formulate a notion of the Community Rule as a definite work” (Metso 2019, 6).

1.2. 1QS in the Light of the Manuscript Evidence

The scroll that contains the Community Rule has also included the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) and the Rule of Blessings (1QSb). Some scholars have regarded these three parts of the scroll (1QS, 1QSa, and 1QSb), as related texts that were inscribed on the same scroll because they were perceived as belonging together or even forming a literary unit. Both 1QSa and 1QSb display a number of similarities with 1QS: referring to the maskil, and emphasizing the role of the priests, the sons of Zadok. Józef T. Milik, in his editio princeps of 1QSa and 1QSb, described them as “annexes to the Community Rule” (Barthélemy and Milik 1955, 107). Hartmut Stegemann characterized the entire scroll as an anthology or a “greater manuscript” containing closely related material (Stegemann 1993, 152–164). How these three compositions are connected remains a debated issue, and we do not

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2 Stegemann maintains that this greater manuscript consists of five textual units (1QS I, 1-III, 12; 1QS III, 13-IV, 24 (Two Spirits Treatise); 1QS V, 1-XI, 22; 1QSa; 1QSb).
know how ancient readers perceived the relation between 1QS, 1QSa, and 1QSb. What we do know is that the Dead Sea Scrolls bear evidence of scribes copying more than one book on the same scroll – with regard to both scriptural and non-scriptural material (Metso 2019, 2).

The manuscript of 1QS is remarkably well-preserved: Damages occur in the lower edge of the scroll where a few words and letters are missing, and on the top edge of the first sheet, containing columns I–III. The manuscript of 1QS consists of five leather sheets sown together, and it displays 11 columns, each containing approximately 26 lines. The actual size of the 1QS manuscript is approximately 187cm at length and 25cm at column height (Metso 2019, 2).

The hand of the scribe of 1QS has also been recognized in the cave 4 manuscripts 4QSam and 4QTestimonia. In these scrolls, the same kind of textual errors, corrections, glosses, and marginal signs occur. The scribe has often used medial letters in final position and omitted room between words. Blank spaces and marginal signs tend to indicate new sections in the text. However, there are instances (in columns VII and VIII) of blank spaces where they do not indicate new sections. Metso suggests that this was due to a damaged Vorlage as a parent text for 1QS. In certain cases, the physical condition of the leather sheets of 1QS is the cause of blank spaces (ibid, 2–3).³ The date of these scrolls is estimated paleographically to approximately 100–75 BCE. In the terminology of Frank Moore Cross, the writing is a semiformal Hasmonean script (Cross 1961, 166–173).

1.3. 1QS in the Light of its Discovery and First Publication

A notorious rumor tells the story of Bedouins coincidentally discovering the cave 1 manuscripts in 1947. The scroll containing 1QS was one among several scrolls in this finding, and the history of its subsequent fate – the scroll being purchased by the Syriac Metropolitan Athanasius Samuel, being sold to someone in the US, and eventually being acquisitioned by the State of Israel – has become a legend. The manuscript was first published in 1951 by Millar Burrows. In this edition, the composition was named the “Manual of Discipline” (Burrows 1951). In the first line of 1QS the letters רח have survived and with support of 4Q255 where the word סרב is intact, the title Serek Hayadh (סרכי יחד) has been restored. H. Yalon proposed, as early as 1950, that the Hebrew designation would be more fitting for 1QS than the “Manual of Discipline” (Yalon 1950), and many scholars have adopted this title or its English equivalent “Community Rule.”

In early Dead Sea Scrolls research, 1QS was regarded as the most important testimony to the life of the community which might have resided at Khirbet Qumran. The cave 1 manuscripts were read as a coherent group of compositions showing various aspects of the life, beliefs, and practices of this community. The Community Rule was assumed to have been their central rule text, containing regulations for the daily life of community members. The Pesher Habakkuk was regarded as evidence of the group’s history and interpretation of scripture, and the War Scroll was read as a witness to its particular ideas of eschatology. The Hodayot gave an impression of the group’s liturgical practices and worship, and the Isaiah scrolls and the Genesis Apocryphon demonstrated the importance of the scriptures in their worldview. This notion of a tightly coherent community, a “sect” living a secluded life in the desert, and of the cave 1 scrolls as a unified testimony to its worldview and lifestyle, is characteristic of the early period in which “the Dead Sea Scrolls” were identical to the cave 1 manuscripts. 1QS was read in this context, as the most comprehensive expression of the sectarian theology. Translations of the available Qumran scrolls would typically comprise all the well-preserved non-biblical cave 1 compositions, and the Community Rule was often assigned the first place (e.g., Gaster 1956, 39–60; Dupont-Sommer 1960, 83–127; Lohse 1971, 1–43; García Martínez 1992, 3–19; Vermes 1995 (1962), 69–89).

Scholars primarily made three connections between the Dead Sea Scrolls and other sources. The first was the Cairo Damascus Document (CD), which had been known before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls. These two medieval manuscripts were found in the Cairo Geniza in 1896 and published by Solomon Schechter in 1910. The affinity in themes, worldview, and terminology, between CD and the Dead Sea Scrolls was pointed out from an early phase in Qumran research. In 1956, Milik signaled seven manuscripts closely related to CD discovered in cave 4 (Milik 1956, 61). Two additional D manuscripts, one from cave 5 and one from cave 6, were published in 1962. The cave 4 D manuscripts were not published until 1993. The existence of these manuscripts confirmed beyond doubt that there was a relation between CD and the Qumran texts (Wernberg-Møller 1957, 15–16).

While there are important points of contact between CD and 1QS, there are also tangible differences. The term designating the community in 1QS, *yahad* (יחד) does not occur in CD, which instead speaks of the community as a “camp,” *mah'neh* (מחנה). The expression *maskil* is not found in CD (although it occurs in one of the related cave 4 manuscripts). The admission procedure is shorter in CD than in 1QS, and the competence assigned to the “Many” and the “overseer” are different in both compositions. CD refers to women and children, whereas 1QS does not mention women at all. Scholarship has seen CD and

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The second connection scholars made was to the ancient sources (Josephus, Philo, and Pliny the Elder) speaking of the Essenes. In particular, Josephus’ description of the conditions for admission into the Essene community was regarded as closely related to 1QS’s admission procedure. This in combination with Pliny’s placement of the Essenes near the Dead Sea encouraged scholars to assume a connection between the Essenes and the Qumran community. Consequently, 1QS was often read in the light of these ancient sources as an Essene rulebook.

Thirdly, scholars drew a connecting line between the Dead Sea Scrolls and early Christianity. Several features of 1QS were understood as parallel to the belief and practices of the earliest Christian communities: The identification of the community with the temple and their atoning function, the sharing of property, the importance of common meals, and the emphasis on eschatology were regarded as points of contact between the Qumran community and the emerging Christian groups (Kuhn 1950; Brooke 1999).

1.4. 1QS in the Light of the Discovery of cave 4 and 5 fragments

Fragments related to ten other manuscripts of the Community Rule were found in 1952 in cave 4. Milik issued a report on these discoveries in 1956 (Milik 1956, 60–61). However, it was not until 1998 that Philip Alexander and Geza Vermes published a critical edition of the whole 4QS material in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series (Alexander and Vermes 1998).

Another small fragment belonging to a 12th manuscript of the Community Rule (5Q11) was found in cave 5, and published by Milik in Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (Baille, Milik, and de Vaux 1962). This fragment contains approximately two columns, which correspond to the text of column II in 1QS. In 2000, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar identified a fragment from cave 11 that probably belongs to a 13th manuscript (11Q29) (Tigchelaar 2000). Tigchelaar also proposes that a very small fragment from cave 1 (published originally as a part of “Tongues of Fire (1Q29),” then relabeled 1Q29a), might be an alternative version of the Two Spirits Treatise (Tigchelaar 2004).

1QS as reflections of two stages of the historical development of the Qumran movement. Possibly in the sense that CD originated in an earlier period where the movement consisted of people living as families in the towns and villages of Palestine. While 1QS represented a later, more radical wing of the movement, which became the Qumran community.

There are many unambiguous examples of overlapping text between some of these fragments and 1QS, but there are also considerable differences. It is therefore unclear whether we should regard these manuscripts as copies of the same “work” (and the differences as “textual variants”), or as separate, although closely related, “works.” As mentioned earlier, the distinction between different works and different versions depends on scholarly definitions, and is not necessarily helpful in the context of the Qumran material.

The publication of the entire S-related material happened during a period where most of the Dead Sea Scrolls were being made available. This vast material significantly changed the perspective from which the compositions were interpreted, including those from cave 1. Now, the diversity of the preserved text material became fully recognizable to scholars. Large parts of the manuscript material seemed to have no clear relation to the specific “sectarian” terminology and perspective of the scrolls that had been published first.

Even before the publication of the cave 4 and 5 fragments, several researchers suggested that 1QS had gone through a redaction process, and consisted of material from various sources. With the related manuscript material available, a new phase began for the investigation of the literary development of the Community Rule(s). Some of the cave 4 manuscripts, notably 4QSb (4Q256) and 4QSad (4Q258), can be dated, on paleographical grounds, to a later time than 1QS, and they contain shorter versions of the text. Following the lead of Vermes, many scholars, like Metso and Hempel, maintain that the shorter text documented in these younger manuscripts must be more original than the longer text found in 1QS despite the fact that the cave 4 manuscripts were copied later (Metso 1997; Hempel 2006). According to their view, the Qumran community must have continued preserving and copying older versions of the Community Rule, while at the same time newer, and more developed texts were in circulation. On the other hand, Alexander has argued that we must regard the oldest manuscript (1QS) as the oldest version of the text, and that 4Q256 and 4Q258 represent later abridged versions (Alexander 1996). According to Alexander, the idea of different versions of the Community Rule simultaneously circulating is unconvincing.

The evidence of the S material from the caves 4 and 5 seems to many scholars to indicate that the section containing the Two Spirits Treatise (1QS III, 13–IV, 26) was a later addition inserted in 1QS (Stegemann 1988; Lange 1995; Metso 1997), either as an independent original composition (Stegemann 1988; Lange 1995) or as an addition designed to fill a gap in 1QS (Kratz 2011, 219–220; Porzig 2019).
Several scholars have argued that TST in itself has gone through the process of growth, redaction and consists of the multipolar layers (Osten-Sacken 1969, 17–27; Duhaime 2000). Recently, Meike Christian has pointed to 4QInstruction and *Hodayot* as sources of inspirations for the process of the internal redaction in TST (Christian 2019).

2. *1QS in the Light of Transdisciplinary Approaches*

The publication of all Dead Sea Scrolls during the 1990s and early 2000s prompted a huge quantity of new studies on various texts, their reconstruction, genres, contents, and their interrelation. In 1999 George W. E. Nickelsburg observed that the field of Qumran studies was still governed by “old-school” methodologies “that typified biblical studies prior to the 1970s” (Nickelsburg 1999, 94). The main perspective of most studies at that time was philological, focusing on the correct reading and interpretation of each fragment, and it was historical, attempting to uncover the past circumstances that shaped the literature.

This has gradually changed as most manuscripts and fragments have been identified, placed together in a meaningful way, and published. Scholars have increasingly brought in different methodological approaches to shed light on relevant topics. In this section, I will focus on significant contributions which employ transdisciplinary methods to crucial themes in 1QS.\(^6\) The purpose is to give an impression of the wide variety of approaches which scholars have used to break new ground in their interpretation and understanding of 1QS.

2.1. Carol A. Newsom: Rhetorical and Social Approaches

Carol A. Newsom is a leading scholar who has approached 1QS using the theoretical toolbox of contemporary humanities and social sciences in an original and innovative manner. In an article from 1992, Newsom applied Kenneth Burke’s and Fredrick Jameson’s notion of knowledge as symbolic

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\(^{6}\) In recent years, the text of 1QS has been the object of several scholarly publications. In 2008, Shane Alan Berg completed his thesis on the “religious epistemologies” in The Dead Sea Scrolls. In particular, I draw in Berg’s analysis of the religious epistemology of the Two Spirits Treatise in my fourth article (Chapter Six) (Berg 2008). Chad Martin Stauber, in 2013, published his dissertation on the reading of 1QS with the conclusion that the genre of 1QS is prophetic rather than legal (Stauber 2013). In his dissertation, from 2015, Arjen Bakker investigates the way 1QS and 4QInstruction present their sage figures the *maskil* and the *mevin*. Bakker holds that an exegetical reading of both texts in light of each other enhances our understanding of the relationship between these two texts. Despite their difference, the two compositions share a similar notion of the right wisdom. These sage figures *maskil* and *mevin* are the embodiment of what is ideal (Bakker 2015).
action to the Two Spirits Treatise in IQS. Newsom suggests that the intense occupation with knowledge in the Two Spirits Treatise reflects a way of addressing, in the form of symbolic action, the political and religious crisis caused by the powerlessness of the Jewish people under foreign occupation in Second Temple time (Newsom 1992).  

In her book, *The Self as Symbolic Space* (2004), Newsom investigates the process of identity-making in IQS and the Hodayot (1QHa). Inspired by Michel Foucault’s description of institutions exercising disciplinary control over human bodies, Newsom points to the numerous ways the bodies of community members are subject to control in IQS (Newsom 2004, 95–101). She combines this approach with that of anthropologist Dorothy Holland, who has developed the notion of “figured worlds,” institutions, communities, or social frameworks within which people’s identities and sense of self is largely formed through particular ways of discourse and behavior (ibid., 92–95).

Newsom provides a comprehensive analysis of IQS, viewing the document as a guidebook preparing the *maskil* for his duties as spiritual leader and instructor of the community (ibid., 103). Newsom acknowledges the composite character of IQS and, following Metso, she assumes that the document has grown over time. However, Newsom sees an intentional rhetorical structure behind the present form of the text. IQS is “roughly shaped to recapitulate the stages of life as a sectarian: from motivation, to admission, instruction, life together, and leadership” (ibid., 107). Based on this understanding of IQS (i.e., retracing the steps of a member’s way into the Yahad), Newsom shows how this is unfolded: The introduction in IQS I, 1–15 takes its point of departure in language that is common to Second Temple Judaism, and gradually initiates the new members into the specific discourse of the community and its worldview (ibid., 108–117). The covenant renewal ritual in I, 1–III, 12 reenacts the entry into the community and is a “rhetorical equivalent” to the probationary period of new members, during which the self is molded through the acquisition of a new language and the formation of a new identity (ibid. 117–127). The Two Spirits Treatise represents the core of what a community member must know about the self and its place in the world (ibid., 127–134), and the “practices and procedures” laid out in V, 1–IX, 11 state how this knowledge should be enacted in the daily life of the community (ibid., 134–165). Finally, the

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7 The article forms the basis of Chapter Three (“Knowing as Doing”) in *The Self as Symbolic Space* from 2004. In Chapter Six (Article 4) in this dissertation I use Newsom’s insight as a backdrop for my investigation.
instructions for the *maskil* and the *maskil*’s hymn in IX, 12–XI, 22 form a conclusion with focus on the ideal sectarian self (ibid., 165–186).  

2.2. Louise J. Lawrence: Social Identity Theory  
Three features of Henri Tajfel and John Turner's concept of social identity have been utilized by Louise J. Lawrence (2005) in relation to 1QS (Lawrence 2005, 83–85): “Categorization,” “identification,” and “social comparison.” With respect to “categorization,” Lawrence observes that the three central concepts used to categorize the community in 1QS are covenant, perfection, and holiness. Within the framework of the covenant, the community strives after perfection to become a holy community (ibid., 85–87). In the second category, identification, the group self-identifies in positive terms to the degree that they become the “spiritual elect” with a purpose of living a life of holy perfection. But identification is also formed through negative descriptions of an “anti-model” of members who do not submit completely to the group’s discipline (ibid., 88). Thirdly, according to Lawrence the social comparison happens when outsiders and disloyal community members are presented as the counter-parts, the impure, or the condemned (ibid., 89–90). Moreover, Lawrence applies social scientific approaches on “ascetic” lifestyle in 1QS, and she concludes that the purpose of being morally transformed is presented through eschatological terms (e.g., being an everlasting plantation) (ibid., 90–95). Finally, Weber’s notion of “virtuoso religion” serves as a description for the identity promoted in 1QS as a community with the potential to become the perfect and holy elite, the true Israel (ibid., 95–100).  

2.3. Jutta Jokiranta: Sect, Sectarianism, and Social Identity  
Jutta Jokiranta has done extensive work in applying social-scientific methods to the study of the Qumran material and 1QS in particular. In what follows, I briefly present two of her contributions that demonstrate important aspects of her transdisciplinary work.  

In an article from 2007, Jokiranta uses the social identity theory developed by Henri Tajfel and others to shed light on the rule texts from Qumran, the Damascus Document (CD), and 1QS (Jokiranta 2007). Jokiranta concentrates on the “penal codes” of the two documents. She follows Newsom’s lead regarding the rules and sanctions as examples of “the

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8 Newsom further develops the rhetorical approach to the Qumran material in an article in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Newsom 2010).  
9 In the same publication Raimo Hakola uses the social identity paradigm (by Henri Tajfel) to analyze the broad perspective of group identity in Second Temple Judaism, including Qumran (Hakola 2007).
community’s ethos” that are designed to have a disciplinary function, and to form the identity of community members (ibid., 283–284). Inspired by the social identity theory investigating the part of a person’s notion of “self” that is tied to his or her membership of a group (ibid., 284–286), Jokiranta identifies the “central group belief” in CD and 1QS: The most important function of the community is to “give counsel,” in order to fulfill the Law of Moses. This counseling can only be realized within the group, and it takes place in a hierarchical order at the community meetings. The community is distinguished from outsiders, above all, through possessing the necessary knowledge and the correct order (ibid., 290). The sanctions stipulated in the penal codes of CD and 1QS can be seen as means to form and maintain the group identity of community members. The main purpose of these rules is to cultivate a constant consciousness of belonging to the “counseling” of the group, and relying emotionally on the group as a trustworthy entity (ibid., 295).

In her book from 2012, Jokiranta follows up on this perspective in an investigation of identity formation in Qumran material. Apart from the social identity approach, she also applies sociological theories to the phenomenon of sects and sectarianism. She reviews the definitions of “sect” advocated by Max Weber, Bryan Wilson, and Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge. Jokiranta finds the approach of Stark and Bainbridge to be most helpful in understanding the sectarian character of the Qumran texts. Stark and Bainbridge regard “sect” as a relative phenomenon, focusing on the degree of tension (divergence) between the sectarian group and its socio-cultural environment (Jokiranta 2012, 19–33). Tension can be measured according to three factors: difference, antagonism, and separation (ibid., 31–32). Jokiranta examines CD and 1QS, detecting a common pattern of relatively high tension towards the outside world measured by all three factors. This finding supports viewing CD and 1QS, despite their differences, as documents reflecting basically the same sectarian outlook (ibid., 67–68). An important function of these rule texts, according to Jokiranta, lies in their rhetorical role in the formation and maintenance of group identity in community members (ibid., 68–69). In her book, Jokiranta also examines the Qumran pesharim and their significance for identity formation.

2.4. Kamilla Skarström Hinojosa: Synchronic Reading, and the “Scapegoat”

Kamilla Skarström Hinojosa (2016) analyzes 1QS by reading the text synchronically rather than diachronically.10 Her goal is to revisit classical

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10 I use and refer to Hinojosa’s study in Chapter Three (Article 1), Chapter Four (Article 2), and Chapter Six (Article 4).
questions of cohesion and coherence within the text and the function of the
text in the community and its social-cultural context (Hinojosa 2016, 15–16).
After giving a thorough reading of 1QS, Hinojosa applies René Girard’s
theory of sacrifice and violence into her interpretation of 1QS. Drawing on
Girard’s understanding of “scapegoating,” Hinojosa proposes that the
community of 1QS could have perceived themselves partaking and revealing
the role of the scapegoat in order to deconstruct the underlying “mechanisms
of scapegoating in all societies” (ibid., 167–179).

2.5. Alison Schofield: Spatial Theory
Drawing on Edward Soja and Michel de Certeau, Alison Schofield (2018)
employs Spatial Theory to explore the creation of alternative sacred spaces
in 1QS and 4QMNT (Schofield 2018, 177). In spatial theory, the notion of
space covers a large spectrum from the physical space to the more
imaginative space. The spectrum of space can be divided into three
categories: 1) First-space is the real physical space (e.g., a road or a
building); 2) Second-space is the mental representation of the space (e.g., a
map or an architect’s blueprint); 3) Third-space is where the first and second
spaces meet, where the physical and imagination intersect (e.g., the freedom
of the road or when a house is perceived as home) (ibid., 178). Schofield
uses the category of the third-space to define the spaces which emerge in
1QS due to the community’s hierarchical structure. This hierarchy is
manifested through bodily movement (i.e., switching between walking,
standing, and sitting according to rank) or absence of movement. The Penal
Code in 1QS describes the spaces not only for the individual member but
also for the entire community as a collective body that upholds the code.
According to Schofield, a creation and re-creation of the sacred priestly
spaces in 1QS take place in an alternative location outside of the Jerusalem
Temple (ibid., 185). Schofield observes how the desert becomes a “counter-
city” through the bodily actions of the community members where one enters
and exits in the right manner and order, while creating an imaginative camp,
which mirrors the camp of the Israelites in the wilderness (ibid. 190–193).

In this chapter, I have sought to show the broad lines of the journey that
1QS has undergone from its first discovery up to contemporary research. The
text has been recognized and analyzed from a variety of theoretical
perspectives. These analyses have shed light on various aspects of 1QS, its
connection to other Qumran material and its intertextual relation to the
Hebrew Scriptures. The next chapter sketches the main lines of Cognitive
Science of Religion and some of the pioneering work that has been carried
out on Qumran material from a cognitive perspective. This forms the
theoretical background for the present thesis.
Chapter Two:
What is Cognitive Science of Religion?

1. Introduction
Research into religion and religious phenomena from the perspective of cognitive science has been growing and diversifying into several directions throughout the last 30 years. The following section presents an overview of the emergence and development of Cognitive Science of Religion (from now on abbreviated CSR), to set the stage for exploring the interface between CSR and Qumran studies. The intention here is not to cover the entire field, but to point to some of the most influential contributions and sketch significant tendencies that have left their mark on the scholarly landscape.

When the field of CSR was only about ten years old, Justin L. Barrett summed up the achievements of CSR, emphasizing the centrality of what he referred to as the “naturalness-of-religion thesis” (Barrett 2000, 29). By focusing on human cognition, CSR scholars view religion (i.e., religious beliefs, practices, and phenomena) as functions of the normal architecture and working of the human mind. This perspective differs from approaches that focus on the peculiarity or “strangeness” of religious phenomena. A basic assumption behind CSR is that religious ideas are processed through natural cognitive functions and transmitted through ordinary human communication. Religious practices such as rituals may have the appearance of “unnatural” or exotic behavior, when viewed by outsiders. However, CSR scholars maintain that religious practices are governed by normal cognition, and represented in people’s minds by means of regular cognitive processes. As formulated by Barrett: “No special domain for religious thought need be postulated. Religion is, in some ways, quite natural” (Barrett 2000, 33).

By focusing primarily on cognitive processes, the early steps of CSR represented a shift from viewing religion from the vantage point of culture and society to the role of the individuals’ own mind. CSR scholars criticized what they saw as a problematic vagueness associated with these approaches, and questioned the ontological status of socio-cultural entities (“society,” “culture,” “tradition,” etc.). Without denying that religious phenomena had collective, cultural and social aspects, CSR scholars argued that transmission and processing of religious concepts must take place within the mind in order to gain any effect. Therefore, directing attention to cognitive functions seemed more promising since these functions could be adaptable to empirical and experimental testing and falsification (Lawson and McCauley 1990, 63–64). This change of perspective does not mean that collective, cultural, and
social aspects of religion were forgotten or denied, but emphasis was placed on workings of the individual’s mind (Boyer 1994, 22–28).

In general, CSR has stressed the constant, universal character of human mechanisms and constraints that govern religious beliefs and practices throughout history and across diverse cultures and traditions (Boyer 1994, 111–112). Some CSR scholars have anchored their theories in an evolutionary perspective, and viewed the development of religious phenomena as a part of the evolution of the human species. Religious beliefs and practices, it is claimed, would have at some point enhanced individuals’ or groups’ chances of survival. Evolutionary models have also been used in the study of the cultural transmission of religious ideas (Barrett 2004, 47–48, 65; Czachesz 2019, 7–9).

2. The Grandfathers of Cognitive Science of Religion

In this section, I focus on two inspirational figures that with their work have paved the way for the emergence of CSR, before the term was coined. The development of CSR is typically dated to around 1990.

2.1 Dan Sperber: Symbolism and Epidemiology of Religion

One of the early steps towards understanding religion in cognitive terms is Dan Sperber’s publication, *Rethinking Symbolism* (1975). Sperber understands “symbolism” as a cognitive mechanism connected to the construction of knowledge and the function of memory (Sperber 1975: xi–xii). Symbolic processing, according to Sperber, occurs in the mind, when certain conceptual representations are “put in quotes” and given a symbolic interpretation (ibid., 112). Sperber links his understanding of symbolism to the working of active short-term memory and passive long-term memory. New information is processed in the active memory in the form of conceptual representations. Sometimes, the output of this conceptual mechanism is defective, meaning that a conceptual representation cannot be regularly constructed or evaluated. Such failed representations are the input of the symbolic mechanism. By focusing attention on the unfulfilled condition that made the representation defective (i.e., no sense could be made of it) and searching the passive memory for information that may reestablish the unfulfilled condition, a new conceptual representation (i.e., a symbolic interpretation) is created (ibid., 141–143). Sperber’s attempt to understand the meaning and function of symbols (religious and others) in the cognitive workings of the mind is important and prepares the way for the subsequent development of cognitive approaches to culture and religion.

Sperber’s most influential contribution has been his “epidemiological” model for the distribution and transmission of ideas, which he unfolds in his book *Explaining Culture* (1996). As the title indicates, Sperber’s ambition is
to formulate a theory, not only of religious ideas, but of culture more
generally. Culture, in Sperber’s view, consists of “contagious ideas,”
spreading from one person to the next, and of the “productions” (e.g.,
artworks, writings, etc.) that permit the spreading of these ideas (ibid., 1).
Explaining culture means assessing why some ideas are more contagious
than others, and to explain cultural representations is to explain “why some
representations are widely shared” (ibid., 82). He makes cognitive
psychology the basis of his endeavor, since public (or cultural)
representations can only manifest themselves in existing human beings
through the construction of mental representations in the individual mind.
Public representations are means of communication, and they “are generally
attributed similar meanings by their producers and their users, or else they
could never serve the purpose of communication” (ibid., 81). However,
human communication does not consist of perfect replication of mental
representations from one individual mind to another. Rather, what
communication achieves is “some degree of resemblance between the
communicator’s and the audience’s thoughts” (ibid., 83). Thus, ideas do not
travel from one mind to the next without being reinterpreted through mental
representations. Some ideas are more suitable for this process and tend to
spread more rapidly and widely.
To explain this difference, Sperber develops an “epidemiology of
representations,” employing a metaphor from the spread of contagious
diseases. He describes this enterprise as a “naturalistic research programme
in the social sciences” (ibid., 3). What Sperber means by epidemiology of
representation is neither an abstract nor a specific representation of a thought
or an idea. He attempts to explain how “strains, or families, of concrete
representations” are connected through “causal relationships” and mutual
resemblance (ibid., 83). The factors contributing most to the survival and
spread of a particular strain of representations depend on the kind of
representation involved (e.g., myths, folk tales, political ideas, and scientific
propositions). Sperber speaks of two sets of factors: One set is psychological –
whether the representation is easy to remember, whether it is relevant in
relation to prior background knowledge, and whether there is sufficient
motivation to communicate it. The other set of factors is ecological – whether
the representation generates appropriate action in many situations, whether
external memory stores (e.g., writing) are available, and whether there are
institutions in place that contribute to transmission of the representation
(ibid., 84).
2.2. Stewart Guthrie: Religion as Anthropomorphism

Another forerunner of CSR is Stewart Guthrie, in an article from 1980 he suggested that religious thoughts and beliefs are based on “the systematic application of human-like models to nonhuman in addition to human phenomena” (Guthrie 1980, 184). Religious thought, according to Guthrie, is not essentially different from human thought in general. Rather, religion is a part of human cognition, which, like science, attempts to explain and interpret human experience of the world “economically and coherently” (ibid., 186). The mind interacts with the world economically and coherently as it attempts to use a minimum of cognitive resources to create a maximum of meaning. Humans are in constant need of interpreting phenomena of the surrounding world. When doing so, we choose models to fit the phenomena in question as adequately as possible, and this choice is based on a combination of experience and analogy (ibid., 188). Of all the phenomena in our environment that we confront, the most important factor is other humans. Humans are multi-faceted and complex beings generating a wide range of phenomena that have to be interpreted. Much of what we encounter in our surroundings, and have to process and explain, may in fact have been caused by human agency. It is therefore not very surprising that humans have developed a strong preference for choosing a human-like model to interpret ambiguous phenomena (ibid., 187–189). This cognitive preference is the basis of religion.

Guthrie explains how we ascribe characteristic features of humans (like language and symbolism) to our non-human surroundings: “‘Religion’, then, means applying models to the nonhuman world in whole or in part that credit it with a capacity for language (as do prayer and other linguistic, including some ‘ritual,’ action) and for associated symbolic action (as do, e.g., sacrifice for rain and other ‘ritual’)” (ibid., 189). Interpreting the world in terms of human-like models is at the heart of religious thought but it is by no means restricted to the religious realm. Anthropomorphism (i.e., human-like models) is a fundamental feature of human cognition. Guthrie has since developed and elaborated further the idea that anthropomorphism is not only the fundament of religion, but also a universal human phenomenon (Guthrie 1995). Anthropomorphism is a product of the search for information and meaning that is primary to human thought and action (Guthrie 1995, 76).

3. The Founding Fathers of Cognitive Science of Religion

Focusing primarily on the research that has relevance to this thesis, this section sketches the main tendencies in the first wave of influential contributors to the field of CSR.
3.1. Lawson and McCauley: Ritual Form as Mental Representation

E. Thomas Lawson and Robert N. McCauley’s book *Rethinking Religion* (1990) is a groundbreaking work, taking the initial steps of what constitutes the early stages of CSR. Lawson and McCauley attempt to establish a general theory of religious ritual founded in human cognition. They find inspiration in the linguist and philosopher Noam Chomsky’s concept of a “universal grammar.” A key concept in Chomsky’s theory is the notion of linguistic competence. A native speaker of any language has competence to discern which utterings can and cannot be formed within the constraints of the linguistic system. The number of sentences permitted within a system are infinite, but they are subject to a number of constraints residing in the minds of speakers. According to Chomsky, therefore linguistic theory should study “internalized language” as “a structure in the mind” (Lawson and McCauley 1990, 66). The aim of linguistic theory is to describe, as accurately as possible, the constraints regulating the formation of possible sentences, and, ultimately, to formulate these principles as a “universal grammar.” The object studied by linguistics is not the “externalized language” (i.e., spoken language) but language as internal cognitive structures. Therefore, linguistics becomes part of psychology, and ultimately a part of biology.

Lawson and McCauley advocate for an analogous cognitive approach to religious rituals. Their intention is to develop “a theory of religious ritual competence rather than a theory of actual ritual acts” (ibid., 77). Religious rituals are complex cultural systems, and people who participate in rituals demonstrate an extensive, and often tacit, knowledge about the ways these systems work. This knowledge is analogous to the tacit knowledge that native speakers have regarding the rules of the language they speak: “Just as speakers have robust intuitions about numerous features of linguistic strings, participants in religious ritual systems possess similar intuitive insight into the character of ritual acts. Both sorts of intuitions reflect mastery of a body of knowledge about extremely complex cultural systems” (ibid.). They further attempt to describe the cognitive representations of religious rituals in idealized participants’ minds, and, in particular, the universal constraints that control the ways in which ritual acts are conceived. In other words, their theory amounts to a “universal grammar” of religious ritual.

The description of rituals in *Rethinking Religion* is based on a general theory about actions. Any kind of action, as represented in the human mind, is subject to certain basic constraints: An action must originate with an agent, and it may, or may not, have an object. The structure of actions can be represented in a diagram: agent-action-object. This structure pertains to religious rituals, since rituals are actions. What is unique to religious rituals
(as opposed to rituals and cultural systems of different kinds) is “their inclusion of culturally postulated superhuman agents among the class of eligible participants” (ibid., 5).

The description of ritual action as mental representation in *Rethinking Religion* is highly formalized, with the ambition of universal validity (ibid., 84–136). Examples include Roman Catholic rituals, Vedic rituals, and rituals belonging to Zulu tradition. The immediate involvement of superhuman agents in a ritual is a universal indicator of how central that ritual is within a given religious system. Rituals contain semantic information and are not devoid of semantic meaning, as some scholars have maintained. To the contrary, the mental representation of ritual is to a high degree informed by “a religious conceptual scheme.” These conceptual schemes differ from one religious system to another, while the principles of religious ritual are themselves universal (ibid., 88–89).

Even though Lawson and McCauley are inspired by Chomsky’s cognitive linguistics, which is biologically founded, they do not argue that the constraints on ritual acts are necessarily based on innate mental structures. Instead, they point to considerations that favor the influence of societies and social groups as a more likely factor causing and influencing the formation of religious systems in people’s minds (ibid., 78–83).

The study of Lawson and McCauley exhibits basic features of CSR, which have been developed and taken in different directions. By theorizing about mental representations of religious systems they deliberately turn their attention away from the realm of social and cultural structures, which have been frequently evoked by scholars of religion (ibid., 63–64). What is more, the question of the extent to which cognitive systems are universal or even innate and thus common to all humans (rather than culturally and historically changeable) becomes central to the ongoing discussion.

In their book *Bringing Ritual to Mind* (2002) McCauley and Lawson present a further development of their theory. They include discussions on large amounts of empirical material, focusing particularly on factors that cause religious systems and their ritual practices to change. Building on the classification of religious rituals as actions including culturally postulated superhuman agents, McCauley and Lawson suggest that “sensory pageantry” will be higher in “special agent rituals” (where the connection to the divine is associated with the agent) than in “special patient rituals” and “special

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11 Lawson and McCauley explicitly reject theories of ritual that insist on the “meaninglessness” of religious ritual acts, as does, e.g., the theory of Fritz Staal who points to the “ritualized” behavior of animals as the evolutionary background for the occurrence of rituals among humans (Lawson and McCauley 1990, 166-169).
instrument rituals” (McCauley and Lawson 2002, 118). According to Lawson and McCauley, in a “balanced” religious system there will be both special agent rituals and special instrument/patient rituals. However, systems may become either “unbalanced” or “deflated” (meaning that the level of sensory pageantry decreases). These circumstances cause the occurrence of change, e.g. in the form of splinter groups (ibid., 201–210).

3.2. Pascal Boyer: Minimal Counterintuitive Ideas

Another influential line of work in CSR has been carried out by Pascal Boyer. He begins with the observation that similar ideas and assumptions can be found worldwide, in different religious systems (Boyer 1994, 4). Religious systems also show a considerable “diachronic stability” in the sense that they are transmitted without much alteration from one generation to the next (ibid.). This recurrence and transmission is what Boyer attempts to explain. He theorizes that the transmission of religious ideas is to a large extent constrained by cognitive mechanisms, and these constraints lead to the cross-cultural recurrence (ibid., 12).

Boyer explains these cognitive constraints as associated with the mind’s ability to understand and operate by means of certain ontological categories. For example, children at an early age acquire intuitive knowledge about their environments, and start to expect objects in the world around them to behave in certain ways, depending on the ontological categories or domains to which objects belong, categories such as person, animal, plant, and artifact (ibid., 101–113; Boyer 1998, 878). The mind makes domain-specific intuitive assumptions: Inanimate objects are expected to follow rules different from those of animate beings. Violation of these domain-specific rules are counterintuitive, and counterintuitive concepts are a recurrent phenomenon in religious traditions. Ideas are counterintuitive when an entity belonging to one intuitive category contains one or few features that contradicts one’s expectation of the given category such as a flying donkey or a speaking statue. Counterintuitive ideas are often cognitively optimal (i.e. easy to grasp, remember, and pass on) when they involve only a minimal degree of counterintuitiveness. If counterintuitive ideas include too many features violating these expectations they will be difficult to acquire and remember and have a little chance of surviving in the longer run (Boyer 1994, 121–123). The combination of minimal counterintuitive twist with mostly intuitive features make these ideas both appealing and easy to perceive (Boyer 1998, 881–882).
3.3. Justin L. Barrett: Hyperactive Agency Detecting Device

Barrett, another CSR pioneer, takes up the observations and theories by Sperber, Guthrie, and Boyer, and develops them further. In an article from 1996, co-authored with Frank C. Keil, Barrett describes a series of psychological experiments suggesting that people simultaneously rely on two contrasting images of God, which are activated in different contexts. When participants in the experiments listened to a story, in which God was an agent, and were asked to recall it, they would express an anthropomorphic notion of God (i.e., a concept used in everyday life). In contrast, when asked in a questionnaire about God’s properties, they would respond in terms of correct theological concepts of their religious tradition (Barrett and Keil 1996). The study implies that two “God concepts” coexist within the same subjects, a theological concept and a concept used in everyday life.

In a later article, Barrett suggests that a similar distinction between understanding or representing phenomena at a basic and at a theoretical level is a general feature of human cognition, and that it has to do with cognitive constraints, which apply to both religious and non-religious knowledge (Barrett 1999). Barrett uses the term “theological correctness” of the kind of ideas that people report when reflecting on their beliefs. These ideas are likely to be in accordance with the dominant or orthodox theology of their tradition, as opposed to the intuitive ideas that are activated in contexts, which demand immediate interpretations, inferences, or predictions (Barrett 1999, 331). The deciding factor is the “cognitive processing demands of the task” (ibid., 338).

Building on Guthrie’s observation that humans tend to interpret their surroundings by means of human-like models, Barrett has formulated the idea of “hyperactive agency detection device” (HADD), meaning that people are biased towards looking for intentional agency as the cause behind any event or state of affairs in their environment. “When hearing a bump in the night, our first impulse is to wonder who caused the noise and not what caused the noise” (Barret 2004, 31). Barret assumes that HADD was an evolutionary advantage, since the potential consequences of overlooking an agent in one’s immediate surroundings must have been dangerous, generally speaking. If one misses a lion lurking behind a bush, the outcome could be fatal. However, it is less dangerous to assume the existence of an agent that turned out not to be there after all (Barrett 2000, 31; 2004, 31–44). The HADD function in the human mind might be the reason that counterintuitive superhuman agents are often assumed to exist, and narratives involving such agents are remembered and survive (Barrett 2000, 31–32; 2004, 40–44). According to Barrett, concepts of counterintuitive agents have a better chance of receiving attention and being passed on than concepts without
agents, since the former resonate with the HADD tendency natural to 
humans. This mechanism seems to have favored the selective survival and 
prevalence of religious counterintuitive agent-concepts (Barrett 2000, 32).

3.4. Harvey Whitehouse: Modes of Religiosity Theory\textsuperscript{12}

The Modes of Religiosity theory (from now on the Modes theory) has 
emerged from the extensive fieldwork of the anthropologist Harvey 
Whitehouse in Papua New Guinea during the late 1980s, where he studied 
the Paliau and Pomio Kivung movements. Whitehouse observed that these 
movements unfolded in two directions: one as a greater and more routinized 
mainstream tradition and one outbreak into millenarian splinter groups that 
were unstable, local, and short-lived with dramatic, innovative, and 
emotionally charged rituals (Whitehouse, 2004b). The Modes theory 
investigates “underlying cognitive mechanisms … [through] which religious 
commitments are experienced, organized, transmitted, and politicized” 
(Whitehouse 2002, 293).

The Modes theory suggests that the fundamental dichotomy in ritual 
practices, observed by many scholars, can be seen as a division between an 
“Imagistic Mode” and a “Doctrinal Mode.”\textsuperscript{13} The Imagistic Mode occurs 
when rituals are highly emotional and rarely enacted (e.g. initiation rites), 
whereas the Doctrinal Mode occur when rituals are low-arousal and 
frequently practiced (e.g. sermons or the Eucharist). Often these two modes 
occur separately but they can also coexist within the same religious tradition 
as the frameworks or “attractor poles” for religious practices and structures 
(ibid., 294).

In the process of further developing the Modes theory, Whitehouse uses 
the notions “Cognitively Optimal Religion” and “Cognitively Costly 
Religion” (Whitehouse 2004a, 29–59). The understanding of religious 
practices and phenomena as Cognitively Optimal Religion refers to several 
theories, such as Boyer’s theory of transmission, Lawson and McCauley’s 
ritual as actions, Barrett’s HADD (Hyper Agency Detecting Devise), etc. 
which were developed before or simultaneously to the Modes theory.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12} This section dealing with Modes of Religiosity theory overlaps to a great extent with 
the presentation of the theory in Chapter Four (Article 2).

\textsuperscript{13} This dichotomy in ritual practices have often be noted by scholars. Whitehouse (2002, 
293–294; 2004a, 63) mentions the work of Max Weber, Ruth Benedict, Ernest Gellner, 

\textsuperscript{14} Whitehouse (2004a, 30–42) refers to the works of Pascal Boyer and Justin L. Barrett 
(concerning minimally counterintuitive concepts), Guthrie (on hyperactive agent 
detection device (HADD)), Fiske and Haslam (on the connection between ritualization
Cognitively Optimal Religion has to do with the widespread occurrence of similar ideas about supernatural agents, rituals, and myths, which occur across historical, geographical, and religious borders (ibid., 29). These ideas are defined as the “ones that the human mind is naturally well-equipped to process and remember, or that readily trigger exceptionally salient or attention-grabbling inferences, in the absence of any special training or inducement to learn such concepts” (Whitehouse 2004c, 189). The Cognitively Optimal Religion is considered as a “default position” to which humans tend to be naturally attracted (ibid., 190).

As opposed to the concept of Cognitively Optimal Religion, the notion of Cognitively Costly Religion has to do with ideas which require extensive cognitive effort. Cognitively Costly ideas contain complicated narratives, or other demanding content that is not easy to grasp and transmit. These ideas demand “costly support in terms of both memory and motivation” (Whitehouse 2004a, 55). The two modes, doctrinal and imagistic, are the two typical expressions of transmitting and preserving such cognitively costly content.

In order to survive, religion and rituals must be remembered, and people must be motivated to pass them on. Therefore, memory and motivation are key terms in transmitting any ideology. The way memory and motivation interact is the means to secure the preservation of an ideology. The Modes theory suggests that the imprinting of an ideology in memory happens through the interplay between frequency and emotionality (Atkinson and Whitehouse 2011, 51–52). Frequency refers to how often a ritual is repeated and emotionality refers to how a ritual participant responds to the ritual experience.

In the Modes theory, memory has a central role. For his understanding of memory, Whitehouse relies on the work of the psychologists Peter Graf and Daniel L. Schacter (1985). Memory function can be divided into implicit and explicit aspects of memory. The implicit memory stores “unconscious” or “automated” knowledge or procedures (e.g., how to ride your bike), while the explicit memory stores things we consciously know or remember (e.g., recalling someone’s address). Our explicit memory is further sub-divided into short-term and long-term memory. Short-term memory concerns the capacities to recall information for a very limited time span (e.g., where you put your car keys an hour ago), while long-term memory concerns the capacity for remembering information for long time (e.g., your birthday). Long-term memory can be further sub-divided into semantic and episodic memory. Semantic memory stores “general knowledge” (e.g., name of the
current US president). It is not always straightforward to pinpoint when or how one acquires such semantic information. On the other hand, the episodic memory concerns specific occasions and circumstances of our lives (e.g., first day at school or a wedding day). The two modes (i.e., doctrinal and imagistic) illustrate how cognitively costly religious contents are stored in the memory in different ways, depending on which function of memory is triggered (Whitehouse 2002, 296).

The doctrinal mode favors high-frequency, low-arousal, less stimulating, religious content. Through frequent repetitions, a large body of religious information can be effectively stored in the semantic memory. The downside of frequent repetition is the possibility of boredom and decreased motivation, which Whitehouse refers to as the “tedium effect.” It seems however, that established religions have found ways to counter the tedium effect by promises of divine rewards, warnings of divine sanctions, and with employment of various theological and rhetorical strategies.

As rituals are performed frequently (daily or weekly), they become routinized and stored in the implicit memory (e.g., procedural knowledge such as how to ride your bike), and the actions involved in these rituals are performed without conscious effort (ibid., 299–300). When ritual participants act on “autopilot” as a result of routinization, they tend to reflect less on the meaning of the particular ritual. With less personal reflection, participants are more open to be guided by an established interpretation of the rituals’ significance. The established interpretation (i.e., orthodoxy) seems to restrain personal and unauthorized interpretations. However, the restrain of individual interpretation does not entirely inhibit every novel exegetical reflection but decreases the probability (ibid., 300).

The imagistic mode concerns highly emotionally charged, low-frequency rituals (e.g., traumatic rituals, ecstatic practices, and states of collective possession). These high-arousal rituals seem to activate enduring episodic memories in the ritual participants. The mixture of episodic uniqueness and emotionality creates vivid and detailed autobiographical memories (i.e., so-called “flashbulb memories”). The mind tends to remember these episodes as a particular moment captured by a photograph such as where you were on 9/11 (ibid. 304). The kind of rituals that are performed rarely and have low-arousal effect, tend to be forgotten. To the contrary, infrequent practices with high-arousal content are those that last best in the memory.

The participant who partakes in highly emotionally charged rituals, tends to remember the ritual actions much better than the verbally transmitted information (e.g., doctrines and narratives). Moreover, the experience of low-frequency and highly emotionally charged rituals seems to provoke a
need to create some kind of meaning in the ritual participant. Because these rituals are processed at a conscious level in the episodic memory (i.e., a part of the explicit memory), the participant will be likely to reflect deeply on the significance of the experience. Whitehouse terms the participant’s individual interpretations “spontaneous exegetical reflection” (Whitehouse 2004a, 72–73; 113–115). As the meaning of the ritual is produced by the participant’s personal experience and interpretation, leadership functions more symbolically in the imagistic mode, than in the doctrinal mode where the function of leadership is central and dynamic. The imagistic ritual seems to create a sense of emotional bond, social cohesion, and feeling of exclusivity between the participants. This often takes place in small religious units and communities. Whereas in the doctrinal mode dynamic leadership and verbal transmission cause efficient dissemination, the imagistic practices rarely spread beyond the small ritual units.

3.5. Armin Geertz: Biocultural Theory of Religion

Armin W. Geertz, one of the leading figures of CSR today, advocates for the term “biocultural theory of religion.” Compared to the early stage of CSR, Geertz attempts to redefine the notions of cognition, mind, and culture. The central axiom for Geertz and the research team in Aarhus (Religion, Cognition and Culture Research Unit) has been that “cognition is not just what goes on in the individual mind … [but] we hold that cognition is embrained, embodied, encultured, extended and distributed” (Geertz 2010, 304). This is an attempt to move away from the perception that the human mind operates solely by itself, independently from the body it is attached to, and from the surrounding environment. In what follows I will sum up what Geertz sees as an intimate interaction between body, brain, culture and society demanding a “biocultural turn.”

Geertz defines religion as “a cultural system and a social institution that governs and promotes ideal interpretations of existence and ideal praxis with reference to postulated transempirical powers or beings” (Geertz 1999, 471). He holds that religion does not require mental functions that are different from those generally at play in human culture or social institutions (Geertz 2010, 305). This perspective on religion is in line with what we have seen as the main understanding of religion in CSR.

Inspired by Clifford Geertz’s and Merlin Donald’s definitions of culture, Geertz turns the cultural definition into a “biocultural” one, meaning that humans are hybrid beings, both biological and cultural (ibid., 306). Body and brain are connected with a reciprocal relation, the brain is always embodied. Our mental and emotional state can affect the balance within our bodies and vice versa (e.g. physical posture can affect our mental or emotional state) (ibid., 306–307). This reciprocal relation between the body and the brain
together with our social tendencies is a powerful cocktail rendering us easy
to manipulate. Religious rituals often include different elements, such as
singing, chanting, moving in a specific manner, different bodily postures,
painful procedures or intake of toxic substances affecting and manipulating
our body and brain in the desired directions. Drawing on the studies by
neurologist Lawrence Barsalou and his team (Barsalou et al. 2005), Geertz
points to three techniques of embodiment (religious visions, religious beliefs
and religious rituals) by which religious knowledge is installed. First,
religious visions include a process of simulation explaining how these
experiences are generated. Second, in religious belief, daily experience is
affected by knowledge about the body and the environment, which are
central in religious frameworks. Third, embodiment is a vital means in
religious rituals by which ideas are metaphorically transmitted and stored in
memory (Geertz 2010, 308). Accordingly, embrainment and embodiment are
key concepts in a biocultural theory which means that cognition always
operates in the context of embodied brains.

Human cognition is not only the activities of the one embodied brain but
cognition is also distributed and extended in the sense that it is dependent on
a great number of external objects. Material objects and symbols are
important auxiliary tools for anchoring and communicating complex
religious ideas, and act as anchors for the mind. Humans surround
themselves with objects that push the boundaries of the human mind and
body beyond the biological limit. The use of objects facilitates extending our
cognitive capacity (e.g., cave graffiti and computers) and enables the body
to transcend its natural limits (e.g., the wheel and airplanes) (ibid., 309–310).
Therefore, extension and situatedness are central notions in a biocultural
theory of religion. This means that humans rely on external tools to extend
the capacity for storing ideas and transmitting these ideas efficiently in
cognitive networks.

Geertz refers to Donald’s understanding of the evolution of human culture
that implies an awareness of being embedded in cognitive communities.
Through cognitive communities, the human brain is enculturated. According
to Donald, the evolution of culture has four phases: the episodic, mimetic,
mythic and theoretic. In the episodic phase, hominins and other primates
responded to sensorial stimuli in single episodes. The mimetic phase
contains the ability of gaining skills and imitating, creating culture and
rituals. The ability of imitation is central for the enactment and re-enactment
of ritualized actions and patterns. This is crucial for developing cultural
traditions including tool and food production, hunting etc. The mythic phase
is special to *Homo sapiens* and involves the development of language and
oral tradition. The ability of forming narratives was a huge evolutionary advancement and a way to transmit much more complex values, beliefs and behavioral norms that a society required. The fourth theoretic phase involves the usage of symbols together with material objects as memory extensions. This development resulted in the invention of writing which gave space to the preservation of even larger amounts of data and knowledge.

Since humans are hybrid creatures both biological and cultural, the human mind is enculturated in cognitive networks. By help of these networks the mind controls itself and is simultaneously controlled. According to Donald, cultural systems are collective governance systems or “governing hierarchies.” In Donald’s view, religion is the most powerful governance system affecting both the mind of the individuals and the collective minds in perceiving the world in specific ways (ibid., 311–312). Distribution and enculturation are two further key factors in a biocultural theory of religion. Geertz proposes viewing narratives from a biocultural perspective. Religious narratives are a crucial instrument of understanding the world, our social inclinations, and our biological and psychological embedment (ibid., 313).

Eva Kundtová Klocová and Geertz advocate for the notion of embodied cognition as a productive way of revisiting religious rituals. According to them cognition has to be approached from four perspectives: embodied, embedded, extended, and enactive (the “4E position”) (Klocová and Geertz 2019, 77). By embodied they refer to mental states and bodily states being inseparable factors in the process of cognition. This process also involves constant social interaction and active and passive engagement with one’s environment. Klocová and Geertz suggest that the perspective of embodied cognition could be a fruitful way of detecting the interrelation between the manipulation of bodily postures and movement, emotion, and motivation, and cognitive processes in religious rituals (ibid., 78). Therefore, a closer investigation of the physical, bodily aspects of concrete ritual actions should be integrated into a comprehensive understanding of how rituals work. This approach also leaves room for appreciating the form of ritual action, and its function in transmission of religious contents, as emphasized by Lawson, McCauley, and Whitehouse.

4. Recent Developments in Cognitive Science of Religion
In the following section, I present five major recent tendencies in CSR relying on Geertz’s summarization (2017).

The first tendency consists of experimental studies of religion. These empirical investigations are comparative enterprises, planned and executed in transdisciplinary cooperation between scholars from different fields (Geertz 2017, 38–39). The aim of these experiments is to challenge and test different hypotheses within CSR. Some examples are experiments
concerning the relation between people’s religious belief and moral condition (Lanman 2012; Duhaime 2015; McKay, Herold, and Whitehouse 2013). Moreover, topics such as correlation between religious belief and health (Jegindø et al. 2013; Paldam and Schjoedt 2016), and correlation between pro-sociality and religiosity (Whitehouse and Lanman 2014) have also been investigated. The second tendency is the sub-field of the experimental approach of CSR that has grown and widened into extensive fieldwork on religious belief and practices throughout the world (Geertz 2017, 39–41).

In the third tendency, researchers have employed technics from neuropsychology and in particular fMRI (functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging) to investigate brain functions when exposed to religious symbols, religious narratives, prayer, and meditation (ibid., 41–42). The fourth tendency is a branch of CSR that relies on the creation of databases of big data that are able to test different hypotheses regarding the function and development of religion. Some examples of these databases are Edward Slingerland’s “The Database of Religious History (DRH)” in Vancouver, Peter Turchin and Harvey Whitehouse’s “Sheshat: The Global History Databank” database, and Russell Gray’s database “Pulotu: Database of Pacific Religions” in Jena (ibid., 42).

The fifth tendency is the study of cognitive historiography, the application of CSR on ancient artefacts, literature, and other sources. Harvey Whitehouse’s Modes theory has been applied to a number of historical and archaeological bodies of evidence (e.g., Luther H. Martin’s application of the Modes theory on Mithraists (Martin 2015)). Another example is Jennifer Larson’s application of various CSR theories on the religion of ancient Greece (Larson 2016; cf. Geertz 2017, 43–48).

4.1. Yaacov Trope and Nira Liberman: Construal Level Theory

A particularly relevant theory for the present thesis is the Construal Level Theory (CLT). From the outset, CLT belonged to the realm of social psychology and was initially not developed as a theory within the field of CSR. However, CLT has been applied in areas closely related to topics of CSR such as the effects on prosocial behavior when imagining the concept of God versus religion (Karataş and Gürhan-Canli 2020), the importance of moral principles and values (Eyal et al. 2009; Eyal and Liberman 2012), and the impact of religious faith on people’s lives (Grabowska 2013).

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15 This section dealing with Construal Level Theory by Trope and Liberman overlaps extensively with the presentation of the theory in Chapter Five (Article 3) and in Chapter Six (Article 4).
In a chapter of the *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology* (2012), psychologists Yaacov Trope and Nira Liberman give an account of how CLT was developed. While social psychology has largely been occupied with describing people’s tendency to become immersed in the immediate situation (the “here and now”), and with the degree to which we are influenced by pressure from our present surroundings, CLT deals with the human mind’s ability to transcend the “here and now” (Trope and Liberman 2012, 119).

Trope and Liberman began studying the effect of time (either distant or near future or past), on the way people mentally represent an event or outcome and make decisions bearing on it. Their point of departure involved two different phenomena that are well-known from earlier studies: 1) the “planning fallacy” that makes people take on more commitments than they can manage when planning for a distant future (e.g., double-booking appointments, optimism with regard to deadlines); and 2) “time discounting,” which makes people assign greater value to an outcome in the near future than in the distant future (e.g., preferring to win a smaller amount in a lottery tomorrow rather than winning a larger sum in two years) (ibid., 119–120).

Building on past research and attempting to integrate previous results, which do not always converge, Trope and Liberman developed the notions “high-level construal” and “low-level construal.” Construals are mental representations, different ways the mind perceives and construes objects, events, or actions. Trope and Liberman define high-level construals as “…schematic, decontextualized representations that extract the gist from the available information, emphasizing a few superordinate core features of events” (ibid., 120). In other words, when construing something in high-level terms, the mind tends to focus on the greater picture and not the details (e.g., seeing an entire forest, not the particular tree types). Low-level construals are defined as “…relatively unstructured, contextualized representations that include subordinate and incidental features of events” (ibid.). When construing something in low-level terms, the mind tends to focus on concrete, specific and minor details and not the most essential or overall aspects (e.g., the patterns of leaves and not the forest’s shape or size).

In the first step of developing CLT, Trope and Liberman found that temporally distant objects were typically represented in terms of high-level construals while temporally near objects where represented as low-level construals. An event taking place in the distant future would be perceived with focus on its general, abstract features, not on its concrete, practical details. As an example, when planning for a conference (e.g., in a year, distant future), the topic of the conference will be in focus and not practical concerns. When the conference is due next week, the focus will be on where
and how to get there. The tendency to switch focus on the same event depending on temporal distance seemed to explain both the “planning fallacy” and “time discounting.” Moreover, high-level construals tend to highlight the desirability of an object, event or action (the why or the desired end-state). By contrast, low-level construals tend to emphasize the feasibility (the how or the means to reach the end-state) (ibid., 121).

The next step was to generalize the notion of distance to cover not merely temporal distance but psychological distance in several dimensions. High-level construals are the instruments by which the mind traverses various psychological distances – in time, space, between oneself and other people, and between what is factual and what is merely possible (ibid., 122). The correlation between construals and psychological distance occurs in four dimensions: 1) temporal distance (refers to when an event occurs), 2) spatial distance (refers to where it occurs), 3) social distance (refers to whom it occurs to) and 4) hypothetical distance (refers to whether it occurs). Across these distances, the high-level construals are able to “preserve the essential, invariant properties of the referent event” (ibid., 121). This means that when we perceive something as being far from us, in any of the four psychological dimensions, we tend to imagine the thing in its general, superordinate features.

CLT also suggests a reciprocal effect between construal levels and psychological distances. Things perceived at greater distance are construed mentally in more abstract and high-level terms than things that are perceived to be close. Conversely, a high-level construal makes us perceive the object as more distant. Furthermore, the different dimensions of distance are interrelated, and mutually interdependent. An object in a remote place is perceived in higher-level construals than an object that is spatially close. If another dimension is added, so the object is both situated in a remote place and remote in time (e.g., past or future), the tendency of perceiving the object in higher-level construals increases (ibid., 125).

CLT has been applied and tested on the wide variety of different fields and topics. In Chapter Five (Article 3) and Chapter Six (Article 4), I present the CLT studies that have the greatest relevance for the present thesis.


In the following section, I provide a brief sketch of CSR’s way into the field of biblical studies. Since research on the Qumran literature is closely related to the larger field of biblical and ancient Jewish studies, this perspective is a necessary steppingstone towards the interaction between CSR and Qumran studies. I do not intend to present a history of research covering the wide and growing range of cognitive approaches to biblical literature, but merely to
state some main points that will be helpful in order to gain an overview of how and why CSR has been increasingly accepted by biblical scholars as relevant to their work.

CSR has found its way into biblical studies gradually through the course of the last twenty years. The growing interest and reception of cognitive theories by biblical scholars, has been furthered by a number of international conferences and workshops, which resulted in several publications. In 2005 Risto Uro together with Petri Luomanen and Ilkka Pyysiäinen organized an international symposium on “Body, Mind, and Society in Early Christianity” in Helsinki, with the aim of exploring the potential of a dialogue between social-scientific approaches to biblical texts and CSR. István Czachesz and Tamás Biró arranged an “International Workshop on Religion and Cognition” in 2006 in Groningen, focusing on the CSR perspective on religious change and continuity. Another Groningen workshop in 2010 centered on cognitive mechanisms behind the production and reception of oral and written religious texts. At different Nordic universities, a series of international workshops were held 2010–2013 as a part of the research programme “Socio-Cognitive Perspectives on Early Judaism and Early Christianity.” Moreover, since 2007, a series of program units within the framework of the Society of Biblical Literature have provided a forum for the ongoing discussion and testing of cognitive theories in the field of biblical scholarship (Czachesz and Uro 2013, 1–2; Czachesz 2017, 3).

One of the forerunners has been István Czachesz who, in an article in 2003, suggested that cognitive psychology could be a useful resource in the study of the early Christian gospel literature. Czachesz pointed especially to the organization of memory as episodic and semantic, and the insight that episodic memory is structured by “scripts” or standardized generalized episodes. Such “scripts” can be detected both in Old and New Testament narratives, one example being the early Christian “martyrdom script” containing arrest, trial, bold confession of faith, and execution. Examples of semantic memory structures relevant for biblical studies are wisdom sayings, and the use of numbers or initial letters for the sake of memorability. Czachesz made some further suggestions as to how biblical studies might benefit from including cognitive perspectives (Czachesz 2003). Czachesz has followed up on his initial work in a number of publications on cognitive approaches to the interpretation of the New Testament and early Christianity. His book *Cognitive Science and the New Testament: A New Approach to Early Christian Research* from 2017 presents a synthesis of these approaches, and provides an overview of the achievement of CSR oriented biblical research so far.
Another pioneer introducing CSR perspectives in biblical studies is Risto Uro, who has applied the cognitive ritual theories of Whitehouse and McCauley and Lawson on the gnostic rituals documented in the *Gospel of Philip* (Uro 2007), and more generally, utilized cognitive theories of memory and transmission for interpreting references to ritual practice in early Christian sources (Uro 2013).

In the introductory chapter of the volume that resulted from the 2006 Helsinki symposium, Petri Luomanen, Ilkka Pyysiäinen, and Risto Uro point to the differences between CSR and biblical studies and to the advantages of an interaction between these two fields (Luomanen et al. 2007). Compared to biblical studies, CSR is a young branch of science, which emerged in the 1990s. CSR is a transdisciplinary endeavor, a mixture of cognitive sciences: Cognitive and developmental psychology, neurosciences, evolutionary biology, and anthropology. The focus of CSR is primarily on “religion,” related phenomena, and patterns occurring across cultural and historical boundaries explained through basic mechanisms of the human mind. Biblical studies on the other hand have a long well-established tradition of focusing on particular historical and cultural contexts (ibid., 1). Despite these obvious differences, Luomanen, Pyysiäinen, and Uro state three reasons for combining the transdisciplinary CSR approaches with biblical studies.

First, CSR provides biblical studies with useful concepts, perspectives, and theories that help biblical scholars to ask new questions. Second, CSR has the potential for answering some of the unsolved questions raised by the application of social-scientific models in biblical studies. And third, CSR has important points of contact with social-scientific approaches which already are a part of the field of biblical studies (ibid., 1–2).

A decade later, in 2017, István Czachesz argues that biblical scholars, by adapting and modifying existing models, must develop their own cognitive approach (Czachesz 2017, 21). Czachesz addresses the fundamental question posed by the fact that cognitive science studies the minds of modern humans, while biblical scholarship is concerned with the products of people from times and cultures radically different from our own. However, the assumption underlying cognitive science and its application to historical studies is that evolution has not changed the architecture of the human brain or body substantially over the last two millennia. In fact, by providing insight into the universal “underlying brain structures, behaviors, and emotions” that remain unchanged, cognitive science, can be helpful in highlighting and understanding the cultural differences in the way people have perceived and conceptualized their world (ibid., 9–10).
Czachesz points to three ways in which biblical scholars can contribute to the development of CSR with input from their own field: 1) They can adopt specific aspects of CSR (e.g., cognitive approaches to orality, literacy, and memory) that are relevant to the investigation of ancient texts but have been less central within CSR. 2) They can formulate hypotheses that can be tested in experimental research. 3) They can use computer modeling in their analyses of, e.g., semantic structures of biblical texts, or the historical growth of religious movements (ibid., 23).

CSR has been useful for investigating historical questions such as the emergence and dissemination of Christian beliefs in the Roman Empire (Pyysiäinen 2007; Czachesz 2007; Czaschesz and Lisdorf 2013). Taking inspiration from CSR, biblical scholars have revisited previous lines of research from new perspectives. The study of memory has played a central role in biblical studies for a long time. Theories about oral transmission have been central to form critical exegesis, and there has been an ongoing discussion regarding the ability of human memory to preserve narrative contents through several generations. This question has been raised repeatedly (e.g., in relation to the gospel narratives about the life and words of Jesus). More recently, biblical scholars have taken an interest in theories of “collective memory” and “cultural memory” advanced by Maurice Halbwachs and Jan Assmann (Czachesz and Uro 2013, 6–7). CSR offers insights into the working of memory in individuals, and transmission in collective settings. These insights have been used to approach the classical questions of biblical tradition process in new ways (Luomanen 2013).

Within the field of Old Testament studies, several CSR inspired investigations of particular texts and topics have emerged in recent years. Thomas Kazen has applied cognitive perspectives on emotions (e.g., fear and disgust) and morality to legal texts in the Hebrew Bible (Kazen 2013; 2019). Kazen has also investigated the biblical notion of purity from a CSR perspective (Kazen 2014; 2018). Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme has made use of cognitive theory concerning magic and ritual on the jealousy law in Num 5:11–31 (Gudme 2013). More recently, Gudme has also applied the category of conceptual metaphors on the well-known biblical association between blood and life (Gudme 2019). And Angela Kim Harkins has studied cognitive aspects of ritualized grief in the prayer of Dan 9 in the light of neuroscientific theories of religious experience (Harkins 2015; 2017).

A recent example of how CSR continues to inspire biblical scholars is Brett Maiden’s monograph on cognitively costly and cognitively optimal elements in ancient Israelite religion (Maiden 2020). Building on the distinction between intuitive and reflective thinking, and between cognitively optimal and cognitively costly religious concepts, Maiden...
analyzes case studies from the Hebrew Bible, revisiting and reassessing classical lines of research concerning the popular and official religion, the reform theology of the Deuteronomic movement, and the understanding of the Atonement Day ritual in Leviticus 16. Furthermore, Maiden includes studies of archaeological material and iconography in and outside Israel in his investigation.

Daniel O. McClellan’s has recently defended his dissertation which deals with the way deity and divine agency is conceptualized in the Hebrew Bible (submitted in October 2020). In particular, McClellan examines conceptualizations of the relationship between deities and their cult images and representations. In the context of the Hebrew Bible, the main cultic representatives of Yahweh are the ark of the covenant, Yahweh’s messenger, Yahweh’s glory, and the texts of the Torah. By using CSR’s identification of “trans-cultural and trans-historical patterns of cognition,” McClellan attempts to retrace main lines of the particular development of concepts for divine agency and presence in various parts of the Hebrew Bible.

6. Those Who Prepared the Way of CSR into Qumran Studies
Eileen Schuller in 2006, close to the 50th anniversary of the discovery of the scrolls, sums up the situation of the scholarly research (Schuller 2006). She makes the case for including researchers and methodologies from different fields (e.g. humanities and social sciences) to shed new light on the Qumran material (ibid., 105–109).

As most of the manuscripts and fragments have been identified, assembled in a meaningful manner, and published, scholars have increasingly contributed with different methodological approaches to the field of Qumran Studies. In what follows, I will focus on some of the groundbreaking works that have brought the insights of CSR into conversation with Qumran material.

6.1. Kimmo Ketola: CSR Meets Qumran
To the best of my knowledge, Kimmo Ketola is one of the first scholars to create a point of contact between CSR and Qumran (2007). In his article, Ketola applies Whitehouse’s Modes of Religiosity theory and Lawson and McCauley’s theory of ritual form to spy out the ritual landscape of Judaism in the first century CE in Palestine (Ketola 2007, 95). Pointing out that Judaism is more occupied by “orthopraxis than orthodoxy,” Ketola emphasizes the advantages of investigating its ritual systems with CSR theories (ibid., 96). Using insights from the Modes theory and ritual form theory, Ketola examines in broad terms the emergence of splinter groups such as the Qumran community and the early Jesus movement (ibid.).
Ketola concludes that first-century Judaism was diverse and its ritual practices were highly unbalanced in terms of form. With the exception of circumcision, he detects no trace of special agent rituals in first-century Judaism (ibid., 102). Unlike what Lawson and McCauley predict, he finds that the rituals with the most sensory pageantry content were not special agent rituals. This finding, according to Ketola, casts a degree of doubt on Lawson and McCauley’s ritual theory. Ketola suggests that the questions of balance in the sense of form must be considered separately from the question of ritual type. In first-century Judaism, there was room for both the highly emotionally charged and rarely performed rituals (e.g. annual temple festivals) as well as for low-arousal and often repeated rituals (e.g. daily prayer or ritual bath).

Using McCauley and Lawson’s notion of “deflated balanced system,” resulting in instability with three possible scenarios (1. Ritual intensification; 2. Ritual multiplication, and 3. Ritual innovation) (ibid., 106), Ketola holds that the Qumran community and the early Jesus movement both developed innovative ritual practices in the form of communal meals. Moreover, the Qumran movement also had elements of ritual intensification with a higher level of purity demands than what was required in the Jerusalem Temple (ibid., 108–109). Ketola’s investigation is kept in the broad historical perspective and does not dive in into any textual evidence of Second Temple Jewish sources.


As far as I am aware, Jutta Jokiranta is the first Dead Sea Scrolls scholar to apply CSR theories to Qumran literature. In an article from 2013, Jokiranta applies cognitive perspectives to the ritual life of the Qumran community. Her primary investigation centers around the notion of “tedium effect” as a possible disadvantage of frequently repeated rituals.

The Qumran community has been portrayed as a highly motivated religious group with a strong sense of closeness to God. At the same time, the literary evidence tells of a high density of repetitive ritual in the daily life of the community. This combination contradicts some cognitive theories suggesting that “ritual frequency and emotional intensity” are mutually exclusive, or opposing entities (ibid., 145–146).

An obvious example is the theory of two opposing Modes of Religiosity, the doctrinal and imagistic modes. In this context, the “tedium effect” is seen as a threat to the doctrinal tradition that relies on repetition for the transmission of extensive, complicated bodies of teaching (ibid., 146–148).

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16 This section describing Jokiranta’s work overlaps with a part of Chapter Four (Article 2).
As an alternative perspective to the Modes theory, Jokiranta cites Lawson and McCauley, who also regard emotional arousal and frequency of ritual as contrasts. Unlike Whitehouse, Lawson and McCauley point to the form of rituals to explain why some rituals are more frequently performed than others and they consider the involvement of “culturally postulated superhuman agents” as a crucial factor. Special agent rituals provoke strong emotions, because divine beings are perceived as the agents. This also renders the effect of the ritual permanent, and therefore the ritual is not performed on the same person more than once (ibid., 148–150).

Jokiranta nuances the understanding of the tedium effect, by including Boyer and Pierre Liénard’s distinction between ritualization and routinization. Routinization involves automatized behavior, which a person performs without thinking. Ritualization is another type of behavior, involving “compulsion, rigidity, internal repetition, and apparent lack of rational motivation.” Ritual behavior requires full and constant attention and cognitive control, in order to carry out the ritual correctly. Jokiranta suggests, based on Boyer and Liénard, that tedium effect may be connected to routinization rather than ritualization (ibid., 150–151).

According to Jokiranta, it would be a mistake to associate tedium effect with lack of emotion, since emotion, arguably, plays a central role in all rituals, and even frequently performed rituals produce emotional effects rather than boredom. Jokiranta also includes Czachesz’ suggestion that different kinds of religious experiences trigger different brain sections and functions, and therefore the connection between emotional arousal and memory might be more complex than suggested in the Modes theory. For example, emotionally charged experiences (e.g., visual shock) do not always lead to a more precise memory of details.

Against the backdrop of previous research, Jokiranta concludes that frequently repeated rituals are a way of preserving and transmitting “cognitively costly” traditions. In her view, ritualization or lack of emotional stimulus are not the causes of tedium effect: “Rather, the tedium effect has to do with the cognitive complexity and demanding nature of the instruction to be learned, which easily leads to frustration unless one is made to believe in a clear goal and rewards for participation or sanctions for non-participation” (Jokiranta 2013, 154).

Jokiranta’s investigation of Qumran literature centers around three cases of frequent rituals: 1) purification rituals, 2) Sabbath, and 3) meals and study (ibid., 155–162). With regard to purification ritual, she suggests that the covenant renewal ritual described in 1QS might be seen (in Lawson and McCauley’s terminology) as an enabling ritual establishing the efficiency of
subsequent purification rituals for community members. The ritual of covenant renewal (in 1QS) could also be understood as a special agent ritual, in so far as the blessings and curses pronounced by priests and Levites “were eventually realized by God and his work” (ibid., 157–158). The Sabbath ritual in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice is, according to Jokiranta, an example of a frequent (weekly) emotionally arousing ritual, which does not fit the imagistic category in the Modes theory. Jokiranta suggests that participants in the Sabbath ritual might have undergone an ecstatic experience, or alternatively they might have entered a meditative state of mind (ibid., 159). Finally, discussing the evidence for gatherings of community members including meals and scriptural study, Jokiranta proposes that the occurrence of punishment for visible expressions of boredom (e.g., sleeping, dozing, leaving meetings, etc.) shows that frustration might have been a factor. Reasons for frustration may have been the hierarchical structure (e.g., a member’s dependence on superior community member), compulsory study, and stern regulation of daily life. Yet another source of boredom might have been “lack of deference,” where members ceased believing in the intrinsic value or authoritative tradition of the rituals (ibid., 161–162).

6.3. Jutta Jokiranta: The Function of Blessings
In another contribution from 2017, Jokiranta applies CSR’s insight on the function of blessings. In this contribution, Jokiranta deals with blessings as communication and as actions (i.e., ritual). She discusses whether the translation of the Hebrew root בָּרָכָה (“to bless and to praise”) covers all the aspects of what the word implies (Jokiranta 2017, 28–29). Jokiranta criticizes the way magic has been interpreted in earlier biblical scholarship, as part of a three-stage development (i.e., magical, cultic, and ethical) in the process of understanding blessings and curses (ibid., 32). Inspired by speech act theory, later scholarship has regarded blessings as an act of speech where the words carry power in ritual circumstances. Eventually, Jokiranta turns her attention to blessings as actions (i.e., rituals).

For a more adequate and up-to-date conceptual understanding of blessings, Jokiranta draws on Jesper Sørensen’s theory of magic, which builds on the notion of ontological domains in the human mind and the mind’s ability to blend and mix these categories in unexpected ways. In this theory, there are two ideal types of magic: 1) manipulative magical action, effecting changes in one domain by manipulating elements in another domain (e.g., a voodoo doll or an evil eye) and 2) transformative magical action, transferring qualities from one domain to another domain (e.g., consuming the body of Christ in the Eucharist). Inspired by Sørensen’s magic theory, Jokiranta investigates if blessings as action include the
blending of domains, either by manipulative or by transformative magical actions in Qumran literature (ibid., 33–35).

Jokiranta investigates blessings as magical actions in several Qumran texts (e.g. 1QS, 1QSB, CD). As an example, she examines the Covenant Renewal ritual in 1QS on three levels, as agent-based, action-based, and object-based: 1) Agent-based, because the divinely appointed priests are the agents of performing the blessing. However, for the ritual’s efficiency the participants must act devotedly and obediently and the entire ritual must be enacted at the right time. 2) Action-based, because the words and actions of ritual invoke the mythical past but also provide space for adjustments if necessary. This is seen in the way the Aaronite blessing is adapted, elaborated, and turned into a curse.17 3) Object-based, because water is the means of purification (ibid., 38–45).

6.4. Carol A. Newsom: “An Introspective Self”

In an article from 2017, Carol A. Newsom attempts to trace the notion of an “introspective self” back to Jewish written sources from the Second Temple period. The idea of an introspective self has often been regarded as a phenomenon of Western culture, with its roots in ancient Greek thinking. Traditionally, the scholars of the Hebrew Bible have pointed to a “body-based” notion of self as predominant in First Temple sources. However, according to Newsom, this picture changes in the Second Temple period.

Building on observations of the self by Charles Taylor and the cognitive theory of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, Newsom notes that across cultures humans seem, to distinguish between the “I” (the subject) and the “selves” (the object) that the subject is able to observe and control (Newsom 2017, 64–65). Not all cultures, however, cultivate and develop this distinction and make the interior self an object of reflection. No such development of interiority is found in the Hebrew Scriptures. By contrast, Jewish texts from the first century BCE exhibit “models of an interior self.” These ancient Jewish models focus on moral agency, often in the form of first person prayers. The self becomes objectified in new ways, and certain aspects of the self appear problematic and alien to the observing subject (ibid., 65–66). Consequently, the idea of an inner conflict in man is enhanced. This can be observed in the Qumran composition Barki Nafshi, where the organs of cognition are objectified to a degree that leaves doubt about the agency of the subject (ibid., 68–69). The idea of an inner conflict is prominent in a number of Qumran texts that describe man as exposed to

17 The adaption of the Aaronite blessing in 1QS II, 2–9 is treated in Chapter Four (Article 2).
the influence of demonic spirits. The Two Spirits Treatise in 1QS expresses a particularly complex version of this view: Two opposing spirits operate within man, representing forces that are both psychological and cosmological. The text itself seems to address an “executive subject” that is able to observe the ongoing struggle, and is called upon to ally itself with the spirit of truth. The agency of this subject “is primarily knowledge about itself and about the cosmic drama of which it is a part” (ibid., 72).

More explicit speculations regarding demonic forces influencing the intentions and actions of humans are found in Jubilees and, above all, in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, where the notion of an executive and supervisory self is elaborated further (ibid., 73–76). The Qumran composition *Hodayot* represents another model of the introspective self, where focus shifts from the objects of knowing to the “activity of knowing,” or to the experience of the introspective self (ibid., 77–78).

Maxine L. Grossman, using Tanya Luhrmann’s ethnographical work, on religious consciousness among modern British witches and Evangelical Christians from The Vineyard movement, sheds light on some experiential features of selected Qumran texts (Grossman 2015, 310–313).

Grossman points to the lack of opportunity of directly observing and engaging with the religious practices of the Qumran Community and therefore she includes the text of Philo’s *Therapeutae* as a point of comparison. She finds Philo’s portrait of the *Therapeutae* useful as it focuses on describing individual and collective disciplinary techniques including isolation, intensive scriptural study, composition of new texts, meditative listening, and bodily reenactment of the Exodus experience (ibid., 313–316).

Using three functions of religious practices from Luhrman’s observations (i.e., silent patient listening, tolerance for public judgment, sensory overrides), Grossman analyzes passages from the Community Rule and Damascus Document. Features of silent patient listening occur in the rules for the “sessions of the many” where the participants are only allowed to speak when they are given permission, depending on their rank and the timing. This practice trains the members to wait patiently for their turn while listening to senior members. Tolerance of public judgement is exercised from the very beginning of every members’ admission into the community (ibid., 316–322).

As opposed to Luhrman’s ethnographical case studies where the religious members received divine messages directly, Grossman finds no direct evidence in Qumran texts for the same phenomenon. However, Grossman points out that the sectarians through their intensive mental training (i.e., patient listening and tolerance for judgment) would experience divine
revelation, probably through a medium of divine messengers or high-ranking community members (ibid., 322–323). Grossman sees this experiential approach as a useful supplement to a sociological interpretation of the discipline documented in Qumran texts. The disciplinary practices could be directed, not only at social control, but at enhancing the susceptibility for religious experience.

In an article from 2018, Brett Maiden explores the notion of psychological essentialism (inspired by experimental and developmental psychology and cognitive anthropology), in 1QS and the Two Spirits Treatise (TST).

The ability to think in different categories, such as fish, plants, and animals are developed in humans during early childhood. This prompts the tendency to assign a category-specific essence to any exemplar of a given category (e.g. a fish has the “fishness” as its essence) regardless of the external appearance (Maiden 2018, 41–45).

Maiden points to the human tendency of thinking in essentialist categories as an underlying mechanism structuring the dualistic worldview in 1QS, but more prominently expressed in TST. According to Maiden, the essentialist thinking is one of the major factors of the construction of in-group/out-group boundaries. The “sons of light” and the “sons of darkness” are presented as distinct species with different biological essences. The cosmic dualism in TST serves to uphold the boundaries of the community and bolster its sense of identity (ibid., 53). The function of psychological dualism, also present in TST, is to trigger enough anxiety in the members to police oneself and fellow community members (ibid.).

Maiden suggests that belonging to the in-group is defined by the species or the type of one’s spirit and not by one’s external characteristics or visible actions. Instead, one’s behavior is the result of one’s spirit. “Sons of darkness” act in wicked ways because of their essence as “sons of darkness,” they do not become “sons of darkness” due to their actions per se (ibid., 54).

Maiden sees this clearly demonstrated in the use of terms designating “natural” or “biological” categories (תולדות, מין) in TST (49–50). The essentialist perspective in TST is channeled through an intertextual interpretation of the creation accounts in Gen 1–3, which provides a rich terminology that could be understood in an essentialist manner (ibid., 55).

6.7. Travis B. Williams: Mnemonic Approach to the Teacher
In his book from 2019, Travis B. Williams investigates the mysterious figure, the Teacher of Righteousness, in the Pesharim scrolls from Qumran. Only a few of the scrolls (out of approximately 900 scrolls found at Qumran)
mention the Teacher of Righteousness and they include no direct biographical information on the Teacher’s life or his role in the community (Williams 2019, 1-2).

In the early scholarship, investigations have focused on historically reconstructing the life and the influence of the Teacher. This resulted in an understanding of the Teacher as a central figure in the community who instructed and directed the community both during his lifetime but also in death. Many scholars have believed that the identification of the Teacher’s identity is the key to understanding the real origins and circumstances of the community (ibid., 3-4). Even though scholars have disagreed on who the Teacher was, they have agreed on approaching the challenge of identifying the figure through “the task of historical reconstruction” using the historical criticism approach. According to Williams, this traditional approach was based on historical positivism (ibid., 8). However, recent approaches to the scrolls have shifted their focus from historical origin to how the community has experienced these writings (ibid., 9). In spite of the recent approaches to the question of the Teacher, Williams holds that no “alternative interpretive framework for understanding the ancient sources as witnesses to the (authors’) past” has yet been provided (ibid., 20). Consequently, Williams proposes a new way of historical investigation by including memory theory as a supplement to the historical.

According to Williams, extrication of the right historical data from the source needs a correct understanding of the mnemonic evidences. By investigating the cultural environment and historical condition where the memories were shaped while understanding the way these memories were preserved and passed on to the community, we are better suited to give a probable picture of the historical past. By challenging the current historical and mnemonic approaches to research on the Dead Sea Scrolls and by offering a new theory of memory, Williams engages with the mnemonic evidence concerning the Teacher (ibid.).

In his methodological chapter on memory theory (chapter 3), Williams refers primarily to theories of collective and cultural memory (Maurice Halbwachs, Jan Assmann, Barry Schwartz). In a later chapter (8), Williams deals with the “scripturalizing” of the Teacher’s life that can be observed in the scrolls: The Teacher is understood in terms of motifs and passages from the Hebrew Scriptures. Williams uses Schwartz’ notion of “framing and keying.” Framing means that events from the past are used as a framework interpreting the present circumstances. Keying means that particular phenomena of the present are interpreted by means of models of the past (ibid., 202–205). Moreover, he introduces the theory, advocated first and foremost by Frederic C. Bartlett, that memories are not simply received and
stored in the brain, but interpreted and structured according to preexisting cognitive schemas or knowledge frameworks that help organizing the memories into comprehensible and coherent unities (ibid., 205–207). Williams further points to neuroscientific research that supports and nuances our understanding of the encoding and consolidation process of memories through cognitive schemas (ibid., 207–211). Functionally, the schemas process information through selection, abstraction, interpretation, and finally integration into existing schemas (or, if necessary, into a new schema) (ibid., 212–216). Cognitive schemas are developed and acquired in a given cultural environment, and in the context of Second Temple Judaism the Hebrew Scriptures would have provided the most prominent available framework for people’s understanding of their world. It is therefore not surprising that the followers of the Teacher would have keyed their experience to scriptural models (ibid., 216–220).

Using memory theory on the references to the Teacher in the Pesharim, Williams concludes that the profile of the Teacher as “an authoritative instructor” remains unchanged, which witnesses to a well-established legacy of the Teacher’s role by the time the Pesharim were composed (ibid., 314–315).

6.8. Angela Kim Harkins: Immersive Reading

Angela Kim Harkins has recently published an article, where Hodayot (1QHa) is approached from the perspective of cognitive literary theory to explore the phenomenon of immersive reading (Harkins 2020, 353). Critical literary theory has focused on the embodied experience of reading, which includes features as enactive reading, enactive perception, and the effect of the first person speaker in the text.

Harkins points to two factors that cause the experience of immersion in the text. By focusing on the descriptions of narrative spaces in 1QHa that have counterintuitive features (e.g., the garden landscape and occurrence of angels), Harkins shows how these descriptions are not only means to set the stage for the narrative. As the narrative introduces surprising and destabilizing elements, the reader is prompted to revisit the text at a slower pace (ibid., 367).

The second factor is enactive reading in combination with the first-person speaker which can cause an experience of immersive reading. Descriptions of bodily sensory experiences in the narrative may trigger cognitive processing areas in the mind that relate to proprioceptive experiences (e.g., a sense of bodily movement) and interoceptive experiences (e.g., pain, thirst, and hunger). By activating these processes in the mind, the reader becomes immersed in the narrative (ibid., 360). Harkins sees elements of interoceptive
experiences in 1QHa’s description of the psalmist’s inner pain as “a burning fire” in his bones (ibid., 363–364). Such experiences of proprioception occur in the descriptions of the psalmist body’s interaction with the garden landscape (ibid., 364–366). By drawing on the cognitive literary theory that shows how the immersive reading not only effects the mind but to a high degree also the body, Harkins shows how the ancient reader could have experienced reciting a composition like 1QHa (ibid., 366–368).

The purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate the emergence of CSR from its early steps to its applicability in biblical studies and, in particular, the investigation of Qumran material. The studies surveyed in this chapter show the relevance and promise of a CSR approach. I see further possibilities for fruitfully integrating this approach with a more text-focused in-depth analysis. This requires reading the text with a combination of cognitive and exegetical analysis.
Chapter Three

Research Question 1: How does the Two Spirits Treatise combine stability and change through its intertextuality with Genesis 1–3?

This chapter, which has been submitted as an article to the Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha, presents an examination of the well-recognized connections between the creation narratives in Gen 1–3 and TST (1QS III, 13–IV, 26). The focus in this part of the thesis is on philological and exegetical approaches.

Working on TST, I set out to investigate the intertextual relation between this section and Gen 1–3, a connection that has been pointed out by several scholars. Building on this well-established insight, I concluded that two further perspectives could be added:

First, TST is driven by a particular cycle of time, which is present in all parts of TST. Past, present, and future are connected both in linear direction and crosswise. Secondly, TST describes a two-fold process of creation including the creation of mankind (III, 17c–25a) and the creation of the spirits (III, 25b–IV, 14). The two-fold presentation of creation in TST seems to mirror the two creation accounts in Gen 1 and 2.

Paying close attention to the intertextual relation between TST and the creation accounts in Genesis reveals how TST makes creative use of Gen 1–3. The myth-like narrative of TST seems at the same time very familiar and very different. TST rewrites the Genesis creation accounts by means of stability and change. Words, concepts and plot, that the reader must have been acquainted with, are sometimes used in one to one correspondences and sometimes with a completely different significance. For instance, TST transforms the central theme of knowledge from a point of conflict between man and God (Gen 2–3) into the essential condition between man (“all sons of light”) and “God of Knowledge.”
Article 1: The Two Spirits Treatise and Creative Usage of Genesis 1–3

1. Introduction
In this article, I present a new reading of the Two Spirits Treatise (TST) in the Community Rule from Qumran, by focusing on TST’s well-recognized connection to the creation narratives in Genesis 1–3. Primarily, I point to two aspects of TST that stand out when we view TST in light of Genesis 1–3: First, TST is driven by a complex notion of time as both linear and cyclical. Second, TST presents the creation as a two-fold process.

The text of TST occupies one and a half columns (III, 13–IV, 26) out of the eleven columns in the Community Rule (1QS). This intriguing passage has been the focus of numerous investigations. Scholars have discussed the redaction process of TST with respect to the section itself and its place within the composition of the Community Rule. Notions regarding the text’s position on anthropology, predestination, origins of morality, dualistic worldview, and eschatology are some among the many intensely debated issues in TST. Moreover, the question of which ideologies and traditions have been the inspiring factors behind the formation of TST has been extensively debated.

Several scholars have noticed the affinities between the creation narratives in Gen 1–3 and TST. While some see this connection as less important, others have emphasized the intertextual dimension as a way of deepening our understanding of both texts. Relying on the latter position, I aim to demonstrate TST’s extensive creative engagement with Gen 1–3. TST is not a replication of the Genesis accounts (Cf. Newsom 2004; Maiden 2018; Schwartz 2020). TST uses the familiar mythical material of the creation narratives in Gen 1–3 for its purpose to instruct and transmit a message. It plays extensively with the Genesis creation accounts, widening the boundaries of interpretation. TST’s relation to Gen 1–3 has been observed in terms of similar vocabulary and shared themes. As TST takes up some of the

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18 Carol A. Newsom compares TST to Gen 1 and draws the conclusion that the existence of TST requires the two texts to be read in light of each other. TST, according to Newsom, establishes itself as a “pretext” to Gen 1. I agree with Newsom’s description: “The text of 1QS 3–4 cannot be said to be an exegesis of Genesis 1 in any straightforward sense. The individual words are not necessarily used in comparable contexts. But the thick cross-referencing of vocabulary suggests that one cannot fully understand 1QS 3–4 without understanding its relationship to Genesis 1. It presupposes Genesis 1 as ‘already read,’ to borrow Roland Barthes’ phrase” (Newsom 2004, 86). Brett E. Maiden also emphasizes the transformation of expressions borrowed from Gen 1–3 and attempts to show how TST by adapting these vocabulary promotes an essentialist worldview (Maiden 2018). The close relation between TST and Gen 1–3 has recently been emphasized by Schwartz 2020.
central themes of the Genesis creation accounts, it radically transforms topics such as the purpose of mankind and the notion of knowledge. TST’s dependency on Gen 1–3 shows itself not only in the shared views, but also in the ways TST diverges from the Genesis accounts.

It is an established position within biblical scholarship that the creation narratives in Genesis chapters 1 and 2 each exhibits its own distinctive order and its own particular focus. The first narrative (Gen 1–2:4a, a text associated with the P-source) tells the story of the creation of the universe in a systematic and orderly manner. This creation is described from a high angle perspective, conveying a sense of the universe taking shape one day at a time. The process unfolds within 7 days, and the progression of days creates a notion of time. The second creation narrative (Gen 2:4b–25, traditionally assigned to the J-source) is depicted from a low angle perspective. It zooms in on the dry land and portrays mankind’s creation and how this creation effects the entire process of creation. Here the concept of time is utterly absent.

Dependent on the creation accounts in Genesis, TST presents an elucidation of the origins of man (תולדות כל בני איש). To this well-established fact, I propose adding the following two perspectives:

- I suggest that TST exhibits a notion of time that is linear as well as circular. Time in TST extends not only from the past (i.e., the beginning), through the present, and to the future (i.e., the end), but it also continually connects past, present, and future crosswise. In the following, I argue that TST can be divided into four parts: Part One (III, 13–17b: Introduction), Part Two (III, 17c–25a: mankind’s creation), Part Three (III, 25b–IV, 14: the spirits’ creation), and Part Four (IV, 15–26: Eschatological conclusion). By its own distinctive focus, each of these four parts exhibits this cycle from beginning to end.
- I suggest that Part Two (III, 17c–25a) and Part Three (III, 25b–IV, 14) present two aspects of the creation connoting the two creation accounts in Genesis 1 and 2. In TST, part two focuses on mankind’s creation, and part three focuses on the spirits’ creation.

2. Scope and Limits of this Study
As previously mentioned, discussions regarding TST’s redaction process and its way into 1QS have received much attention. The discovery of fragments related to the 1QS manuscript in caves 4, 5, and 11 prompted an ongoing
debate on this process. Nevertheless, the only context where the entire text of TST occurs is in the composition of 1QS from cave 1. Some scholars view TST as a coherent part of 1QS or as a later addition designed to fill a gap in 1QS (Kratz 2011, 219–220; Porzig 2019). Other scholars regard the text as a separate composition that finds its way into 1QS at some point (Stegemann 1988; Lange 1995; Metso 1997). However, in this article my focus is on the extant text of TST as it is preserved in 1QS.

Another debated area with regards to TST, has been its relation to other Qumran material. Some scholars view TST as an early “pre-sectarian” text adopted by the Qumran community (Stegemann 1988, 125–128; Lange 1995) while others maintain that TST is a late highly developed version of the “sectarian” Qumranic ideology (Collins 2007; Porzig 2019).

Furthermore, relevant topics such as dualism, predestination, and eschatology have also been revisited by scholars. The investigations of these topics have contributed extensively to our understanding of TST. However, in the present study, my aim is rather more modest. I focus on the intertextual relations between TST and Gen 1–3, conducting a close reading of TST from this perspective. I do not engage with the scholarly debate on the notions “rewritten Bible” or “rewriting.” By dependency, I only refer to the well-established position that TST deliberately adapts language and notions from the creation accounts in Genesis. There is of course a huge difference in time between the two texts, and we cannot be certain of how the Genesis accounts were understood when TST was composed (over time). However, the intertextual relation between these two texts seems to be an important aspect that deserves to be revisited.

19 For an overview of this debate, see Hempel 2010; Hempel 2015; Hempel 2020, 97–103; Jokiranta and Vanonen 2015; Newsom 2004, 103–107; Metso 1997; Metso 2007; Metso 2019.

20 Minor parts of TST are found in the papyrus manuscript 4Q257 and possibly in another papyrus manuscript, 4Q255. Eibert J. C. Tichelaar has been able to reassign two fragments formerly assigned to 4Q487 and 4Q502 to 4Q257, fragment 5 (Tichelaar 2001), 194). Furthermore, Tichelaar has proposed that a small fragment from Cave 1 (published originally as a part of “Tongues of Fire (1Q29)”, now relabeled 1Q29a), might be an alternative version of the Two Spirits Treatise (Tichelaar 2004, 529–548). Cf. Hempel 2020, 98.
I have structured the article as follows: Translation, paraphrase, a schematic overview of shared vocabulary between TST and Gen 1–3, exegetical analysis of TST (divided in four parts), and conclusion.

3. Translation of TST (1QS III, 13–IV, 26)

vacat (13) For the teacher, to instruct and teach all sons of light about the origins of all sons of man (14) with regard to all species of their spirits that are manifested in their signs, with regard to their deeds throughout their generations, and with regard to the visitation of their afflictions together with (15) their times of peace. From God of knowledge is everything that is and everything that comes into being, and before their being he established all their plans, (16) and in their being to their appointed times according to his glorious plan they will fulfill their deeds and this cannot be altered. In his hand are the regulations of all things and he supports them in all their wishes. He created man for the dominion of the world. He placed for him two spirits so he could walk in them until the appointed time for his visitation. They are the spirits of truth and deceit, from the

21 My translation is built on digital photos published by The Israel Museum. I have further consulted Metso 2019; García Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997; Qimron and Charlesworth 1994; Hempel 2020. I have chosen to offer a translation that reflects my understanding of TST.

22 The focus of my analysis is on the connection to Genesis 1–3 and the cycle of time.

23 I translate תולדות as “origins.” See my comments in the analysis.

24 The masculine suffix of could refer to either sons of men or the spirits. Within the context of TST the “spirits” (רוחות) seem to be sometimes feminine and sometimes masculine in plural, cf. “to walk in them” (להתהלך בם) in III, 18 with masculine suffix. In IV, 2 the suffix is feminine (רוחות).


26 In Hos 9:7 both פקודת (“visitation”) and שלום (“retribution”) occur. TST probably understands שלום as meaning ‘their peace’ as reward. The point is that punishments and rewards are contrasted.

27 Niphal participle, it can have both future and past meaning. Wernberg-Møller (1957, 68) suggests that perhaps the temporal aspect is not foregrounded here, so it can mean “coming into being” at any time.

28 The scribe of 1QS apparently used he instead of het in משבתם in III, 15 but in next line (III, 16) het is used.

29 I translate משמות here and in IV, 18 as “regulations.” The word could also be rendered “qualities,” “ways of behaving,” or the like. See Wernberg-Møller 1957, 69. However, a central point in TST is that the ways all creature act and perform are strictly regulated by God of Knowledge.
spring\(^{30}\) of light truth originates and from the spring of darkness deceit originates. (20) In the hand of the prince of lights is the dominion of all the sons of righteousness, they shall walk on the paths of light. And in the hand of the angel (21) of darkness is all the dominion of the sons of deceit and on the paths of darkness shall they walk. And, by the angel of darkness (22) are all the sons of righteousness misled. And all their sins and their inequities and their guilt and their wrongdoings are in his dominion (23) in accordance with the mysteries of God until his end. And all their afflictions and the appointed times of their oppressions are in his resentful\(^{31}\) dominion. (24) And all the spirits of his lot will cause the sons of light to stumble, and the God of Israel and the angel of his truth are a help\(^{32}\) to all (25) sons of light. And he created spirits of light and darkness and upon them he founded every deed and (26) on their paths every service, and on their paths every service.\(^{33}\) One of them God loves for all (1) eternal times, and in all her deeds he delights forever. The other, he abhors her counsel, and all her ways he hates forever. \textit{vacat}\(^{2}\) And these are their paths on earth to enlighten the heart of man and to make right before him all the paths of true justice and to cause fear in his heart by God’s (3) regulations. And it is a spirit of humbleness and patience, and great compassion, and eternal goodness, and knowledge and insight and powerful wisdom trusting in all (4) God’s doings, and relying on his great faithfulness, and a spirit of knowledge in every plan of action, and eagerness for righteous regulations, and a sacred (5) plan with dedicated intention, and great faithfulness towards all sons of truth, and a glorious purity abhorring all impure idols and restrained walking (6) in cleverness regarding everything, and concealment\(^{34}\) of truth of the mysteries of knowledge. \textit{vacat}\(^{2}\) These are counsels of the spirit to the world’s sons of truth. And the visitation of all those who walk in her will be healing (7) and great peace with long life, and fruitful offspring with all blessings forever, and everlasting joy in eternal life and a crown of glory (8) with a reward of splendor in eternal light.

\(^{30}\) It is difficult to discern if the scribe wrote \(משנה\) ("spring") or \(משכן\) ("dwelling-place," “abode”). From the digital photos of 1QS it looks very much like a \(waw\) and not \(yod\) in this section. But two different words for “spring” would fit the context better.

\(^{31}\) The word \(משמה\) ("enmity," “hostility”) is a \textit{hapax legomenon} in the Hebrew Scriptures and occurs only in Hos 9:7.8. The word is used in DSS material (and other ancient Jewish writings) as a proper name for Satan.

\(^{32}\) \(עזר\) should most probably not be analyzed as a verb in the perfect (“helped” or “has helped”) but either as a noun (“a help,” cf. Gen 2:18.20) or perhaps as a participle. See my comments in the analysis.

\(^{33}\) The words \(ועל דרכיהן כל עבודה\) are repeated in 1QS. This is probably a scribal mistake. However, the repetition could also be understood as emphasizing that God founded “every service” on the paths of both the spirit of light and the spirit of darkness.

\(^{34}\) I understand the word \(חבא\) as an infinitive or a verbal noun.
And to the spirit of deceit is vast greed and carelessness in the service of righteousness, and evil and treachery, pride and arrogant heart, lying and deceit, cruelty and (10) great hypocrisy, impatience, and great folly, and eagerness of immodesty, detestable deeds in the spirit of adultery, and polluted paths in the service of impurity, (11) and a blaspheming tongue, blinded eyes, a deaf ear, a stiff neck, and a hard heart causing to wander in all the ways of darkness, and an evil cleverness. And the visitation (12) of all those who walk in her will be plenty of afflictions by the hand of all angels of destruction, causing eternal annihilation by the raging anger of the God of vengeance, to eternal terror, and everlasting (13) shame with the dishonor of destruction, in the fire of the dark places. And all their times for the their generations will be in dreadful sorrow and bitter misery in the depths of darkness until (14) their destruction till there is none left for them and no remnant. 

(15) In these are the origins of all sons of man and in their divisions all their hosts in their generations will inherit, and in their paths they will walk and all their deed (16) that they do are in their divisions according to every man’s inheritance, either great or small, for all eternal times. For God established them part by part until the end (17) time. Moreover, he gave eternal enmity between their divisions. An abomination for truth are the deeds of deceit and an abomination for deceit are all the paths of truth. And an eager (18) conflict is upon all their regulations, for they do not walk together. And God in his insightful mysteries and in his glorious wisdom gave an end time to the existence of deceit. And at the appointed time (19) of visitation he will destroy it for eternity. Then shall truth come forth on earth forever\(^{35}\) for it has polluted itself in paths of wickedness in the evil dominion until (20) the appointed time for judgement, which has been decided. Then God will purify in his truth all man’s deeds. He will refine for himself some of the sons of man, to end all spirit of the deceit from within (21) his flesh, and to cleanse in the holy spirit from all the deeds of evil, and he will sprinkle\(^{36}\) upon him the spirit of truth like the water

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\(^{35}\) could also be rendered as “in splendor” (Cf. Hinojosa 2016, 83). The phrase echoes Hab 1:4 (ולא יצא לנצח משפט). \(^{36}\) The verb וּזָּה is difficult to translate. The form looks either like a consecutive imperfect or a jussive. None of these possibilities fits the context which is clearly future. The form could be interpreted as non-classical imperfect with the conjunction waw. I choose the later interpretation. I am grateful for the help and suggestions of my colleague Kasper Siegismund. See Siegismund 2018, 209.
of impurity (cleansing) from all the deceitful abomination, and defilement\(^{37}\) in the spirit of impurity, in order to make the righteous comprehend in the knowledge of the Most High, and those who walk perfectly will understand the wisdom of the sons of heaven, for God has chosen them for an eternal covenant. (23) And to them will be all Adam’s glory, and there shall be no deceit; and all the deeds of treachery shall turn to shame. Until then the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit will struggle in the heart of man. (24) They will walk either in wisdom or folly, in accordance with the inheritance of man in truth and justice\(^{38}\), and thus he will hate deceit. And according to his share in the lot of deceit he will be wicked by it, and thus (25) he will abhor truth. For part by part God established them until the decided end time and the new making. He knows their deeds that they are doing until all the end times of (26) […] and he has given them as inheritance to the sons of man to discern good […] casting lot for every living being according to his spirit in […] the visitation.

4. Paraphrase
TST (1QS III, 15–IV, 26) can be analyzed as falling into four parts: 1) Part One, III, 13–17b: Introduction; 2) Part Two, III, 17c–25a: Mankind’s creation; 3) Part Three, III, 25b–IV, 14: The Spirits’ creation; 4) Part Four, IV, 15–26: Eschatological conclusion.\(^{39}\)

The following analysis is based on literary markers in the text. Part Two III, 17c and Part Three III, 25b introduce the creation of mankind and the spirits with exactly parallel sentences (והovah בָּרָא, “and he created…”). In my view, Part Two and Part Three present God’s creation from two different vantage points. Both parts use the third person personal pronoun to emphasize the divine agency, and they use the theologically charged word בָּרָא, which is used relatively seldom both in the Hebrew scriptures and in Qumran literature. The use of perfects indicate narration of significant past events. In both cases (III, 17c and III, 25b) the narration of God’s creative

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\(^{37}\) I understand this verb (והתגולל) as an infinitive.

\(^{38}\) וּозвращает ("and justice") could also be read as לָא עָרֵץ ("he will be just"). With the latter reading, the word would belong to next sentence, and constitute a contrast to רָשִׁע ("he will be wicked") in III, 24. Metso 2020, and Wernberg-Møller 1957 read לָא עָרֵץ while García Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997, and Hempel 2020 read לָא עָרֵץ.

\(^{39}\) Hempel (2020, 101–11) divides TST into six parts: 1) III, 13–15a; 2) III, 15b–18a; 3) III, 18b–IV, 1; 4) IV, 2–8; 5) IV, 9–14; 6) IV, 15–26. Hinojosa (2016, 69) analyzes TST as consisting of four parts: 1) III, 13–IV, 1; 2) IV, 2–8; 3) IV, 9–14; and 4) IV, 15–26. She bases her division of the text on scribal markings (blank spaces and hooks) in 1QS manuscript. I agree with Hempel and Hinojosa in regarding IV, 15–26 as one section, but my analysis of III, 13–IV, 14 differs from both proposals. My paraphrase is based on the literary structure of the text. The occurrence of scribal markings in 1QS is not consistent throughout the manuscript and their significance is uncertain.
act is followed by more descriptive discourse.\textsuperscript{40} The creation of mankind is followed by a description of how humans walk on the paths of light or darkness, and the creation of the spirits is followed by a description of their paths in the world. Thus, I regard the description of the “paths” of the two spirits in IV, 2–14 as a description that unfolds the creation of the spirits of light and darkness, and not as a separate section. I agree with most scholars that IV, 15 (בֵּאֵלה תֹּלְדוֹת אֵלֶּה בָּנֵי אַשִּׁיָּה) introduces a new section, summing up the relation between the “origins of all sons of man” and the two spirits. This structure will be elaborated and clarified through the following exegetical analysis.

\textit{Part One, III, 13–17b: Introduction}
13–15a 1A) \textit{Maskil} has to teach all sons of light about the origins of all sons of man – with regard to 1) their spirits 2) their actions and 3) their punishment and reward.
15b–17b 1B) Every being is designed and designated by God of Knowledge. Before they came into being, he had established their plans according to his glorious plan. They will fulfill their tasks at their appointed time with no alteration.

\textit{Part Two, III, 17c–25a: Mankind’s creation}
17c–18c mankind’s creation
18d – 19 the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit
20 the prince of lights and mankind
20c– 24a the angel of darkness and mankind
24b–25a divine help

\textit{Part Three, III, 25a–IV, 14: The spirits’ creation}
25b–26a the spirits’ creation
26b–IV, 1 – the relationship between God and the spirits – one he loves and the other he hates.
2a the spirits’ way and effect in the world
2b–8 the spirit of light and its features
\hspace{1em} 2b–6a description of the influence of the spirit of light
\hspace{1em} 6b–8 the outcome of the spirit of light – it brings healing, a long peaceful life, a crown of glory and a garment of honor.

\textsuperscript{40} Some scholars have suggested that IV, 2–14 represents an addition to an original shorter text of TST (Christian 2019). I do not disagree with the position that TST has been through a process of redaction and growth. Nevertheless, I see IV, 2–14 in the present context functioning as an elaboration of God’s creation of the spirits.
9–14 the spirit of deceit and its features
   9–11b description of the influence of spirit of deceit
   11c–14 the outcome of the spirit of deceit – it brings total destruction

*Part Four, IV, 15–26: Eschatological conclusion*

15–26 the origin, the present and the future of all sons of man is shaped by
   the spirits
   15–16b the relation between mankind and the spirits
   16c–20a the relation between God and the spirits – with focus of end of
   the spirit of deceit
   20b–23a the relation between mankind and God – with focus on the
   eschatological future
   23b–26 recapitulation – the relation between God, mankind and the
   spirits

5. An overview of shared vocabulary between TST and Gen 1–3

The following overview illustrates the high degree of overlap between the
   vocabulary of TST and that of Gen 1–3.\(^{41}\) The extensive amount of shared
   vocabulary demonstrates that TST deliberately alludes to, and uses Gen 1–3.
While the differences in genre and historical background between the two
texts cannot be overlooked, and the exact nature of the intertextual relation
between TST and Gen 1–3 may be difficult to assess, it seems worthwhile to
follow the lead of Newsom and Schwartz and explore TST from this
perspective. I believe that the dependence on Gen 1–3 can be pursued further
and I attempt to demonstrate the significance of the intertextual relation
through a reading of TST and a closer inspection of the most important
notions and expressions it shares with Gen 1–3. Since a great number of
important terms occur in the introduction (III, 13–17b), I will deal with them
as I go through this section.

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\(^{41}\) The overview does not include extremely common lexemes such as simple
conjunctions, or the word כל.
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42 In Gen 1:3.5.6.8.14.15.19.23.31, היה occurs twice.
6. Exegetical analysis of TST

TST lays upon the *maskil* (למשכיל) to teach and instruct “all sons of light” (תולדות כל בני איש) about “the origins of all sons of man.” The designation “all sons of light” points to the selected group who are qualified receivers of the universal message that concerns “the origins of all sons of man.”

Through a symbolic language TST presents an abstract ontological reality that is the fundamental premise for mankind. The terms describing the plot in TST are at the same time vague and precise. The creator, his cosmos, and the inhabitants are defined in rigid categories in mutual opposition. The agents in TST (e.g. “sons of light,” “sons of darkness,” “prince of lights,” “angel of darkness,” etc.) are unchangeable archetypes. The tone of TST is
universal, and not bound to any historical event or occasion. From the perspective and for the purpose of TST it is relevant at any time. To exemplify, the *maskil* is a steadfast anonymous sage who is obligated to teach. It is unclear whether the *maskil*’s position is a onetime phenomenon or a continuous office. The same applies to the *maskil*’s pupils (“all sons of light”). It is unclear whether they are a fixed group in time or a continuous reappearing group.

In comparison to TST, the language in Gen 1–3 is rather simple. The process of creation in Gen 1 is defined by a dividing and classifying language using taxonomical categories such as earth and heaven, night and day, plants and seeds, creatures of the skies and creatures of the waters, cattle and wildlife, man and woman. The mode of expression is relatively uncomplicated and almost didactically childlike: ‘See, there is a sun or here is a bird – and then he saw that it was good.’ Gen 2–3 gets more complex as mythological elements enter the narrative: A talking clever serpent, cherubs with fiery swords and trees that produce knowledge of good and evil and make one youthful forever. However, this is still less puzzling than the narrative in TST, which displays an even higher level of complexity. Anthropological, psychological, and theological tendencies permeate the narrative of TST in an indissoluble blend. As a recipient, one understands that there has always been and must always be a distinction between light and darkness (good and evil). This is relevant at any given time. But exactly how this is relevant and how this should be understood is a more complicated matter.


*Part One* (1A III, 13–15a and 1B III, 15b –17b) introduces the agenda of TST, which is to reveal the plan of “God of Knowledge” for all beings so “all sons of light” may live and act in accordance with this insight.

A cycle of time that ranges from beginning to end is repeated in every part of TST. In *Part One* this cycle is presented as God of Knowledge’s fixed *a priori* plan for all beings. This plan gives structure to all beings’ present and forms their eschatological future.

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43 Hinojosa interprets the “prince of lights” as well as the “angel of darkness” as representing historical figures such as political and/or religious leaders (Hinojosa, 2016, 75).

44 For the discussion on the identity of maskil see Hempel 2020, 111 in note 89.
6.1.1. 1A, III, 13–15a: The Three Lamed Prepositions (Present, Past and Future)

The introduction (1A) begins with a nominal sentence, dominated by infinitives (להבין וללמד), laying upon the maskil to instruct “all sons of light” about the “origins of all sons of man” (תולדות כל בני איש). This is immediately specified as comprising three points defined by the three lamed-prepositions (לכל מיני רוחותם, לעמעשיהם בדורותם, ولפקודת נגועיהם עם קצי שלומם).

The three prepositional clauses point to three intertwined levels of time: The first lamed preposition “with regard to all species of their spirits that are manifested in their signs” (לכול מיני רוחותם באותותם) is concerned with the recipients’ knowledge about the present. “All sons of light” have to learn about their origins by observing the signs of all kinds of spirits that are visible in deeds of humans. The second lamed preposition “with regard to their deeds throughout their generations” (למעשיהם בדורותם) is a reference to the past. The term בדורותם points to the actions of previous generations. These actions are the consequences of mankind’s participation in either one or the other spirit. The deeds of previous generations and their interaction with the spirits cause an ongoing chain effect. Different passages in 1QS witness to a similar view that the consequences of the forefathers’ guilt and sins effect the present generation.45 The third preposition “with regard to the visitation of their afflictions together with their times of peace” (לפקודת נגועיהם עם קצי שלומם) points to the eschatological end. Depending on the interaction between the spirits and mankind, the visitation awaits either as punishment in the time of their affliction (נגועיהם), or as reward in the time of their peace (קצי שלומם). The term פקודת signals the eschatological end, and the eschatological perspective is more elaborated in the 6 other occurrences of פקודת in TST.46

6.1.2 1B, III, 15b–17b: The Perfect Design

A perfect process of design is depicted in III, 15b–17b which repeats the time cycle found in III, 13–15a. The perfect design is an eternally prearranged and unchangeable relation between the creator (“God of Knowledge,” אל הדעות) and his creation (“all the beings,” כל יהיו נשים). The fundamental premise of TST is that “God of Knowledge” is the source and architect behind everything (that was, is and will be). He is responsible for every being from before their beginning to their end. Everything fulfills its task in line with God’s plan at the appointed time with no room for alteration.

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45 1QS I, 22–26 witnesses to a similar view of the significance of the forefathers’ guilt.
46 1QS III, 14; III, 18; IV, 6; IV, 11; IV, 19 and IV, 26.
The result of God of Knowledge’s creation is described in its full extent in three stages. Each stage corresponds to a dimension of time: 1) the first stage is the present, all being’s here and now (מלא הדעות כול הויה ונהיה), 2) the second stage is the past (ולפני היותם הכין כולה למחשבתם), and 3) the third stage is the future (ימלאו פעולתם). The absolute dependence of everything on “God of Knowledge” is expressed in a nominal sentence (מלא הודעת כל הויה ונהיה, III, 15b). The divine act of establishing is related in the perfect tense (הכין, III, 15), while the ongoing activity of the creation and of God are described using imperfets (ימלאו, III, 16 – כלכל, III, 17). This three-fold timeframe that concerns all beings’ present, past, and future corresponds to the three lamed-prepositions in III, 14–15a that divide and structure the plot of TST in present, past, and future.

6.1.3. Origins

The term תולדות is a comprehensive notion covering several aspects and connotes Gen 2:4 ( אלה תולדות השמים והארץ בהבראם). The timeframes in Gen 1 and 2 are occupied with beginnings of the cosmos. In TST the timeframe depicts not only the beginning but also the present and most definitely the future. The temporal focus is on the origins of “all sons of man,” but this origin and its consequences determine the current situation and also the future for all creation.

As previously mentioned, Gen 1 contains taxonomical language dividing, structuring, and naming the cosmos, but this taxonomy is less complicated than the one found in TST. In TST the beginning of moral knowledge and performance lies at the baseline of “the origins of all sons of man” (תולדות כל בני איש, III, 14). According to Shane Berg, “the Discourse [=TST] goes beyond merely extolling and prescribing certain kinds of behavior insofar as it also addresses the question of the origin and causation of every kind of moral performance” (Berg 2009, 100). I concur with Berg in this observation but I would like to nuance the understanding of the taxonomy in TST. In TST the origins of moral knowledge and moral performance implies a cosmological distinction between “kinds” or “species” of spirits (לכל מיני רוחותם). The existence of different spirits and their interaction with mankind necessitates a series of qualifications and graduations, both with regard to spirits and mankind. When different kinds of spirits influence humans’ action, a scale between the poles of good and evil emerges. This creates a new form of taxonomy that is not only about species, but about how good a

47 The word reappears in 1QS III, 19; IV, 15.
species is to complete its purpose. Throughout TST, the taxonomical distinction is between species and levels of good and evil. This complexity goes way beyond what is found in Gen 1.

6.1.4. Spirits
Alongside God and humans, the spirits (רוחותם) are another reoccurring central character throughout TST. The spirits connote the spirit of God in Gen 1:2 (רוח אלהים מרחפת על פני המים). Both in Genesis 1 and TST the spirit/s occur before any act of creation is initiated. In Gen 1:2 God’s spirit is hovering over the waters before he begins to create. TST (Part Two, mankind’s creation III, 17–18) informs us that man is created and the spirits are set for him. This gives the impression that the spirits were created before mankind. This sequence is strongly supported by the beginning of the spirits’ creation in Part Three (III, 25–26), where it is explicitly pointed out that God created the spirits and “upon them he founded every deed” (ועליהון יסד כל מעשה).

In III, 18 the spirits are created from the beginning as mankind’s companions. They are intimately associated with the origins, but they are also present in humans’ current now and define their path. The interaction between the spirits and humans has been a recurrent topic in the scholarly debate. How are spirits and mankind connected and how do they interact? Is the struggle between the spirits located within mankind itself or outside? Is this a psychological or a cosmological struggle? What seems to be important is that the two spirits govern humans’ moral performance regardless of whether the spirits are psychological (inner guiding phenomena in mankind) or cosmological (external regulating elements).

6.1.5. Signs
The signs of the spirits (אותותם) connotes Genesis 1:14 (והיו לאותת ולמועדים). This verse shares a common vocabulary with TST (מועד, אותה, שמים). There seems to be a similarity between the way אתות function in Gen 1:14 and in TST III, 14. In Gen 1:14 it is the heavenly lights that are called אותה. They are installed to divide day from night. By switching from day to night and vice versa, they create order, and schedule time by causing the calendric functions showing the seasons, days and years. In TST III, 14, אתות function to distinguish between the spirits of light and darkness, as אתות in Gen 1:14 divide day from night. In both contexts אתות serve as tools of discerning and creating order and categories. The connection between the

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48 This important discussion is not the focus of my analysis but see Levison 2006; Popović 2016; Maiden 2018.
49 Newsom have also observed the correspondence between the signs in TST and in Gen 1:14 (Newsom 2004, 87).
“signs” in TST III, 14 and Genesis 1:14 gains further support by Berg’s observation that elsewhere in the Qumran material refer to astronomical phenomena that play a part in distinguishing between right and wrong (Berg 2009, 105). Hempel translates אַוָּתִים in III, 14 as “birth times,” as she understands this as a reference to astronomical constellations associated with birth times of individuals (Hempel 2020, 113).

6.1.6. God of Knowledge

“God of Knowledge” (אַלּ דּוֹעָת, III, 15) is a peculiar term and a *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew Scriptures only found in Hannah’s song in 1 Sam 2:3 (כי אל דעות יהוה, “for the Lord is a God of Knowledge”). This relatively rare way of designating God seems to be a key term in its context in TST. The term אַלּ דּוֹעָת occurs in the Qumran material, either in wisdom related compositions such as 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries or in liturgical compositions (used in a broad sense) such as Hodayot, Apocryphon of Joshua, Songs of the Maskil, and 4QWords of the Luminaries. Arjen Bakker investigates how the Qumran material uses the term אַלּ דּוֹעָת (1 Sam 2:3) in different ways. He points out that in contrast to sapientia tradition where God creates by wisdom, “the Serekh claims that creation itself originated in God’s knowledge” (Bakker 2014, 368). From this perspective, knowledge is not only a helpful assistant in the process of creation (Proverbs 8:22–31) but it is the very essence of all creation from beginning to end.

Scholars have discussed the relation and interaction between the importance of knowledge and deeds in TST (Newsom 2004, 77–90; Berg 2009, 95–152; Dixon 2014). What TST means by knowledge seems to be concentrated in the term אַלּ דּוֹעָת. “God of Knowledge” is the source of all being, and all coming into being, and before anything came into being he established their design as he had scheduled. All their actions and deeds are designed and designated to fulfill the plan of אַלּ דּוֹעָת with no room for alteration. In other words, אַלּ דּוֹעָת is the mastermind behind any activated

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50 Berg points to 1QS X, 4; 4Q319 and 1QH XX, 8–9. He does not refer to Gen 1:14.
51 One Qumran manuscript has the more common word for “knowledge,” דעה, in 1 Sam 2:3.
52 A convenient overview of the instances occurs in Bakker 2014, 362, note 4. Moreover, Meike Christian shows the occurrence of אַלּ דּוֹעָת in TST has close parallels in Hodayot and in 4QInstruction (Christian 2019, 158–161).
53 I deal with the question of the relation between knowledge and actions in Chapter Six (Article 4).
process in the cosmos. He knew the time plan of creation before it was set in motion, and he knows the purpose and capacity of every being. Ultimate knowledge must therefore consist of an insight into how everything began, and how it will end, why and how the creation is designed to function and for how long. Knowledge is a knowhow of the functions of all beings, the duration of their existence, their purpose and the timeframes within which everything unfolds.

6.1.7. Being, Established Plans, and Appointed Times

III, 15–16b show how יְהִי is used as an essential synonym for creation. יְהִי also creates contact to Gen 1–2. In Gen 1, יְהִי is a dominant verb and used 26 times, and in Gen 2 יְהִי occurs 6 times and 4 times in Gen 3. In Gen 1, יְהִי is used in a chain of jussives and consecutive imperfects. These describe the process of one thing after another coming into being. In TST, יְהִי is used as 2 participles and 2 infinitives with suffix. The usage of participles ( כל יְהִי וַיְהִי) paints a comprehensive picture of the creation of all existing things at the same time.

The process of creation in TST varies from the process of creation in Gen 1 and 2. In Gen 1 the process of creation is systematic and told from the perspective of an all-knowing narrator, alternating with God’s direct speech. God is the active agent, the creator, and everything happens according to his commands. In Gen 1 the divine will and words kick-start the creation and set them free to unfold. In TST the divine plan continually directs and polices all creation’s path from the start to the end. The perfect creation plan of “God of Knowledge” is set in motion and everything happens accordingly without any disruption.

The contrast between the creation process in TST and Gen 2–3 is even greater. In Gen 2 the process of creation seems to happen ad hoc. Here the order of creation is dependent on the relations between the created elements. Unlike Gen 1, the narrative is not occupied by creating and discerning categories, such as heaven, earth, water and land – but it is concerned with causes and effects between the phenomena. Earth is still dry because it has not rained, and there is no man on earth to cultivate it. But as soon as water runs and man is created, earth blossoms. After God’s creation of man, man turns out to be lonely. Therefore God creates the animals and gives them to man to be named. The animals are not the sufficient companion for man, and therefore God creates woman. In TST nothing happens ad hoc, all beings are functioning and executing their tasks as they are designated to. The double

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54 For the expression master mind, see Hinojosa 2016, 70.
55 Knowledge of the right things in the right time is also observed by Newsom (2004, 81) as an ongoing discourse in 1QS.
usage of the term מחשבת demonstrates this. It is used both with regard to plans of the creatures (III, 15) and with regard to the plan of divine design (III, 16), which emphasizes the correspondence between all the beings’ plans and Gods’ plan. Everything is created to work as it is supposed to, no more and no less since “it cannot be altered” (אמיר הלאוה, III, 16).

The word הכין does not occur in Gen 1:1–3, but it is found in Prov 3:19; 8:27 and Jer 10:12; 51:15. Both in Proverbs and Jeremiah הכין is used about God creating and establishing the cosmos with wisdom. Bakker points out that it occurs several time in the Qumran material in close association with the term “God of Knowledge” (Bakker 2014, 366–372).

The word לוחותремה echoes Gen 1:14 where the heavenly lights are created to serve as signs and indicate appointed times (מ fundamentס). In the context of TST לוחותремה appears only here in III, 16. לוחותрем is the preferred term in TST and it is used 5 times. The concept of the right time (appointed times: מ fundamentס) is a constant stream directing the narrative of TST. The notion of the appointed times binds the creator and the creation constantly together. Everything is created with an inner clock that triggers performance and gives direction at the appointed time.

The statement in III, 16, “according to his glorious plan they will fulfill their deeds” (מהמשתתת בכרוד ימלאו מתועדות), echoes the blessing and commandment of the fifth day in Gen 1:22 (פרו ורבו ומלאו את התמיים) and the sixth day in Gen 1:28 (פרו ורבו ומלאו את הארץ). In Gen 1:22 the birds and creatures of the waters are instructed to multiply and fill the skies and the waters. And again in Gen 1:28 man is told to multiply and fill the earth. The commandment of filling the earth is repeated by God to Noah and his sons just after the flood in Gen 9:1 (פרו ורבו ומלאו את הארץ). In all cases the blessing and commandment of filling the earth is concrete and tangible. The skies, the waters and the earth are empty, and the

56 מחשבת does not appear in Gen 1–3, but it occurs in Gen 6:5 concerning the wicked plans of humans. It occurs also in Isa 55:8 where God underlines the difference between the plans of humans versus the divine plans (כי לא מחשבותיו מחשבותיכם). In TST there is no room for such a contrast. Before all beings take shape, their plans have been premeditated by God.

57 Bakker (2014, 365–366) suggests that this verb may have been found in a textual variant of 1 Sam 2:3 and the different interpretations and uses of this verse in Qumran material might reflect this.

58 III, 16: their appointed times (מועדת); III, 18: until the moment of his visitation (מועדת); III, 23: their periods (מועדים); IV, 1: all eternal ages (מועדות); IV, 26: […] until the time of] the visitation (ремה).
creatures are told to multiply and fill the spaces that they are given. In the context of TST filling refers back to the overarching plan and distinct task that God has had in mind for every created being, which seems to be more abstract and general.

The creation accounts in Gen 1 and 2 are two distinct narratives, which can be read separately and have been assigned to different sources. In the following, I will point to the fact that the creation in TST is told in a two-fold process, but the text depicts the same creation. However, the two-fold structure might echo the two accounts of creation in Gen 1 and 2.59

6.2. Part Two, III, 17c–25a: Mankind’s creations

In Part Two creation is retold from beginning to end. It opens with the creation of man and it ends with the destruction of the spirit of deceit (III, 23) and God of Israel and his angel of truth being a help for the children of light (III, 24–25). Part Two states mankind’s creation and its dominion over the world in a remarkably brief manner. Apparently, TST expects its readers to know what the text alludes to.60 This reference is the first aspect of the two-fold presentation of the creating act.

The cycle of time is repeated as part two looks back at God’s creation of mankind by the usage of the perfect verb **ברא** (III, 17), and the consecutive imperfect verb **ותן** (III, 18) indicating the past mode. The present perspective comes through by the usage of nominal sentences that describe the two spirits’ different dominions and man’s place within these dominions. The references to all children of light and darkness that “walk” (יהלכו, III, 20–21) in either spirit also point to the present. The future aspect is indicated by the temporal references **עד מועד פקודתו** (III, 18) and **עד קצו** (III, 23).

Two intertwined themes dominate this section: one is the theme of being created (**ברא**/origins (**תולדות**)), and the other is dominion (**ממשלת**). God has created man for the dominion of the world and has placed for man two spirits by which he walks until the time of his visitation (והוא ברה ארמיס למשלת תבל וישראל להוהות ליהללו, III, 17–18). The spirit of truth originates from the spring of light and the spirit of deceit originates from the spring of darkness. The prince of lights has the dominion over all sons of righteousness, and they walk on the paths of light. The angel of darkness exercises dominion over the sons of deceit, and on the paths of darkness they walk. The description of the dominion of the prince of light stops just after

59 Something similar has been recently argued by Schwartz. He views TST’s reading of the creation accounts in Gen 1 and Gen 2 as an example of “telescoping” the two accounts into one unified retelling, as seen in several Second Temple sources (Schwartz 2020, 32, 38–39, 42–45).

60 Cf. See Newsom’s observation that TST presupposes Genesis 1 as “already read” (Newsom 2004, 86).
the mention of the path of the righteous ones, while the description of the dominion of the angel of darkness continues. By the angel of darkness not only some, but all the sons of righteousness are misled (III, 21c). The dominion of the angel of darkness causes all their sins, iniquities, guilt, and transgressive deeds.

In relation to the description of the two dominions, כל ולכל is used in a subtle manner. The extensive range of the dominion of the angel of darkness is illustrated by the repetition of כל ולכל. With regard to the prince of lights, כל ולכל is only used in connection to all sons of righteousness (全能 בני צדק, III, 20), which describes the subjects of the prince of lights’ dominion. As the following lines reveal, compared to the angel of darkness, the prince of lights’ dominion is limited. When it comes to the angel of darkness, כל ולכל is used several times: first in connection to the totality of his dominion ( וכל ממשלת בני עול, III, 21), then with regard to the influence on all sons of righteousness ( וכל בני צדק, III, 22), then again in connection to all the unjust deeds of the sons of righteousness ( וכל חטאתם ועוונותם ואשמתם ופשעי מעשיהם, III, 22), yet again in connection to all their sufferings ( וכל נגועיהם ומועדי צרותם, III, 23), and finally in connection to all the spirits of his lot ( וכל רוחי גורלו, III, 24). The dominion of the angel of darkness does not only have unlimited impact on the sons of deceit but it also has massive impact on all sons of righteousness.

In TST the themes of origins and dominions are interwoven. Mankind is created to have dominion over the world which is stated with a half sentence. However the description of how mankind is ruled by the prince of lights and the angel of darkness occupies much more space. Is mankind really in charge at all?

The theme of dominion connects TST once again to Gen 1–3, where dominion appears in different shapes. In Gen 1:16 ממשלת is used with regard to the function of two great lights that rule day and night. In Gen 1:28 God blesses man and instructs man to fill the earth, subdue it and have the

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61 Newsom observes that the term כל ולכל is used to “totalize” knowledge and represents an “orientation to the totality of things” (Newsom 2004, 81). Maiden adopts Newsom’s understanding of כל ולכל and adapts into a term that totalizes “entire social groups” (e.g. all sons of light and all sons of darkness) (Maiden 2020, 48).
dominion over every living creature (פר ורבו מליאות את הארץ וכסותו ורדו בני אדם). TST borrows the central and problematic idea of knowledge in Gen 2–3 and boldly reinterprets it to fit its own context (this will be discussed later on). Something similar seems to happen with the image of man’s dominion in TST, where man is being ruled rather than being a ruler. Once again TST reveals a need to reinterpret and adjust the idea of man in Genesis. In Gen 1–3 humans are instructed to rule over all creatures. In TST the subject for mankind’s dominion is not mentioned at all (והוא ברא אנוש للمמשלת תבל, III, 17–18). Rather, mankind is presented as the subject under the realms of the prince of lights and the angel of darkness. This interpretation displays a tension with regard to the divine purpose of man, which is the dominion over the world. The content of the tension is hard to define. However it is obvious that the worldview of TST needs to express an experienced tension in man’s purpose. This need seems to be absent in the worldview of Genesis.

TST explicitly relates the necessity of this tension to the “mysteries of God” (לפי רזי אל, III, 23) and introduces the notion of a divinely appointed “end” for the angel of darkness and his dominion. The angel of darkness, just as any other creature of “God of Knowledge,” performs his tasks according to the divine plan (III, 15–16) until his appointed time (III, 23). In other words, an eschatological solution to the present tension is foreseen.

6.2.1. Connections to Genesis 1–3 and beyond
Part Two (III, 17c–25a) makes use of numerous terms and notions that are recognizable from Gen 1–3. The verb בָּרָא echoes Gen 1:1, God’s creating (בָּרָא) the heavens and the earth. In Gen 1:27 בָּרָא is repeated twice with regard to the creation of mankind. And in Gen 2:4 בָּרָא refers to Gods’ creating act which he rests from on the seventh day. As mentioned previously, הר is the term we encounter in Gen 1:2 and the word ממשלת is used in Gen 1:16 and the verb מзна in Gen 3:16. Furthermore, as mentioned before, מועד is found in Gen 1:14, where sun and moon are created to serve for “signs and appointed times.” The contrasting terms אור and חושך, which here refers to God’s help for “all sons of light,” is the word used of the “helpmate” God.

62 The verb for dominion in Gen 1:28 is not מзна as in TST. But in both contexts the notion of ruling is attached to man. In Gen 3:16 the word מзна is used in connection to man’s relation to woman.
63 The image of ruling changes from Gen 1 to Gen 3. Gen 1:28 uses the verbs רד וכסות, while Gen 3:16 uses מзна. In Gen 1 the idea of ruling is attached to both man and woman, but in Gen 3 woman is placed under man’s dominion. The different interpretations of ruling in Genesis are outside the scope of this study.
seeks for man in Gen 2:18.20. Hinojosa suggests interpreting ברא as a perfect verb referring to past events. However, nominal sentences dominate part two and it seems more plausible in the context to understand ברא as a noun or a participle.

In TST the origins of truth and deceit in the spring of light and the spring of darkness point to an advanced cosmology compared to Genesis. TST (III, 20–24) gives extensive space to the description of dominion and impact of darkness and deceit. It presents an eschatological solution (III, 23) by referring to “the mysteries of God until his end” (לפי רזי אל עד קצו). The eschatological solution is further emphasized in III, 24–25 by the interference of God of Israel and the angel of his truth as the executers of help. The concepts of light and darkness as moral notions are not the direct concern of the creation accounts in Genesis 1–3, neither is the eschatological perspective.

6.3. Part Three, III, 25b–IV, 14: The spirits’ creation
In Part Three, the attention is on the creation of the spirits. The second aspect of the creation is stated in a short sentence using the perfect verb רכד. The creation of the spirits seems to take place before the creation of mankind. This act of creation is absent from the creation accounts in Genesis. However, I will demonstrate that several notions connects the creation of the spirits to the Gen 1–3.

The time cycle (past, present and future) repeats itself when the narrative takes a step back to a point before the creation of mankind and tells the story of the spirits. With two perfect verbs (ברא and יסד) TST states that God created the spirits of light and darkness and founded every deed upon them in the past. A description of the present state follows, related mainly in nominal sentences (III, 26–IV, 14). This descriptive part of the text fixes the present by three stative perfect verbs describing God’s enduring sentiments towards the spirits (حب, III 26, שבע, IV 1, שנא, IV, 1). The double usage of פקודת (IV, 6.11) describing those who walk on the path of either truth or deceit points to the eschatological future. The future mode is explicitly emphasized by the terms denoting eternity: לעולם (IV, 7.8.12), עד (IV, 7.13); ונצח (IV, 7.12).

God loves and takes pleasure in one of the spirits, and hates and detests the other one (אהב את אל ל增值 [מעני תועדו עולםים מבכול עלילותיה זוראו לעזז אתח תnect)
The characteristic “paths” (דרכי) of the two spirits in the world are outlined: They serve to enlighten humans’ heart and alert them to true righteousness, and to God’s decrees (לולכ את הלחות כל דור פניו, איני לבודר לפקוד את הלחות כל דברי המימונים, IV, 2–3a). Some scholars ascribe the act of enlightenment only to the spirit of truth. However, I concur with Kamilla Skatström Hinojosa, as she observes that this act should be ascribed to both spirits (Hinojosa 2016, 78). If IV, 3b is considered as the beginning of the description of the spirit of truth which ends in IV, 8, then the two descriptions (spirit of truth IV, 3b–8, and spirit of deceit IV, 9–14) are equally long and exhibit parallel structures (ibid.). Both the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit were created by God and therefore act according to his glorious plan (III, 16). The two spirits serve as God’s instruments to enlighten the hearts of humans and teach them about good and evil. This implication that both spirits serve God’s purpose fits the fundamental logic of TST.

The two contrasting descriptions trace the paths of each spirit and their impact on mankind into the eschatological future: The spirit of truth/light is a spirit of goodness and wisdom; and the sons of truth who walk in it, will receive an eternal reward (IV, 3–8). The spirit of deceit/darkness causes wickedness and evil, and those who walk in it will be punished and ultimately destroyed (IV, 9–14).

Part Three emphasizes the theme of knowledge, employing no less than five different terms for knowledge (שכל, ידיעת, ו网站地图, חכמה, IV, 3; ו지도ות, IV, 4 and IV, 6; ו지도ות, IV, 6 and IV, 11). In Part Three, knowledge is primarily associated with the spirit of light/truth. The spirit of truth possesses ethical qualities such as “humbleness and patience, and great compassion, and eternal goodness, and knowledge and insight and powerful wisdom trusting in all God’s doings, and relying on his great faithfulness” (רוח ענוה ואורך אפים ורוב רחמים וטוב עולמים ושכל ובינה וחכמת גבורה מאמנת בכול מעשי אל ונשענת ברוב חסדו, IV, 3). Knowledge, as transmitted by the spirit of truth, is linked to the idea of relying on God’s ability to act faithfully towards humans. Immediately after, knowledge is associated with the spirit of truth that manifests itself as “knowledge in every plan of action” (ידעת בכול מחשבת מעשה, IV, 4). The term מחשבת מעשה refers back to the two occurrences of מחשבת in III, 15–16 where God’s glorious plan (כל מחשבת) and plans of all creation (מחשבת הכל) are paralleled. Knowledge or insight provided by the spirit of truth is oriented towards the right ways of acting, which is programmed in Gods’ overarching plan. The theme continues as an “eagerness for righteous regulations and a

66 This interpretation of the enlightenment of man’s hearts as pertaining to the general “instruction about the two paths” (rather than to the spirit of truth) in I. 2–3a is also found in Stuckenbruck 2011, 438.
sacred plan with dedicated intention” (וקנאת משפטי זך ומותشبه קדש בין ספרי, IV, 4–5). The term is used once again, which illustrates how the notion of knowledge and the concept of a divine plan programmed in all creation go hand in hand.

The following in IV, 4–6 focus on the right behavior in light of knowledge. Firstly, attention is given to a “great faithfulness towards all sons of truth” (ברוב חסדים על כול בני אמת, IV, 4). This expression mirrors the reference to God’s faithfulness (ברוב חסדו, IV, 4). Secondly, the implications of the “sacred plan” are elaborated in more detail connoting cultic terminology. The expression “a glorious purity abhorring all impure idols” (וטהרת כבוד מתעב כול גלולי נדה, IV, 4–5) specifies the holiness aspect of the right behavior: it consists of maintaining purity and distancing oneself from everything impure. Thirdly, the desired good behavior is described as “restrained walking” (והצנע לכת, IV, 5). These words allude to Micah 6:8: “walking humbly with your God” (והצנע לכת עם אלהיך). In the context of TST emphasis is placed on conducting oneself in a restrained, cautious manner, displaying “cleverness regarding everything” (ערמת כול, IV, 6). The description, in other words, returns to the theme of knowledge or insight. This theme continues as the final aspect of the right behavior is stated: “Concealment” regarding the truth of the “mysteries of knowledge” (וחבה לאמת רזי דעת, IV, 6). It is unclear what this term refers to, but it points back to the overarching agenda in TST to transmit knowledge to a selected group. The knowledge of the origins of “all sons of man” should not be shared with all but exclusively with “all sons of light.”

The description of the spirit of deceit presents a negative counterpart. Just as cultic terms were employed to characterize the spirit of truth, cultic terms designating impurity now describe the spirit of deceit (מעשי תעובה ברוח זנות ודרכי נדה בעבודת טמאה, IV, 10). Knowledge or lack of knowledge as a central theme remains. Corresponding to the emphasis on knowledge in the description of the spirit of truth, the spirit of deceit is characterized by expressions denoting cognitive deficit like blindness, deafness, and stubbornness (IV, 11).

As was the case in Part Two, there are echoes of Gen 1–3 in Part Three. The expressions “cleverness regarding everything” (ערמת כל, IV, 6), which is ascribed to the spirit of truth, and “evil cleverness” (ערמת רוע, IV, 11) are reminiscent of the description in Gen 3:1 of the serpent as being “cleverer”

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67 On the allusion to Micah 6:8 here and in 1QS see Hinojosa 2016, 78. The phrase from Micah 6:8 is also echoed in 1QS VIII, 2 (והצנע לכת איש עם רעהו).
Power of Perception in the Community Rule

than all other creatures. And the phrase “concealment of truth of the mysteries of knowledge” (IV, 6) uses the verb חבָא which features in Gen 3:8.10 referring to man “hiding himself” (יהנהמה, hithpael and אחתמה, niphal) from God’s sight. The word דעת, “knowledge” (IV, 4. 6), echoes the central term in Gen 2–3. The synonym, “insight” (IV, 3), is of the same root as the verb הָשִּׁילָה, used in Gen 3:6 of the tree of knowledge “providing insight.” The reward for those walking in the spirit of truth consists in “fruitful offspring” (פרות זרע, IV, 7), the word פרות echoing the divine command to “be fruitful” (פרה, Gen 1:22.28; cf. Gen 9:1), and זרע occurring several times in the first creation account (Gen 1:11.12.29).

The motif of concealing knowledge (IV, 6), apart from the shared root חָבָא, is also a point of semantic contact with Gen 2–3 where God by his warning tries to withhold knowledge from humans. However, in TST knowledge is transmitted to man through the divinely sanctioned activity of the spirit of truth. Thus, it is man’s obligation to conceal the mysteries of knowledge from the unworthy.

6.4. Part Four, IV, 15–26: Eschatological Conclusion
In the last part, which I refer to as the eschatological conclusion, all dots and lines are gathered. It begins with the mentions of “origins of all sons of man” in “the two spirits.” (בר putStrLn forth, IV, 15). The paths and deeds of humans are shaped forever by their either great or small inheritance in the divisions of the spirits and the two spirits are constantly struggling over mankind. In the beginning of TST, God of Knowledge was the cause of all creation. Accordingly, in Part Four “God in his insightful mysteries and in his glorious wisdom” (ואל ברزي שלטו ונחמה חכמת כבודו, IV, 18) is the reason behind the eschatological end. This contains an appointed destruction of evil/deceit, and the restoration of mankind’s condition in close connection with the spirit of light/truth.

The time cycle which runs throughout TST is very much present in Part Four, which begins with a nominal sentence stating that the “origins of all sons of man” reside in the two spirits (IV, 15). Then the text looks back at God’s acts: He has “set” (שם, IV, 16) the two spirits apart and established eternal enmity (ויתן איבת עולם, IV, 17) between their divisions. The close connection between past, present, and future is illustrated in IV, 18–19 stating that God will end all evil/deceit: “God … gave an end time … and at the appointed time of visitation he will destroy it for eternity…” (ואל ברزي שלטו ונחמה חכמת כבודו נתן קץ להיות עולה ובמועד פקודה ישמידנה לעד). The eschatological future is intimately bound to God’s defining actions in the past. For those who walk perfectly “God has chosen them for an eternal covenant” (כיא בם בחר אל לברית עולמים, IV, 22). The future of the chosen ones is determined by God’s previous selection. The same goes for God’s action
with regard to the two spirits: “For part by part God established them until the decided end time and the new making” (כיא בד בבד שמן אל עד קץ נחרצה, IV, 25). The past act of God once again determines the present and the future.

The perspective of an eschatological future dominates Part Four by the usage of imperfect verbs: “Then shall truth come forth on earth forever” (ואז תצא לנצח אמת תבל, IV, 19). “Then God will purify in his truth … He will refine for himself some of the sons of man …” (ואז יברר אל אמתו כל ממשר, ובכר ידק והמד כי ניש, IV, 20).68 What seems to be the present and future mode coinciding is expressed through imperfect forms in IV, 15: “In these are the origins of all sons of man and in their divisions all their hosts in their generations will inherit, and in their paths they will walk and all their deed that they do are in their divisions” (באהלות כל בני אדם וממפלגי нихול כל, ובאלה תולדות כול בני איש ובמפלגיהן ). A similar perspective seems to be reflected in IV, 18: “… for they do not walk together…” (כיא לוא יחד יתהלכו, IV, 18), whereas in IV, 23 there is a contrast between what has been (the past including the present), and the eschatological future: “Until then the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit will struggle in the heart of man” (עד הנה יריבו רוחיאמת ועול בלבב גבר, IV, 23). From the eschatological future, the text returns to the present: The spirits of truth and deceit struggling in man’s heart and man’s choice to walk in either wisdom or folly are stated in imperfect verbs (IV, 23b–25).

Part Four, like Part Three, is colored by cultic language: “Then shall truth come forth on earth forever for it has polluted itself in paths of wickedness…” (ואז תצא לנצח אמת תבל כיא התגוללה בדרכי רשע, IV, 19). Truth cleanses earth and restores it. The next section (IV, 19–22) describes the restoration of mankind into the eternal covenant by God’s cleansing and purifying deeds. This section is dominated by verbs such as “purify” (יברר, IV, 20), “refine” (יזקק, IV, 20), “cleanse” (ולטהרו, IV, 21), and “sprinkle” (ויז, IV, 21), along with other vocabulary such as “his flesh” (בשרו, IV, 21), the “water of impurity” (כמי נדה, IV, 21), “defilement in the spirit of impurity” (והתגולל ברוח נדה, IV, 21–22), and an “eternal covenant” (ברית עולמים, IV, 22), which contain strong cultic connotations.

In IV, 22–23, knowledge is once again associated with God and the spiritual realm: “in order to make the righteous comprehend in the

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68 There seems to be one occurrence of a consecutive perfect verb with regard to the future in IV, 23. Regarding the seemingly anomalous use of consecutive imperfect of the future in IV, 21, see above, note 19.
knowledge of the Most High, and those who walk perfectly will understand the wisdom of the sons of heaven, for God has chosen them for an eternal covenant” (ה libcז指着 קרא להב שארית עליון ו обрат זו סמי השביעי והתמיי דוד אים אמש) 69 The chosen ones of the eternal covenant are the righteous ones who understand the knowledge of the Most High, and those who walk on the perfect path apprehend the wisdom of the sons of heaven. In these lines knowledge is given to mankind in the course of his restoration. Cultic terms and wisdom language are interwoven and together they hold the promise that mankind will receive the glory of Adam: “… and to them will be all Adam’s glory.” The image of mankind being restored by purification and knowledge to “all Adam’s glory” stands out as a sharp contrast to the image of humans in Gen 2–3. As Adam in Genesis eats the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, he seems to lose his status. He loses his residence in Eden, becomes mortal, forced to hard labor, disharmony enters between him and Eve, and they lose their direct access to God. A lesson in the narrative of Gen 2–3 seems to be that as soon as Adam and Eve eat from the tree of knowledge, things change and they become something less. They are doomed to a limited lifespan under difficult conditions, as they are banished from the garden. However, in TST obtaining knowledge and living according to it is the ticket out of eternal damnation and annihilation for “all sons of light.”

The final lines of Part Four state that God knows the deeds of mankind: “and he has given them as inheritance to the sons of man to discern good …” (ורינוותי לכב אשי לזרה טוב, IV, 25–26). Unfortunately, there is a lacuna in the manuscript immediately after the word טוב (“good”). It is tempting, and it has been proposed, to restore רע (“and evil”) in the lacuna (Wernberg-Møller 1957, 27 and 88; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997, 78; Hinojosa 2016, 81; Hempel 2020, 107). If we follow this suggestion (as most text editions and translations do), knowledge of good and evil becomes a goal for “all sons of light.” By contrast, in Gen 2–3 knowledge of good and evil is the very insight mankind is warned against.

7. Discourse on Knowledge in Genesis versus in TST
As already touched upon, knowledge (ידע, דעת) is a vital point of contact with Genesis 2–3. In Gen 2:9 God plants all trees in the garden that are pleasing for sight and stomach, and he plants the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil (כל עץ נמס לבראה טוב ולאכול עץ החיה והעץ הדעת טוב) 69 The two hiphil verbs להבין and להושכיל can be translated “comprehend” and “understand,” with the righteous as logical subject, or “make comprehend” and “make understand,” with the righteous as object of instruction (This is the meaning of לבריה in III, 13).
In Gen 2:17 God warns Adam not to eat from the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, for on the day that he eats from the tree he will die.  

Acquisition of knowledge (ידע) and cleverness (ערום) is central for the plot in Gen 2–3 and reveals a hierarchy between the agents. The serpent stands between God’s warning and mankind’s obedience when it is introduced as a more cunning creature than mankind and able to construe the meaning of God’s warning. The clever serpent approaches the woman probing how much she knows about the tree and she is obviously less knowledgeable than the serpent. Consequently the serpent gives her new knowledge: “For God knows (ידע) that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil” (יהיו אדם ידעי טוב ורע). God confirms the serpent’s words in Gen 3:22 “See, the man has become one of us, knowing good and evil …” (לדעת טוב ורע).

However, the theme of knowledge plays two different roles in Genesis and in TST. In the Genesis narrative God seems unaware of the consequences of planting the tree of knowledge of good and evil in the same garden as man. With regard to the Genesis account, the traditional Jewish and Christian interpretations have been that by eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil humans fall from the nature or state that God had intended when creating mankind. This way of understanding the Genesis narrative would be problematic in the context of TST. If mankind could fall from or transgress its created nature or state, then the creator would have made an error in the process of creating. Mankind would have revealed an autonomy that the creator had not taken into account. Then the creator would not be omniscient. In Gen 2–3 God seems to be worried about humans gaining access to knowledge that would elevate them to a divine status. In Genesis knowledge is problematic both with regard to the creator who is not omniscient and does not seem to know the capacity of his creation and with

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70 Interestingly, Gen 2:17b “for in/on the day that you eat of it you shall die” (כי ביום אכלך ממנה מות תموت), can grammatically be understood as a temporal rather than a conditional sentence. So not if Adam eats but rather when/on the day he eats he shall die. Such an understanding of the verse could correspond with the way creation is depicted in TST. God knows his creation and knows all its essence, thoughts, deeds and capacity and also its end. If God should not know in advance the way his creation unfolds that would contradict the whole idea of the relation between the creator and creation in TST. This is even more fortified in the following sentence “they will fulfill their deeds and it cannot be altered” (ימלאו פעולתם ואיך ל.daysותיה). This most also include mankind.
regard to mankind which gains access to knowledge although it is not intended for them.

In TST knowledge, from the very beginning, is linked to God אל הדעות from whom all creation originates. God has planned and foreseen the course of the creation in every detail from beginning to end. This knowledge is what gives everything direction. In TST knowledge is not a problem on God’s side as he is omniscient. However, knowledge is still a problem for “all sons of man,” as it is restricted to the limited group of “all sons of light” who are to be taught by the maskil. Berg points to a tendency in Jewish sapiential tradition (Ben Sira, 4QInstruction, and TST) to reinterpret knowledge in the creation narratives in Genesis. They re-narrate the stories so knowledge is given to mankind directly by God. According to Berg, Jewish wisdom literature from the Hellenistic period developed various strategies to remove “…the perceived offense of the withholding of the knowledge of good and evil from Adam” (Berg 2009, 144).71

A dangerous, accessible, desirable, and fruitful tree is the image of knowledge in Gen 2–3, whereas in TST knowledge is a hidden substance, something like the DNA that programs and directs everything. It is only visible if one is elected and permitted to receive and perceive it. In Gen 2 God plants the tree of knowledge of good and evil within a reachable distance from humans. The tree bears fruit that outshines the other trees. In Gen 3:6 “When the woman saw that the fruit of the tree was good for food and pleasing to the eye, and also desirable for gaining wisdom, she took some and ate it. She also gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate it” (ותרא האשה כי טוב העץ למאכל וכי תאוה הוא לעינים ונחמד העץ להשכיל ותקח מפריו). The easy access to knowledge is illustrated by the complete absences of resistance or conflict from the serpent to woman and from woman to man. They eat, they are silent, and there is no mention of complications.

In TST all beings stem from “God of Knowledge.” Knowledge is unreachable unless it is passed from the maskil to “all sons of light.” It is crucial to keep hold of this knowledge, and it is dangerous to share it with the wrong people. It is even more dangerous to miss the importance of this insight, since it is the foundation for anything that matters in life. If one is not directed by this knowledge, the consequences are not only death but total and eternal annihilation.

The centrality of the theme of knowledge is shared by TST and Gen 2–3. In both accounts knowledge is the fundamental element that creates conflict and establishes hierarchy between the agents. Knowledge is crucial for the

71 On the various interpretative strategies in Ben Sira, 4QInstruction and TST see Berg 2009, 95–151.
relationship between God and his creation. In the Genesis account knowledge is problematic both on God’s and on humans’ side, whereas in TST the totality of knowledge is concentrated in God and only distributed to “all sons of light.” So knowledge is only problematic for the rest of “all sons of man.” In the Genesis account the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil is dangerous and associated with death. But quite the reverse is the case in TST: The absence of knowledge and not discerning between good and evil is dangerous and associated with everlasting annihilation.

8. Chaos and Creation in TST and Genesis

The usage of the Genesis creation narratives and their transformation in TST must have been shaped by the needs of changed circumstances. The traditional narratives had to be rewritten in order to meet the demands faced by the authors of TST. Gen 1–3, like creation myths generally, is about chaos and how it is replaced by cosmic order. In Genesis chaos (תָּהוֹם) is a preexisting force apart from all God’s creation. Chaos is mastered by God but always remains a threat. The waters of the primeval ocean are divided and incorporated into the cosmic fabric, but they continue to exist and can be set free again to flood the earth (Gen 7:11). In Gen 2–3 chaos is not depicted in cosmic images, but rather associated with the unexpected and uncontrollable turns and twists of the narrative (the serpent’s cunning and humans’ hidden desires).

TST goes beyond what Genesis has to say about chaos and order. TST does not recognize chaos as a preexisting independent force. In TST, God deliberately created both the spirit of light and the spirit of darkness to serve his ultimate purpose. For the unknowing observer, the spirit of deceit/darkness, the angel of darkness, his lot, and his dominion can be experienced as chaotic forces. However, they are only chaos-like beings, since they are created by God as necessary elements in His glorious and unchangeable plan. They are pushing the narrative towards its desired end where all creation meets the appointed end time. Knowledge of the relation between light and darkness (order and chaos) is hidden from “all sons of man” but given through the maskil to “all sons of light.” Insight into God’s plan, provides the key to understanding how the world ticks, and where it is headed. This knowledge is necessary in order to live and act in the right way while “all sons of man,” and even some of “all sons of light,” are to a great extent under the dominion of the forces of deceit/darkness.

Whoever wrote TST may have felt that the presence of chaos is imminent, threatening, and urgent to a degree that required this new narrative. Newsom
points to the political situation of the Second Temple period with foreign empires dominating Judaea as a historical background for TST (Newsom 2004, 77–79). This perspective may have been an important contributing factor, although TST does not allude to historical or political events. Rather, the text operates within a universe of mutually opposed archetypical agents, which would seem to keep their relevance at any time.

9. Conclusion

In this article I have attempted to show that reading TST in the light of Gen 1–3 offers an illuminating perspective on the agenda of this extraordinary text. I have aimed to demonstrate that TST generates its worldview by drawing on Gen 1–3 as a stable framework meeting the challenges and changes of its own time and circumstances. The dependence on Genesis is extensive, and goes beyond a significant number of shared motifs and vocabulary, which have already been noted by scholars.\textsuperscript{72} As shown TST stages its account of creation as a two-fold presentation, focusing first on the creation of mankind and then on the creation of spirits. Even though the creations accounts in Gen 1–3 are independent narratives and TST presents one coherent image of creation, the two-fold presentation in TST connotes the two creation accounts in Genesis.

The notion of time in Gen 1 is straightforward and linear and it is deeply connected to the seven days process of creation and the time creating elements (e.g., day and night, sun, moon and stars). In Gen 2, time hardly plays any role. TST deliberately transforms Gen 1–3: It introduces a cycle of time extending not only from the beginning (the past), through the present and to the end (the future), but also constantly connecting past, present, and future crosswise. TST refers back to the time before creation, and connects the origins of “all sons of man” to the previous creation of the spirits of light/truth and darkness/deceit.

TST has taken up the central theme of knowledge from Gen 2–3 and developed it in a new direction. God is presented as “God of Knowledge” (אֱלֹהִי הַדְעָתִים, III, 15). As the source of all knowledge, God has premeditated an unchangeable master plan for all creation. Both in TST and in Genesis knowledge leads to conflict and creates hierarchies between the agents. Knowledge is crucial for the relation between God, the creator, and his creation. But the differences are tangible: In Genesis knowledge is problematic both on God’s and on humans’ side. Knowledge is not given to mankind, and when humans attain knowledge of good and evil, the consequences are devastating. In TST knowledge comes from God, and is given only to a particular group, “all sons of light.” Knowledge, in other

\textsuperscript{72} See the complete overview of shared vocabulary in this article.
words, is only a problem for the part of “all sons of man” that does not belong to “all sons of light.” In Genesis knowledge is dangerous and leads eventually to death. In TST the absence of knowledge and the lack of ability to discern between good and evil is the real danger. Not possessing knowledge leads not only to death but to eternal annihilation.
Chapter Four

Research Question 2: How does 1QS achieve transformation and transmission of familiar tradition into a more cognitively costly version through stability and change?

This chapter consists of an article, which has been accepted for publication in Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament.

In this article, I carry out an investigation of the underlying cognitive mechanisms involved in the process of transformation and transmission in 1QS. My point of departure is the observation that 1QS communicates its message to its recipients by employing a variety of genres (e.g., instructions, rules, rituals, myth, and hymn). Moreover, 1QS contains numerous literary echoes and allusions to the Hebrew Scriptures. This Qumran composition makes frequent use of scriptural traditions and motifs, but transforms them into something very different and new.

In order to explore the mechanisms behind these processes, I draw on insights from cognitive science and social anthropology in terms of Harvey Whitehouse’s Modes of Religiosity theory. According to the Modes of Religiosity theory, certain religious ideas, concepts and practices are “cognitively optimal” (i.e., relatively simple and straightforward, often minimally counterintuitive) and therefore they are easy to remember, while others are “cognitively costly” (i.e., requiring greater conscious effort to be preserved and transmitted). Two different “modes,” the imagistic and the doctrinal modes, are often used to preserve and transmit such cognitively costly religious contents. The “imagistic” mode relies on low-frequency, emotionally charged high-arousal rituals, whereas the “doctrinal” mode is associated with high-frequency and low-arousal rituals.

While recognizing the critical discussion that has surrounded the Modes of Religiosity theory, I attempt to show its usefulness for understanding the costly and demanding nature of the religious worldview and practices that 1QS enforces and promotes. The message of 1QS is built on the shared Jewish tradition. However, 1QS deliberately presents its message as a costlier version by connoting the stability of the tradition but adapting it to its own agenda. Becoming the true Israel is not achieved by repeating the inherited tradition but requires forceful dedication. I analyze selected passages from 1QS to show how elements of the doctrinal and the imagistic modes are involved in facilitating the transmission of the content.
Article 2: How hard is it to get into the Community Rule? Exploring transmission in 1QS from the perspective of the Modes of Religiosity

1. Introduction
In the present article, I investigate the Community Rule (1QS), a renowned manuscript from the Dead Sea Scrolls, using Harvey Whitehouse’s Modes of Religiosity theory. This enterprise specifically seeks to characterize the religious transformations and transmissions manifested in 1QS.

After a brief presentation of 1QS, I will introduce the Modes of Religiosity theory including some of the dispute it has raised. I will particularly highlight a study by Jutta Jokiranta, employing aspects of the Modes of Religiosity theory to several texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls (Jokirananta 2013). Finally, I will discuss whether and to what extent the Modes of Religiosity theory can be said to illuminate the mechanisms of transmission in 1QS.

2. A Brief Presentation of the Community Rule (1QS)
The Community Rule stands out among early findings in the Qumran caves as a central document describing the lifestyle and ideology of a unique and exclusive Jewish community. The title is derived from the remaining letters רך in the first line of 1QS. The word serek (סרכ) can be restored with the support of 4Q255 where סרכ is intact. 1QS addresses itself several times to a sage figure, the maskil (משכיל). This well-preserved document (consisting of eleven columns) masterly combines a variety of different genres known from the Hebrew Scriptures. It contains instructions, rules and sanctions, elements of liturgy, rituals, myth-like narrative, and a hymn. Taken together, these elements comprise a framework for how the community of God (ייחד אלים) should be organized and structured. Beside 1QS, which was found in cave 1, a number of fragments related to 1QS have been discovered in cave 4, one

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73 Jokiranta analyses passages from the following manuscripts: The Community Rule (1QS), The Damascus Document (CD), 4QRitual of Purifications A (4Q414), The Songs of The Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q403).
74 The character of the “Qumran community” is intensely debated. The questions involved (whether the texts refer to a localized group at Khirbet Qumran, to a conglomerate of smaller groups spread across the country, or to a combination of both, possibly in a chronological sequence) are not relevant for the present study.
75 Digital photographs of the manuscript can be found at the website of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem: http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/community. 1QS was first published in Burrows 1951. More recent text editions with translation and commentary are Qimron and Charlesworth 1994; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; Metso 2019; Hempel 2020.
Chapter 4: 1QS & the Modes of Religiosity

in cave 5, and possibly one in cave 11. I will not address the redaction process of 1QS and its relation to these manuscripts. Furthermore, whether the content of 1QS reflects actual historical practices or not, is not the focus of this investigation. My interest lies within 1QS as a text in its own right including its literary strategy to convey a certain message to its recipients.

3. The Modes of Religiosity theory

The anthropologist Harvey Whitehouse’s Modes of Religiosity theory (from this point forward referred to as “Modes theory”) is a pioneering theory in the field of Cognitive Science of Religion, which has been applied and criticized by several scholars working in the field of Cognitive Historiography (Whitehouse and Laidlaw 2004; Geertz 2017, 43). The theory has emerged from Whitehouse’s extensive fieldwork in Papua New Guinea, where he studied the Paliau and the Pomio Kivung movements. Both movements unfolded in two distinct directions: one as a greater and more routinized mainstream tradition and one as more unstable short-lived local groups with dramatic rituals (Whitehouse 2004b). The Modes theory was designed as a theory of religious transmission, a way of detecting the “underlying cognitive mechanisms … [through] which religious commitments are experienced, organized, transmitted, and politicized.” (Whitehouse 2002, 293). The Modes theory takes up a fundamental dichotomy in ritual practices noticed by many scholars. This theory suggests that the common factor for the ritual dichotomy is the division between an “Imagistic Mode” and a “Doctrinal Mode” (see comparative overview in Table 1). The Imagistic Mode involves highly emotional and rarely enacted rituals (e.g. initiation rites), whereas the Doctrinal Mode involves low-arousal and frequently practiced rituals (e.g. sermons or the Eucharist). As I will further explain in the following, the two modes of religiosity can occur both separately and together, sometimes interacting within the same religious tradition as the frameworks or “attractor poles” for religious practices and structures (Whitehouse 2002, 294).

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76 The manuscripts are 4Q255–264, 5Q11 and possibly 11Q29. On these and related manuscripts see Metso 2019, 2–6; Hempel 2020, 30–54.
77 See on this topic Schofield 2009.
78 The presentation of the Modes theory in this article overlaps with the presentation in Chapter Two.
3.1. Cognitively Costly Religion

As a further extension of the Modes theory, Whitehouse operates with the notions “Cognitively Optimal Religion” and “Cognitively Costly Religion” (Whitehouse 2004a, 29–59). Whitehouse uses the notion of “Cognitively Optimal Religion” referring to several theories developed before or simultaneously to the Modes theory. Cognitively Optimal Religion refers to the widespread occurrence of similar ideas about supernatural agents, rituals, and myths, which occur across historical, geographical, and religious borders (ibid., 29). Cognitively optimal ideas are defined as the “ones that the human mind is naturally well-equipped to process and remember, or that readily trigger exceptionally salient or attention-grabbing inferences, in the absence of any special training or inducement to learn such concepts” (Whitehouse 2004c, 189). Taken together, the Cognitively Optimal Religion may be considered as a “default position” to which humans tend to be naturally attracted (ibid., 190).

In contrast to Cognitively Optimal Religion, the concept of Cognitively Costly Religion describes ideas that require greater cognitive effort to be preserved and transmitted. Whitehouse points to a larger body of ethnographical evidence for classifying rituals, narratives, and ideologies into three categories: (1) Fictional constructs; (2) Relatively simple non-fictional or “real” constructs; and (3) cognitively demanding “real” constructs that require extensive effort to be adequately understood and transmitted (Whitehouse 2004a, 50). In the first category, the supernatural content is not regarded as real and the fiction is a means to entertain, instruct, and comfort. The second category deals with easily obtained and remembered content regarded as real (e.g. minimally counterintuitive concepts and simple rituals). The third category requires extensive cognitive effort because it comprises complex narrative structures and complicated contents, which are regarded as real but are difficult to grasp and to pass on. These concepts require “costly support in terms of both memory and motivation” (ibid., 55). The doctrinal and imagistic mode are the two typical ways in which such cognitively costly contents are transmitted. According to the Modes theory, Memory and motivation are essential for the transmission of any ideology. Religion and rituals only exist if we remember them and are willing to pass them on. The interaction between memory and motivation constitutes the means for an ideology to be preserved in the mind.

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80 Whitehouse (2004a, 30–42) refers to the works of Pascal Boyer and Justin L. Barrett (concerning minimally counterintuitive concepts), Stewart Guthrie (on hyperactive agent-detective device (HADD)), Alan P. Fiske and Nick Haslam (on the connection between ritualization and the tendency to avoid contamination/pollution), and E. Thomas Lawson and Robert McCauley (on ritual as a form of human activity).
Any ideology is imprinted in memory by the interaction between frequency and emotionality (Atkinson and Whitehouse 2011, 51–52). Frequency refers to the repetition of a given doctrine or ritual, while emotionality is associated with the participant’s response to the experience of a ritual. In order to understand how frequency and emotionality facilitate the storage of religious information in memory, I refer to Figure 1, which illustrates basic memory functions.

As Figure 1 illustrates, the memory function can be divided into implicit and explicit aspects of memory. Our implicit memory contains knowledge or procedures we know without being conscious about them (e.g., riding your bike), while our explicit memory contains things we consciously know or recall (e.g., remembering your friend’s phone number). The explicit memory is further sub-divided into short-term and long-term memory. Short-term memory deals with the abilities of remembering notions for a very limited time span (e.g., where you parked your car an hour ago), while long-term memory deals with our ability to remember things for a lifetime (e.g., your date of birth). Long-term memory may be further sub-divided into semantic and episodic memory. Semantic memory contains “general knowledge” (e.g. name of the current US president), and it is often difficult to recollect how or when this knowledge is obtained. Episodic memory concerns specific instances of someone’s life (e.g., your high school graduation, your wedding day) (Whitehouse 2002, 295–296).

The previously defined doctrinal and imagistic modes can be said to demonstrate how costly religious contents are stored in memory in different ways, depending on which function of memory that is activated (Whitehouse 2002, 296). The Modes theory holds that the religious discrepancy is due to
cognitive restrictions associated with semantic and episodic memory. The semantic and episodic memory favor each one of the modes of religiosity, the doctrinal mode and the imagistic mode (Atkinson and Whitehouse 2011, 51). A given ideology cannot survive unless both doctrinal and imagistic modes are activated to some degree (ibid., 57).

3.2. The Doctrinal Mode of Religiosity
The doctrinal mode is seen as favoring high-frequency and low-arousal, less stimulating, religious content and rituals. Frequent repetitions provide a suitable space for the transmission of large bodies of religious teachings in such a way that these data can be stored in semantic memory. If dogmas and stories were less frequently conveyed then they would be easily forgotten. Thus, an effective way of fixing the religious teaching in people’s minds is through frequent repetition.

However, frequent repetition can lead to boredom and lack of motivation. Whitehouse calls this mechanism the “tedium effect.” Nevertheless, established religions are often able to counter the risk of tedium by various means such as references to divine punishments and rewards. Moreover, routinized religions often employ sophisticated theology and persuasive rhetoric. Whitehouse connects the doctrinal mode with the occurrence of leadership, organization, and orthodoxy.

Routinized rituals that are enacted either daily or weekly easily become a part of implicit memory (e.g., procedural knowledge such as how to ride your bike). People can perform the actions required by these rituals without consciously thinking about them (Whitehouse 2002, 299–300). As frequently repeated rituals become a part of the implicit memory and the participants act “on autopilot,” they become less likely to reflect on the particular ritual. Consequently, people become more open to an orthodox interpretation of the religious meaning and significance of the rituals. Orthodoxy seems to limit unauthorized innovations and individual speculations. This does not mean that rituals, which are enacted frequently, ban novel exegetical interpretation, but they reduce the amount of exegetical reflection (ibid., 300).

3.3. The Imagistic Mode of Religiosity
The imagistic mode occurs in connection with low-frequency rituals that are often highly emotionally charged (e.g. traumatic rituals, ecstatic practices, and states of collective possession). Such rare rituals with highly emotionally charged content seem to trigger lasting episodic memories among the participants. Vivid and detailed autobiographical memories are created through a mixture of episodic uniqueness and emotionality. These memories
are also referred to as “flashbulb memories.” The mind imprints these incidents just as a photo fixates a moment (e.g., where you were on 9/11) (ibid., 304). If rituals are only rarely performed and have a low emotional arousal, they tend to be forgotten. By contrast, enduring low-frequency practices are those with high emotional arousal.

Highly emotionally charged rituals seem to create good grounds for remembering the details of actions involved in the rituals but not so much the verbally transmitted information (doctrines and narratives). Low-frequency and highly emotionally charged rituals seem to produce the need in the ritual’s participant to create meaning. These rituals are processed at a conscious level in the episodic memory (a part of the explicit memory). This makes people reflect profoundly on their experience and its meaning. Whitehouse calls this response of the participants “spontaneous exegetical reflection” (Whitehouse 2004a, 72–73, 113–115).

The ritual’s significance lies with the participant’s personal experience and reflection. Therefore, leadership in the imagistic mode is rather more symbolic than dynamic as seen in the doctrinal mode. In this case, sense of centralized authority is not important as the participants feel that their experiences are directly caused by supernatural sources and not mediated by the religious leaders. Sharing such an experience creates emotional bonds and social cohesion between participants and a sense of exclusivity. This usually occurs in smaller religious communities and groups. Unlike the doctrinal mode where verbal transmission and the occurrence of strong leadership cause an efficient spreading, in the imagistic mode the tradition seldom spreads beyond the small ritual groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Characteristics of Doctrinal and Imagistic Modes of Religiosity</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doctrinal mode</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rituals that are performed regularly and eventually become routinized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have low emotional arousal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbal transmission of ideologies, dogmas and narratives is central.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic memory and implicit memory are activated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The significance and meaning of the rituals are distributed and controlled by the leaders.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Centralized, fixed organization, and standardized doctrines. | These rituals create bonds between the participants and give group identity.
---|---
Take place in larger groups, and create identification between the participants. | They occur in smaller and local groups.
Due to verbal transmission they are more likely to be spread quickly by dynamic leaders. | Less likely to spread rapidly and if they do spread they tend to mutate.
A more developed form of ritual. | Most original form of ritual.

### 3.4. Various Criticisms of the Modes of Religiosity Theory

The Modes theory has been widely acknowledged as useful, but with a significant number of criticisms. Several critics find that the notion of two contrasting modes does not cover the complexity of religious practices and institutions, observed in real life as well as in historical sources. Elements of the imagistic and the doctrinal modes, it is argued, are often deeply intertwined and seem to coexist for extensive periods of time within the same religious traditions or communities.\(^{82}\)

The Modes theory has also been criticized for exaggerating the importance of memory over other cognitive functions. It has further been argued that the Modes theory does not allow sufficient room for the role of social order and social change in facilitating religious transformation (Shankland 2004, 31–32, 45). Furthermore, the theory does not explain to what extent the different modes of religiosity are attributable to the individual, to the community, or to the religion (Lewis 2004).

Whitehouse’s response to these criticisms is that the ambition of the Modes theory is to explain the transition from the “cognitively optimal position” to religious traditions that imply more complex “cognitively costly” contents (Whitehouse 2004c, 202–203). Many critics have pointed to the mixture of doctrinal and imagistic elements in existing religious tradition and practices. However, Whitehouse assigns this mixture to the persistence of the cognitively optimal position rather than a conflation of the two modes. The cognitively optimal remains “the natural default” (ibid., 203), and much religious acting and thinking around the world reflect this position rather than the two modes (ibid., 202). Thus, the persistence of the cognitively optimal position does not undermine the importance of the two contrasting modes.

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\(^{82}\) This is one of the main criticisms against the Modes theory raised in the collection of essays in Whitehouse and Laidlaw 2004. See, in particular, Peel 2004; Malley 2004; Laidlaw 2004; Howe 2004; Lewis 2004, but also Whitehouse’s response (2004c).
3.5. “Tedium Effect” in Qumran, Jokiranta 2013

To the best of my knowledge, Jutta Jokiranta is the first Dead Sea Scrolls scholar to apply cognitive theories and elements of the Modes theory to Qumran manuscripts. In what follows, I will present her important contribution, which centers primarily on the notion of “tedium effect.” In an article from 2013, Jokiranta approaches the ritual life of the Qumran movement by examining some passages from the Community Rule (1QS), The Damascus Document (CD), 4QRitual of Purifications A (4Q414), and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q403) (Jokiranta 2013).

She points out that many of the Qumran scrolls tell of a highly motivated movement with a strong proclivity towards closeness to God. They also describe a large density of repetitive rituals determining the daily life of the group. This description stands out as a contrast to the Modes theory’s suggestion that “ritual frequency and emotional intensity” are mutually exclusive (Jokiranta 2013, 145–146).

As mentioned before, “tedium effect” can be a threat to the doctrinal mode, which relies on repetition for the transmission of extensive, complicated bodies of teaching. Nuancing this understanding, Jokiranta uses Pascal Boyer and Pierre Liénard’s distinction between ritualization and routinization. Routinization involves automatized behavior, which is performed without thinking (Boyer and Liénard 2006). Ritualization is a different type of behavior, involving “compulsion, rigidity, internal repetition, and apparent lack of rational motivation.” Ritualization requires full attention and cognitive control and is associated with cognitive mechanisms designed to detect and react to threats. Ritualized behavior is prompted by anxiety that persists and requires certain actions to be repeated. On this basis, Jokiranta suggests that tedium effect may be connected to routinization rather than ritualization (ibid., 150–151).

Jokiranta further refines the notion of tedium effect by referring to Charles Nuckolls’ analysis of rituals and boredom (Nuckolls 2007). Nuckolls proposes that frequent repetition of rituals as such does not cause tedium effect. Instead, tedium occurs as a repression of feelings of frustration and aggression prompted by the lack of effects of the repeated ritual actions

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83 The presentation of Jokiranta’s contribution overlaps with the parallel presentation in Chapter Two.
84 Kimmo Ketola (2007) uses cognitive ritual theories (Whitehouse, Lawson and McCauley) to examine religious movements of the Second Temple period, including the Qumran movement, in broad historical terms. He does not engage with any textual analysis. I deal briefly with Ketola’s contribution in Chapter Two.
Power of Perception in the Community Rule

Jokiranta agrees that tedium effect is not primarily caused by ritualization or lack of emotional stimulus. “Rather, the tedium effect has to do with the cognitive complexity and demanding nature of the instruction to be learned, which easily leads to frustration unless one is made to believe in a clear goal and rewards for participation or sanctions for non-participation” (ibid., 154).

Jokiranta examines three cases of frequent rituals documented in Qumran texts: purification rituals, Sabbath, and meals and study (ibid., 155–162). As regards purification, she suggests that the covenant renewal ritual described in 1QS might be regarded (in E. Thomas Lawson and Robert N. McCauley’s terminology) as an enabling ritual rendering subsequent purification rituals effective. In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, Jokiranta points to the Sabbath ritual as an example of an emotionally arousing ritual that does not fit Whitehouse’s category of imagistic: Either participants could have undergone an ecstatic experience, or they might have turned towards a meditative state of mind (ibid., 159).

Finally, Jokiranta discusses the evidence in Qumran documents for gatherings of community members including meals and study of scripture as a frequently repeated ritual. She suggests that the occurrence of penalties for visible signs of boredom (sleeping, dozing, leaving meetings, etc.) may indicate potential frustration caused by the hierarchical dependence on superior community members, the demands of study, or the strictness of the rules. Another possible source of boredom could have been “lack of deference,” where members doubted that the rituals of study had true value in itself, or was based on genuine authoritative tradition (ibid. 161–162). Jokiranta concludes that many balancing elements prevent effects of tedium and decreased motivation in the Qumran community (ibid., 162).

4. The Modes of Religiosity Theory and 1QS

As already demonstrated, the Modes theory has been applied and criticized by a number of scholars. Of particular interest is Jokiranta’s study of “tedium effect” in some Qumran scrolls. The Modes theory is not in every case able to deliver an accurate description of the wide spectrum of phenomena and practices within a given religious group or tradition. However, my interest in the Modes theory lies in the transformation and transmission that occurs from the cognitively optimal to cognitively costly content. The Modes

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85 For the difference between these religious experiences and their neurological foundation, Jokiranta refers to Czachesz 2008. Cf. Czachesz 2012.

86 The term “deference” refers to Maurice Bloch (2004). “Deference” means that the truth and validity of a ritual is ascribed to the authority of those from whom the ritual is supposedly inherited. The participants therefore need not themselves fully understand the meaning of what they are doing. Cf. Jokiranta 2013, 151–153.
theory’s account of the transformation and transmission of religious ideologies and practices from cognitively optimal to cognitively costly position and the two “modes” provides an illuminating notion of fundamental mechanisms that secure a tradition’s continued existence or the revival of a former tradition in a new understanding. I regard 1QS as an excellent document for this investigation as 1QS contains many cognitively costly elements that require “substantial cognitive investment in order to be acquired and transmitted adequately” (Whitehouse 2004a, 50).

In the following, I will apply aspects of the Modes theory to selected passages from 1QS (Introduction: I, 1–15; Yearly Ritual of Convent Renewal: I, 16–III, 2; Admission Ritual: VI, 13b–26; the Two Spirits Treatise: III, 13–IV, 26). 1QS prescribes the lifestyle of a devoted religious community. I see the preservation of cognitively costly religious ideas and practices (which place very high demands on people’s dedication, effort, and memory) as a major purpose of 1QS.

4.1. The Introduction 1QS I, 1–15: A Remodeled Shema

The introductory lines in 1QS I, 1–15 state the overarching agenda of the composition. In what follows, I will argue that the agenda is presented in the form of a remodeled and refined version of the Shema (Deut 6: 4–9). The Shema in Deuteronomy 6 summarizes the Torah, with the emphasis on God’s oneness and the commandment to listen and love God with all one’s heart and all one’s soul. In 1QS I, 2 central expressions from the Shema (בכל הלב ובסל נפש) are taken up, and combined with the verb לדרוש, “in order to seek,” which (like ואהבת, “you shall love” in Deut 6:5) has God as object. In fact, the verb אהב appears in the next line (1QS I, 3–4) where the object is not God himself but “all that which he has chosen” (בכל אשר בחר). However, there are good reasons for seeing the Shema as the most important background for this passage. Apart from the reference to “heart and soul” (I, 2) and the verb אהב, the passage also mentions what God “had commanded (צוה) through the hand of Moses and through the hand of all his servants the prophets” (I, 2–3). This phrase echoes the reference in the Shema (Deut 6:6) to the words “which I [Moses] command you today” (אשר אנכי מצויך), as pointed out by Hinojosa (2016, 39) and Hempel (2020, 62). However, there are good reasons for seeing the Shema as the most important background for this passage. Apart from the reference to “heart and soul” (I, 2) and the verb אהב, the passage also mentions what God “had commanded (צוה) through the hand of Moses and through the hand of all his servants the prophets” (I, 2–3). This phrase echoes the reference in the Shema (Deut 6:6) to the words “which I [Moses] command you today”.

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87 Cf. Newsom’s observation that the opening lines of 1QS do not begin with exclusive “insider” language, but adapt a common Jewish discourse and reshapes it moderately into the particular mode of expression of the community (Newsom 2007, 16).
88 In 1QS I, the words לב (“heart”) and נפש (“soul”) are restored in a lacuna, but they have been preserved in 4Q255 1 and (partly) I 4Q257 1. Cf. Hempel 2020, 57.
89 The combination of “heart and soul” with the verb דרש (“seek”) has parallels in Deut 4:29 and 2 Chron 15:12, as pointed out by Hinojosa (2016, 39) and Hempel (2020, 62).
Deut 6:6, Moses commands Israel to listen and love Yahweh with one’s whole heart, soul and might:

And you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your might.

1QS I, 2–3 reads:

And shall love God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your might.

The command to “listen” (שמע) is absent in 1QS I, 2, and the focus shifts from “loving” (אהבה) to the act of “seeking” (לדרשו) God. Both the absence of the word שמע and the difference of “seeking” God instead of “loving” Him, shows an alteration of the Deuteronomic idea of God’s closeness as an immediately available object of listening and loving. In 1QS, God has to be “sought” and is only truly reachable through one’s membership in the community. Deuteronomy 6 implies the presence of God for every Israelite who is willing to listen. However, in 1QS, a wholehearted commitment to the act of searching and devoting oneself in the community is the necessary prerequisite for being able to do what is right before God (לעשות טוב ויהוה ומלאכתו, 1QS I, 2).

In 1QS, the way to God is not a paved road, it requires one’s complete and unwavering commitment with extreme costs. As the following lines demonstrate, one must seek God by joining the community and through renouncing one’s former life in a comprehensive sense. This becomes clear in the description of the admission procedure in 1QS VI, 13–23.

Deuteronomy 6 emphasizes the maintenance of the commandment through daily repetition, remembrance, and transmission of the Shema to the next generations. The daily repetition and transmission in Deuteronomy 6 is described as a process of internalizing and integrating the commandments into one’s daily cycle of life. The commandments have to enter one’s heart, one’s home, they must be attached to one’s body and accompany one’s physical movements and be the center of conversations. They become ubiquitous as they enter the intimate, private, and the public spheres. In Deuteronomy, the transmission of the commandments happens through a natural, intuitive and to some degree conscious process from parents to their children and the normal daily interaction with others. Preserving and passing on the commandments unfolds within a familiar setting and is not intrinsically difficult although it requires deliberate effort and labor.

2020, 60, 62. In 1QS I, 5–6 the formulation “and to do truth and righteousness and justice in the land” (עשות את אמת וצדק ומשפט בארץ) may also allude to Micah 6:8 (עשות את אמת וצדק ומשפט)， as suggested by Hinojosa (2016, 40). A parallel between the Shema (Deut 6:5) and the formulation in 1QS I, 11–12, prescribing the handing over of all one’s “knowledge, power, and possessions” to the community, is pointed out by Vanderkam (2005, 57–58). Tzoref (2012, 225, 228–229) finds allusions to the Shema in 1QS V, 9, as well as in 1QS I, 11–13 and X, 13–14.
However, in the context of 1QS the process of upholding, maintaining, and transmitting the commandments is more complicated and costly. They are not accessible in the natural order. Not only does 1QS present a more demanding version of the Shema, but the text also creates an exclusive framework for unfolding one’s dedication. Loving God with all one’s heart and soul is refined to seeking God with all one’s heart and soul. The commandment to love is transferred to “all that God has chosen” (כתוב אשתו כל אשר בחר, I, 3–4) and “all the sons of light” (כול בני אור, I, 9).

In Deuteronomy 6 the Israelite’s daily life (including his/her interaction with others) is the framework for engaging with the commandments. However, in 1QS the idea of exclusivity is prominent from the beginning and is tied to the notion of those who freely offer themselves to the covenant of faithfulness (אל אותם את כל הנדבים לעשות חוקי אל בברית חסד, I, 7–8). The process of maintaining and transmitting the message in 1QS necessitates making decisive and exclusive choices. The commandments are not passed on to one’s biological children in a family context but the text creates its own exclusive “family-like” setting based on choice (“those who freely offer themselves to the covenant of faithfulness” and “all sons of light” (כתוב בנים, I, 7–8)). It is noticeable that the commandment to pass on the tradition to the next generation is absent in 1QS. This fits well with the overall position in 1QS of sharing insight, the true understanding, and interpretation only with the selected group who proved themselves worthy of receiving it. Both the intensification of the Shema commandment and the notion of exclusivity contribute to making the process of acquiring and transmitting 1QS’s message more costly.

1QS reinforces the foundations for its source and authority not only by alluding to the Shema tradition (with the explicit mention of Moses in I, 3) but also with the reference to the prophets (1QS I, 3; VIII, 16). In the Hebrew

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90 Brett E. Maiden (2020) argues for viewing the Deuteronomic theology as a cognitive more costly position than earlier Israelite religion. I do not disagree with this interpretation. However, I see 1QS’s usage of the Shema and 1QS extensive usage of Deuteronomic motifs as representing a more complex and more costly position than its source and inspirational background.

91 I have chosen to render the word וח.btnSave with “those who freely offer themselves.” The niphal participle of the root נדב is used here and in 1QS I, 11, and the hitpael participle in 1QS V, 1.6.8.10.21–22; VI, 13–14. The expression seems to carry cultic connotations. The background for this usage is to be found in the Hebrew Bible, see Lev 22:21; Ezra 3:5; 1 Chr 29:5–6.9.17. Cf. Dimant 2007; Hinojosa, 2016, 40. For the broader biblical meanings of נדב, see Conrad 1998.
Scriptures and especially the Deuteronomistic History, the prophets are the reminders and transmitters of what the Shema induces.\textsuperscript{92}

Lines 7b–11a designate the community members as those who freely offer themselves to the covenant of faithfulness, as the observers of God’s statutes, as joiners of the counsel of God, and as those who love all sons of light. Furthermore, these lines also describe the attitude towards the counter-group, which one has to hate in proportion with their guiltiness. The description of the counter-group functions as a mechanism of drawing the boundaries of in-group/out-group identity and heightens the sense of exclusivity.\textsuperscript{93}

Lines 11b–15 describe the degree of dedication required from the members of the community. As a sign for submitting freely and a total devotion into the Community of God, one brings one’s knowledge, abilities, and properties. One’s knowledge has to be refined in the truth of God’s decree, the abilities have to be put in order according to God’s perfect path, and one’s properties have to be brought in according to God’s righteous council. It is vital to act upon God’s commandments in the exact time neither too soon nor too late.\textsuperscript{94} One shall not turn from God’s true statutes either to go to the right or to the left. The degree of dedication seems to be massive as one brings in one’s knowledge which can be interpreted as one’s mental and inner capacities. One’s knowledge must go through a radical and demanding transformation process of refinement and purifications. One’s abilities, which can be interpreted as one’s physical and mental capacities, have to be aligned with God’s perfect way. One’s properties have to be put in order and in disposal of the community’s need. The degree of the costliness is illustrated as one brings oneself as a sacrifice (נָדָב) and the investment of one’s knowledge, abilities, and properties are the resources providing the right circumstances for maintaining and transmitting the ideologies and practices imposed by 1QS.\textsuperscript{95}

Comprehending the essence of the right time is vital both for the enactment of the practices that are required within the community and for understanding the worldview and the course of time that designates the community’s rightful role. Likewise, it is essential to be in the right place to walk on the right path and not to stray.

The introductory lines of 1QS present an agenda of costly and demanding requirements. 1QS borrows elements from the Hebrew Scriptures (e.g. the references to the Shema and the Sinai covenant tradition, the mention of

\textsuperscript{92} 2 Kings 17:13; 21:10, 24:2. Cf. also, e.g., Jer 35:15; 44:4.

\textsuperscript{93} For more detailed discussion of group identity in 1QS, see Jokiranta 2012, Chapter 3.

\textsuperscript{94} Regarding the importance of time, cf. Newsom 2004, 88–90.

\textsuperscript{95} “Transmitting religion also requires the development of forms of mnemonic support that are costly to maintain in terms of the most basic human resources: labor, time, and energy” (Whitehouse 2004a, 58–59).
Moses and the prophets) which one can assume to be well-known notions in Second Temple Judaism. As we have seen, the passing on of the divine commandments of the Shema in Deuteronomy 6 happens within the familiar setting of family and daily life. In this sense, the scriptural tradition shares some central features with what the Modes theory calls the “cognitive optimum position.” At this point, the Shema has become an integrated part of the general cultural heritage only requiring continuity to survive. By contrast, 1QS demands a conscious break from the continuity of cultural heritage and daily life. The refined and remodeled version of the Shema presented in 1QS necessitates a determined choice, which cuts against the intuitive and natural process in Deuteronomy 6. The remodeled Shema (1QS’s introduction) is deliberately promoted as cognitively much more costly version.

How, then, does 1QS proceed to secure that this cognitively costly version is effectively stored in memory? According to the Modes theory, we would expect a doctrinal or an imagistic mode, or perhaps some combination of both modes, to be employed.

4.2. The Covenant Renewal Ritual (1QS I, 16–II, 25)

I, 16–II, 25 describes the annual covenant renewal (see overview in Table 2). This ritual is an event for the yearly covenant renewal, re-ranking of already existing members, and an opportunity for admitting new members. The ritual participants are the priests, the levites, and an unspecified group called “those who enter the covenant.” Section I, 16–II, 25 comprises: 1) an introduction of the ritual purpose in I, 16–18a; 2) four ritual sequences

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96 Something along the same lines may be said about the intimate relation between Christian religious practices and social coherence at local levels in medieval Europe, as described by Howe (2004). Christian rituals and ethics were firmly linked to kinship, community, charity, and mutual obligations, and the church had to accommodate its doctrines to align with these practices which were widely upheld and intuitively supported by local communities. Whitehouse remarks that “many of the practices of medieval Christianity were clustered around the cognitive optimum position” (Whitehouse 2004c, 197). Without entering into speculation about the degree to which similar views and practices were popular or widespread in segments of Second Temple Judaism, we can surmise that a reception of the Shema along these lines was made possible by the text of Deuteronomy 6.

97 I regard 1QS I, 16-II, 25 as the section that describes the ritual procedures.

98 Jokiranta discusses whether this ritual involves divine action (special agent rituals) since God is supposed to enact the blessings and curses pronounced by the priest and levites (Jokiranta 2013, 157–158).
(see the overview below) described in I, 18b–II, 18; 3) concluding instructions in II, 19–25b.\footnote{Jokiranta (2017) analyses the covenant renewal ritual from a different cognitive perspective. Jokiranta highlights the importance of agents (above all the role of priests as special agents) and action in the ritual of blessing, and compares the ritual to blessings in other Qumran compositions.}

The introduction (I, 16–18a) of the ritual discloses that joining the community is the only way to enter the covenant with God. The acting subjects are “all those who enter the rule (or the order) of the community” (כול הבאים בסורק היחד) and who must “cross over” into the covenant (יעבורו בבריה). The upholding of the commandments is only possible within the community. As the community finds itself in the reign of Belial, it is warned of emotions such as fear, dreads, and horrors that might cause one to regret and retreat (לשוב). Worth noticing is that both the entrance into the community and the exit are described by verbs indicating movement (عبر andשוב).\footnote{Alison Schofield by applying Spatial theory points to the emergence of Third space through the community members’ movement (Schofield 2018).} The costliness of the ritual is obvious from the beginning; the willingness to repress one’s emotions for the benefit of the overarching purpose of the community is demanded.

The first ritual sequence is prescribed as follows: As they enter the covenant, the priests and the levites bless the Lord of salvation and his faithful deeds. The third group (“all those who enter”) confirm the blessing by repeating “Amen, Amen!”

In the second ritual sequence, the priests praise God and his wondrous works. Then the levities reckon and confess the transgressions of the sons of Israel. The third ritual group (“all those who enter”) confirm the levites’ indictment by acknowledging their guilt through a communal confession.

In the third sequence, the priests bless all the men of the lot of God with an expanded version of the Aronite blessing and the levites curse the men of the lot of Belial by a reversed version of the Aronite blessing (turned into a curse).\footnote{Cf. Hempel 2020, 83–84; Timmer 2008a. On the use of the Aronite blessing in this passage see also Tzoref 2012, 218–219, 227–228; Jokiranta 2017, 40–41.} This part of the ritual is again sanctioned and confirmed by the “Amen, Amen!”-response of the third group (“all those who enter”).

In the fourth sequence, the text remarkably dedicates eight lines to describe the fate of the insincere and dishonest member in the form of a long and complicated curse uttered by the priests and the levites. This curse is also sanctioned by the third group (“all those who enter”) as they respond: “Amen, Amen!”
Table 2. Overview of the four sequences of the ritual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Covenant Renewal Ritual</th>
<th>“The priests”</th>
<th>“The levites”</th>
<th>“All those who enter the covenant”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I, 18b-20 – First sequence</td>
<td>The priests and the levites bless the lord of salvation.</td>
<td>The levites reckon and confess the transgressions of the sons of Israel.</td>
<td>With the response “Amen, Amen!” all those who enter the covenant confirm the blessing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, 21-II, 1a – Second sequence</td>
<td>The priests praise God and his wondrous deeds.</td>
<td>All those who enter acknowledge their guilt through a communal confession.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II, 1b–10 - Third sequence</td>
<td>The priests bless all the men of lot of God.</td>
<td>The levites curse the men of lot of Belial.</td>
<td>All those who enter confirm by the “Amen, Amen!”-response.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II, 11-18 – Fourth sequence</td>
<td>The priests and the levites curse the insincere and dishonest applicant.</td>
<td>All those who enter sanction the curse by responding “Amen, Amen!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final section of the ritual in II, 19-25b gives general instructions concerning the regularity of the ritual (annual as long as Belial’s reign lasts) and the order of the participants’ procession. First, the priests enter according to their spiritual ranking, then the levites, and third the group called “all the people” (כול העם, I, 22) enter according to their rank, one after another, in groups of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. The text explicitly mentions that the order of procession symbolizes the eternal plan for every person’s place in God’s community. One cannot alter one’s position neither by moving up or down.103 As a conclusion, the purpose of the ritual is stated, which is to transform the participants into a community of truth, a holy council, and an eternal fellowship that act in humility, love and right intentions toward one another. The renewal ritual draws heavily on scriptural language and motifs. Prominent among these are the blessings and curses in Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 27–29.

In particular, the notion of “crossing over” (עבר) into the covenant echoes Deut 27:2, where the Israelites must cross the river Jordan (בם אשר עברו).

102 Adapted and modified from Maurais 2014, 63.
103 This resembles the idea of the divine plan for the creating beings that cannot be altered in the Two Spirits Treatise (III, 15–16).
leading up to the following ritual of blessings and curses (Deut 27:12–13). Several other passages are alluded to: The sequence of praise of God, enumeration of the sins of Israel, and communal confession is found in Neh 9 (cf. Hempel 2020, 83). The formulation of the confession of sins in I, 23 (והלויים מספרים את עוונות בני ישראל וכול פשעי אליהם בחטאתם ברמלת בליעל) is reminiscent of the words spoken by the priest on the Day of Atonement “over” the scapegoat in Lev 16:21 ( והפתעה עליה את כל פעור בני ישראל את כל פשעי בליעל) (cf. Hinojosa 2016, 48). The arrogant thoughts ascribed to the insincere applicant in II, 13–14 (יתבך בליבו לאמר שלום יהיה לי כי בשררות לי אליך) are an almost verbatim quotation from Deut 29:18 (והתברך בליבו לאמר שלום יהיה לי כי בשררות לי אליך). In the context of these echoes of the Pentateuch, the references to “Israel” and “all the people” create a strong link to the narrative of the covenant at Sinai.

In spite of the extensive adoption of scriptural images, allusions and connotations, 1QS is dealing with another situation than its scriptural tradition. Using the scriptural tradition for its credibility and legitimization, 1QS introduces new concepts and ideas. Everything is intensified and heightened in 1QS. The participants of the ritual are no longer an Israelite nation but rather an exclusive elite group designated by various titles (“those who freely offer themselves”/“the men of the lot of God”/“sons of light”) (cf. Maurais 2014, 60). Jeff S. Anderson points out that both the act of “crossing over” and the blessing and curses in 1QS function as defining the boundaries of the in-group/out-group and in-group/inner-group (Anderson 2011). In the scriptural context (Leviticus 26, Deuteronomy 27–29), the nation is the recipients of both threats and promises through curses and blessings. However, in 1QS the curses are reserved for the out-group (whether this is an insincere applicant or men of the lot of Belial) whereas the blessings are earmarked for the community. The ritual participants find themselves in “Belial’s reign,” a notion foreign to the Pentateuchal covenant texts. The only right way to act during Belial’s reign is to cross over into God’s covenant. Understanding oneself as the true Israel in the present eschatological circumstances leaves no room for hesitation but only for

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104 Cf. also the admonition to “cross over into the covenant of the Lord” (לעברך ברירת) in Deut 29:11.

105 Cf. Maurais (2014), who convincingly shows how the entire passage of 1QS II, 12b–15a is molded over Deut. 29: 18a–20a. See also Tzoref 2012, 220–221.

106 The importance of the covenantal people of Israel at Sinai as model for the self-understanding of the community in 1QS is demonstrated by VanderKam 2005. Cf. also Timmer 2008b.
decisive and whole-hearted devotion to uphold the commandments to become the true community of sons of light who will save the land.107

4.3. The Admission Procedure in 1QS VI, 13b-23
VI, 13b–23 describes the procedure for admitting new members into the community (see overview in Table 3). The procedure lasts two years and it includes four ritual steps. The participants in the procedure are: 1) The applicant, “anyone of Israel who freely offers himself” (כול המתנדב מישראל); 2) the “overseer at the head of the many” (האיש הפקד בראת רבים); 3) the deciding body, “the many” (הרבים); 4) the priests, (הכהנים); 5) the accountant, “the overseer of the property of the many” (האיש המבקר על מלאכת הרבים).108

The first step begins in VI, 13b–15b with a wish uttered by an applicant to join the community. The applicant’s insight and actions (לשכלו ולמעשיו) are tested by the overseer. The decisive criterion for continuing is whether the applicant will attain discipline (ואם ישיג מוסר). The term מוסר (discipline) is characteristic of wisdom literature, covering all aspects (physical and intellectual) of a person’s formation, training, and correction into the desired ideal.109 The purpose of the procedure is to return to truth and turn away from all injustice (לשוב לאמת ולסור מכול עול), therefore the applicant must undergo a transition process according to the norms of the community. The premise is that anyone who is not a part of the community has strayed from the truth and is associated with evil.

The second step is described in VI, 15c–17: The applicant must stand before the many, who decide, upon deliberation, whether he is suitable for the council of the Community. If accepted he has to complete a full year without permission to touch the purity of the many or sharing in their common property.110

107 The idea of the community making “atonement for the land” is explicitly mentioned in 1QS VIII, 3.6; cf. 1QS I, 6.
110 The “purity of the many” (טחירה רבים) seems to refer to pure food, but probably also comprises other aspects of purity (e.g. bathing and perhaps various sorts of physical contact, cf. Hempel 2020, 189. As Hempel remarks, purity and possession are important boundary markers between insiders and outsiders.
The third step follows in VI, 18–21a: After a year, the applicant’s insight and actions in the Torah (לפי וכלל ומעשיו בחקה) are examined by the many. If he is accepted, “on the advice of the priests and the multitude of the men of their covenant” (על פי ההורים והרבים בכרם) then the applicant is admitted to the “fellowship of the community” (לסוד היהוד). His possessions are entrusted to the community’s accountant, but it still cannot be spent on the many. Likewise, the applicant cannot touch the pure liquids of the many until he has completed a second year.

Finally in the fourth step in VI, 21b–23, after the second year is completed a renewed examination and a decision awaits and if the outcome is positive, it paves the way for the applicant’s full membership among “his brothers” (ברא בריתו). The applicant is assigned a rank with respect to “law, judgment, purity, and the sharing of his possession” (לתורה ולמשפט ולטהורה ولערב את הונו). Now, as a consequence of a full membership, his counsel and judgment belong to the community.

Table 3. An Overview of the Admission Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First step VI, 13b–15b</th>
<th>Second step VI, 15c–17</th>
<th>Third step VI 18–21a</th>
<th>Fourth step VI 21b–23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The applicant requests to join the community.</td>
<td>The applicant stands before the Many.</td>
<td>The applicant's insight and actions in the Torah examined by the Many.</td>
<td>Applicant examined by the Many.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applicant’s insight and actions tested by the Overseer.</td>
<td>Discussion and decision.</td>
<td>Discussion and decision, advised by the priests and the multitude of the men of the covenant.</td>
<td>If applicant is accepted, he is assigned a rank with respect to law, judgment, purity, and the sharing of his possession.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If applicant will attain discipline, enrolment procedure starts</td>
<td>If decision is positive, applicant spends a year without touching the purity of the Many or sharing common property.</td>
<td>If decision is positive, applicant spends a second year, his possessions are handed over to the Accountant but not shared with the Many. Applicant cannot touch the pure liquids of the Many.</td>
<td>As full member, his counsel and judgment belong to the community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The description from admission to full membership gives a clear picture of the applicant’s costly investment. The image of the applicant as a מתנדב (freely bringing oneself as a sacrifice) is elucidated as total submission to the discipline (דרס) of the community, which implies acceptance of their rules, their understanding of the Torah, and their jurisdiction over him. Moreover, the applicant entrusts his possessions to the community, but must wait for two years, and pass no less than four different examinations before a full membership is granted. During the application period, one is excluded from the central aspects of daily life of the community (purity, meals, and contact). This step-by-step-process constantly underlines the costly nature of the goal, demanding of the applicant to completely submit and reject his former ways.

4.4. Imagistic Mode and Doctrinal Mode in 1QS

Seen through the criteria of the Modes theory, the covenant renewal ritual in 1QS I, 16–II, 25b, can be placed under the imagistic mode category due to its low frequency (annual). As a ritual with festive elements that gathers the whole community once a year, this ritual must create a high emotional expectation and arousal. Whitehouse emphasizes the difference between participating in a dramatic emotionally arousing initiation ritual as initiate and subsequently taking part in the same ritual, this time as organizer, helper, or observer. The highly emotionally charged experience of being initiated, may not be sufficient to install the knowledge necessary for the continued transmission of rituals. Rather, such low-frequency rituals would lead participants to seek for meaning, and trigger “spontaneous exegetical reflection” (Whitehouse 2004a, 112–113). Subsequently, the initiate gradually comes to combine the elements of the imagistic ritual and assign significance to them as parts of a coherent system. The motivational force behind this quest for meaning is the “encoding” that took place at the original life-changing experience. It is a life-long process to fully master the performance of the ritual, and to gain a coherent understanding of its meaning. This process unfolds by participating in the ritual in a new role.

A similar pattern could be imagined for participants in the annual covenant renewal ritual described in 1QS. As presented above the covenant renewal

111 “He may only gradually become fully aware of the way imagery is consistently ‘clustered’ and is presentation ‘sequenced’ over a set of recurrent performances – a process that is, however, driven by the analogy-generating dynamics established at encoding” (Whitehouse 2004a, 116).
ritual contains different participant groups. It is likely that the experience of the ritual is different depending on who the participant is. For those who enter the covenant for the first time (having prepared for two years), the ritual would have the effect of a once-in-a-lifetime event as it definitively highlights one’s decision to enter the community and to break away from one’s earlier life. For community members participating year after year, the effect of the ritual would be a reminder of their initial entry into the covenant. In this context, the ritual provides a space for further reflection on the meaning of the ritual and its doctrines, and its enduring effect in one’s life. The experience of the ritual, as priests and levites who are conductors of the procedure might tend towards the routinized doctrinal mode. As they are the transmitters of the meaning and significance of the ritual and utter most of the prescribed words, they are the elements that keep the ritual experience centralized.

The description of the mandatory procedure for admission in 1QS VI, 13–23 seems to fulfill several aspects of the imagistic mode. The account of the procedure is straightforward and focuses on the steps and agents. Nevertheless, each step contains features specifically apt to support and enhance the emotional charge associated with the imagistic mode. The desire to join the community must create a high degree of emotional stimulus and motivation. The extended probationary period is a serious mutual investigation of whether the applicant really desires to join in and whether he is considered by the community as suitable for entering.

This costly process requires willingness, which the applicant must show through sustained dedication and commitment. For at least three reasons the admission ritual seems to be a low-frequency process: 1) it takes at least two years before the probationary time is completed; 2) it is a once-in-a-lifetime performance defining the applicant as a member of the community; 3) the membership determines all aspects of one’s life. Furthermore, another criterion of the imagistic mode is met, as the admission process seems to happen in a smaller group creating a strong bond between participants. A close relationship between the applicant and the figure called “the overseer” (האיש הפיקד ברואש הרבים) seems to be implied by the text. The overseer seems to fulfill a mentor role instructing and testing the applicant during the two years trial and ensuring that the applicant obtains the necessary qualifications and competences.

However, the process of achieving the right knowledge and deeds in the Torah tends towards a more repetitive doctrinal mode. While there are emotional “peaks” on the applicant’s road to membership that would qualify as low-frequency, high-arousal events, the procedure also involves an extensive amount of teaching and learning. This process also requires a high
degree of commitment and investment, which must trigger a high level of emotional stimulus when the applicant is tested and has reached the end of the partial process (the first year), and when he finally completes the admission in the second year. According to the Modes theory, this great commitment for admission might trigger the episodic memory. Consequently, this achievement becomes a decisive incident reshaping the applicant’s identity.

The physical and mental experience of “coming to stand before the many” (ﻮﺑﻮاا لﻮاا فاا واا واا, VI, 15), presumably at a session where the many would have been seated, while the applicant would literally stand before them to be assessed (cf. Hempel 2020, 187), must have constituted a moment of great excitement (cf. Grossman 2015). Spending extended time within the community, while being excluded from meals and other important aspects of social life must have created a considerable level of stress and anxiety. Every decisive occasion on the applicant’s road towards membership will have activated and enhanced these emotions.

The occurrence of both imagistic and doctrinal elements could be seen as complementary or mutually reinforcing. In a discussion of the Modes theory, Brian Malley has pointed to the way American Evangelical Christians, while organizing themselves within a framework that favors the doctrinal mode, seem to undergo individual experiences of great emotional charge. However, such experiences at the personal level do not manifest themselves, e.g., in the creation of new splinter groups, but rather in an intensified participation in, and contribution to, religious life within the existing congregation (Malley 2004). Similarly, James Laidlaw cites the case of Indic “renouncer religions” (Jainism and Buddhism), where smaller groups of ascetics undergo highly emotional initiation rites, that are central to their personal life. Meanwhile the majority of adherents facilitate and coexist with this imagistic experience without sharing it personally. The general religious system, in both cases, is of the doctrinal variant. Regardless of the differences between the two traditions, imagistic and doctrinal modes of transmission seem to support each other within one and the one same context. Laidlaw speaks of imagistic dynamics as being “embedded” into doctrinal tradition, and playing a key role in its transmission (Laidlaw 2004). A similar case could be made for the simultaneous use of different strategies in 1QS, appealing to mechanisms associated with both imagistic and doctrinal modes, but with the same purpose of maintaining and transmitting the cognitively costly message. What has not been treated by this article is the extended parts of 1QS (VI, 24–VII, 25; VIII, 20–IX, 11) dealing with
rules, regulations and sanctions that qualify as elements under the doctrinal mode. However, this part is outside of the scope of the present study.

4.5. Cognitively Optimal Versus Cognitively Costly Myths and the Two Spirits Treatise

In this section, we will briefly look at the notions cognitively optimal versus cognitively costly myths and compare these notions to the notorious section of 1QS, called the Two Sprits Treatise (TST) III, 13–IV, 26.

It has been debated whether TST is an original part of the Community Rule, or is inserted into the composition at some stage in 1QS’s redaction process. The genre of TST is not easy to assess. Certain features of the section resemble a didactic text with links to the wisdom tradition. However, a large part of TST has the form of a myth-like narrative, reaching beyond the beginning and end of the cosmic order. TST presents itself as knowledge to be conveyed by the maskil (משכיל) to “all sons of light” (כול בני אור), concerning the “origins of all sons of man” (תולדות כול בני איש, III, 13). TST declares that the unchangeable plan of “God of Knowledge” (אל הדעות) encompasses all created beings from before creation to after the eschatological end time (III, 13–17a). TST narrates God’s creation of man to rule the earth, and the appointment of the spirits of truth and deceit, in which man must walk. The two spirits have their origins in the spring of light and the well of darkness. Mankind is divided into two categories: The sons of justice, ruled by the prince of lights, and the sons of deceit, ruled by the angel of darkness. Beyond its own territory, the angel of darkness is authorized to mislead the sons of justice and cause them to sin and stumble. This situation will last until the end time planned by God (III, 17b–25a). In a second stage, TST tells of the creation of the two spirits and their ways in the world. The spirits of light and darkness enlighten the hearts of mankind, but their impact leads to opposite results: Walking in the path of the spirit of light results in eternal glory, and walking in the path of darkness leads to eternal destruction (III, 25a–IV, 14). The final part of TST turns to

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112 Minor parts of TST are found in the papyrus manuscript 4Q257 and possibly in another papyrus manuscript, 4Q255. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar has been able to reassign two fragments formerly assigned to 4Q487 and 4Q502 to 4Q257, fragment 5 (Tigchelaar 2001), 194). Furthermore, Tigchelaar has proposed that a small fragment from Cave 1 (published originally as a part of “Tongues of Fire (1Q29)”, now relabeled 1Q29a), might be an alternative version of the Two Spirits Treatise (Tigchelaar 2004, 529–548). Cf. Hempel 2020, 98.

113 In my article “The Two Spirits Treatise and Creative Usage of Genesis 1–3” (Chapter Three in this thesis) I argue that TST contains a two-fold presentation of creation (echoing the double creation narrative in Gen 1–3), relating man’s creation (1QS III, 17b–25a) and the spirits’ creation (III, 25b–IV, 1).
the eschatological end time. As long as mankind walks in the spirits of truth and deceit, there must be unending enmity between them, but at the time of his choice, God will end all evil. The people he has chosen for his eternal covenant will be purified, and they will attain heavenly wisdom and insight, and be restored to Adam’s glory. Until then the two spirits fight within the hearts of men (IV, 15–26).

Referring to cognitive linguist Mark Turner and anthropologist Pascal Boyer, Whitehouse describes the proclivity to form narratives, including mythical narratives, as a natural feature of human minds, and the way our experiences, knowledge and thinking are often organized. Stories with a tendency towards the cognitively optimal position have the greatest chance of stabilizing and surviving. These stories seem to have two recurring features: 1) they are “schematically organized into simpler units, each of which connects (often implicitly) a very few causes to a very few effects.” These stories tend to be relatively simple, involving a limited amount of causes linked to a limited range of effects, which, in turn, cause further effects; 2) They “take the form of ‘master narratives’ that supply a source narrative for a seemingly limitless range of target narratives on the principle of analogy or parable” (Whitehouse 2004a, 44).

By contrast, cognitively costly narratives require considerably greater effort to be remembered and transmitted. “Sacred cycles of mythologies” in many religious traditions involve such cognitively costly narratives. Typically, they contain less “natural” causal chains, and their coherence is linked less to their intrinsic quality as stories and more to their ability to illustrate or sustain coherent religious doctrines (ibid., 57).

Myths often function as aids-mémoire for transmitting revelatory contents that are complex to convey and myths can be means of dramatizing the doctrinal teaching. In particular, Whitehouse highlights the usage of myths in mystery cults as triggers of “spontaneous exegetical reflection.” In this case, even though myths are memorable on their own, they become meaningful through long-term investment of intense cognitive resources (ibid.). These myths with their complex narratives and underlying concepts, need “costly support in terms of both memory and motivation” (ibid., 55).

The myth-like narratives of TST belong in the category of cognitively costly myths. TST retells the agenda of 1QS (seeking God with whole heart and soul and joining the community) in a mythical framework.114 The

114 TST fulfills this function in its present context in 1QS, regardless of whether this section was inserted into the Community Rule in the course of a redaction history. On the
accounts of the creation of man and of the spirits of light and darkness (or the spirits of truth and deceit) point to a transcendent reality behind the visible and tangible world. They can only be understood within the framework of a complex notion of time from before creation to the eschatological end time. Everything is driven by an idea of the unchangeable divine plan, which involves elements like the present rule of Belial and the apparently overwhelming power of evil forces in the world.

TST draws heavily on the creation narratives in Gen 1–3, transforming them deliberately into a more complex myth-like narrative.\(^\text{115}\) The creation myths in Genesis (both the Priestly account in Gen 1 and the Yahwist account in Gen 2–3) are the products of a long and intricate history of literary transmission, owing much to earlier mythological traditions from the Ancient Near East (cf. Westermann 1994, 1–73; Wenham 1987, xlvi–I). They are a result of refined literary and theological creativity, and we cannot describe them as examples of what the Modes theory calls “cognitive optimum position.” However, Gen 1 presents a systematic account of creation, and Gen 2–3 with its focus on causes and effects explains the reason for mankind’s departure from direct access to divine presence and the Garden of Eden. The narratives of Gen 1–3 have relatively simple structures and elements. They focus from different perspectives, on the visible and tangible world, as humans experience it. Therefore, Gen 1–3 seem to be excellent candidates for what Whitehouse calls “master narratives.”

TST takes over a great number of central terms from Gen 1–3.\(^\text{116}\) However, TST’s cosmology is developed in new directions: according to Carol Newsom, TST opens up a space before the beginning of creation,\(^\text{117}\) and extends to the eschatological end time and beyond. Compared to the relatively straightforward character of the mythical narratives in Gen 1–3, TST displays a more complex and intriguing system of interrelated agents and symbols, thus demanding considerable effort to learn, understand and transmit.

The opening lines of TST (1QS III, 13–15a) explicitly characterize the contents as something the maskil has to “instruct and teach” (לָבֵן וּלָלַמְדָה) to all sons of light. As a combination of cognitively costly mythical narratives and doctrines regarding the creation of the universe and its eschatological

\(^{115}\) I discuss TST’s adoptions and transformations of themes from the creation narratives in Gen 1–3 at more depth in Chapter Three (article 1).

\(^{116}\) See Chapter Three (Article 1), and cf. Newsom 2004, 86; Schwartz 2020.

\(^{117}\) Cf. the remark by Newsom (2004, 86): “But what 1QS 3–4 manages to do is to open up a space behind Genesis 1 and to insert itself into that space.”
end, TST qualifies, from the perspective of the Modes theory, as an example of the doctrinal mode, in which complex bodies of narrative and teaching are stored in semantic memory through frequent repetition. In the explicit and recurring references to eschatological judgment and to the annihilation of the sons of deceit, we may detect one of the motivational strategies associated with the doctrinal mode, the appeal to divine sanction as a means to prevent tedium effect or decreasing motivation. Furthermore, the creative use of scriptural motifs in TST constitutes an attempt to bolster the authority of its teaching by connecting it to a familiar tradition closer to the intuitive “cognitively optimal” position.

5. Conclusion
This study has shown that the Modes of Religiosity theory, even though it may not accurately describe the entire spectrum of any given religious tradition, provides a helpful perspective for understanding the complexity of 1QS. In particular, the Modes theory can be used to highlight some of the ways 1QS transmits and transforms religious tradition into a more costly and demanding endeavor. The variety of genres and discourses within 1QS can be seen as a strategy on the part of the ancient author(s), serving the purpose of making the message appealing to human memory. The Modes theory sheds light on important cognitive functions underlying these strategies.

The introduction of 1QS presents a religious agenda, which stands out as cognitively costly, and seems to deliberately emphasize the demanding nature of its requirements over traditional values and beliefs. Central scriptural themes, as summarized in the Deuteronomic Shema, are transformed into a version that is promoted as more cognitively costly, requiring a conscious break from heritage and tradition. The worldview and the costly demands presented in the introduction are followed up in every part of 1QS, but displayed in different genres.

In the yearly covenant renewal ritual we recognize important features of the imagistic mode, as described in the Modes theory. This low-frequency event involves elements (ranking of members, cursing of insincere members, entrance of new members) of high emotional charge, which would be strong candidates for being fixed in episodic memory.

Likewise, the admission procedure for an applicant wishing to join the community, is depicted as an extensive step-by-step enrollment, each step representing a once-in-a-lifetime event for the applicant, with the potential of creating considerable emotional stimulus. At the same time, admission involves a great amount of repetitive teaching, which would belong to the doctrinal mode. A case can be made, therefore, that in 1QS doctrinal and
imagistic modes are mutually complementary, and serve the same purpose of transmission. Finally, the mythical narratives included in TST present themselves as cognitively costly myths, in terms of the Modes theory, and would require comprehensive, repetitive instruction, associated with the doctrinal mode, to be effectively conveyed to community members, and potentially stored in their semantic memory over time.

1QS stabilizes its message by deliberately invoking the known tradition. It echoes the Shema, refers to figures of the past (e.g., Moses and the prophets), models the covenant renewal ritual on the Deuteronomic narrative of God’s covenant with Israel, and TST draws extensively on the Genesis creation accounts. While adapting these narratives, 1QS changes the perception of the tradition to support its own message, which emerges as a more costly and demanding version.
Chapter Five

Research Question 3: How can Construal Level Theory’s notions of construals (high or low-level) and psychological distances contribute to the detection of the mental mechanisms in the process of creating a persuasive and motivating message through stability and change in 1QS?

This chapter has been submitted as an article to the Journal of Cognitive Historiography. I targeted this journal with two agendas: The first agenda is to render an excellent and well-preserved Qumran composition accessible to scholars outside the field of biblical studies. By showing the Qumran material’s potential for widening our understanding of the human mind’s ability to interpret, transform and transmit tradition. The second agenda is to enter into a transdisciplinary dialogue regarding the application of cognitive theories on ancient texts. Readers of this journal cannot be expected to be familiar with details regarding the Qumran literature or the history of ancient Judaism. Therefore, the article is designed with this in mind.

I apply Construal Level Theory (CLT) on the Community Rule (1QS), an ancient Jewish text from the Dead Sea Scrolls. CLT is a theory developed within social and cognitive psychology. It operates with the correlation between mental “construals” (i.e., high- and low-level) and psychological distance (i.e., spatial, temporal, social, or hypothetical). CLT proposes that the human mind’s ability to traverse the present (i.e., the “here-and-now”) is dependent on the interaction between level of construals and psychological distances. High-level construals are abstract, general, and superordinate representations of things (i.e., the why, the end-state), while low-level construals are concrete, specific, and subordinate representations (i.e., the how, the means). As 1QS is read through the lens of CLT, it becomes clear that this ancient text deliberately combines different modes of expression to communicate its message and to persuade its recipients to accept its ultimate goal, and to choose the appropriate practices to realize the end-state.

We might assume that the ancient authors and redactors of 1QS faced the challenge of motivating their recipients to accept their worldview and to conduct their lives accordingly. Their everyday life required a high degree of stability and discipline, while the future held the promise of decisive and positive change. CLT provides a helpful framework, which may be used to detect and explain some of the strategies employed in 1QS to meet the constant challenges.
Article 3: The Community Rule from the Dead Sea Scrolls: Identifying High- and Low-level Construals

1. Introduction
In this article, I aim to apply Construal Level Theory (CLT), a conceptual framework from cognitive- and social psychology to the Community Rule (1QS) from the Dead Sea Scrolls.\textsuperscript{118}

First, I will introduce the Community Rule (1QS) within its context, and outline CLT’s fundamental assumptions. Four studies that apply CLT fruitfully on different fields serve as inspiration for applying CLT on 1QS. This investigation will hopefully produce a novel insight into how the literary structure of 1QS is driven by different strategies to maintain a strong grip on its recipients.

2. 1QS and the Dead Sea Scrolls
1QS is one of the best-known manuscripts from the 20\textsuperscript{th} century’s most important textual discovery, the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls that were found 1947–1956, comprise over 900 ancient Jewish manuscripts hidden in 11 caves. Some caves (such as cave 1 and 4) are close to the archeological site Khirbet Qumran, northwest of the Dead Sea. The people (maybe the Qumran community) who resided in Khirbet Qumran could have been the owners of the discovered Dead Sea Scrolls.\textsuperscript{119}

The 1QS manuscript is an ancient Jewish text, which is written in Hebrew and dates back to around 100–75 BCE (Cross 1994, 57). 1QS was among the first scrolls discovered in 1947 in cave 1. The enigmatic title 1QS is an abbreviation, where 1 stands for cave number one, Q for the Qumran site, and S for the Hebrew word \textit{Serek}.\textsuperscript{120} Compared to many other manuscripts from the Qumran caves, 1QS is remarkably well-preserved with minimal damages.

Because 1QS was among the first discovered scrolls and due to its almost intact condition, it largely shaped biblical scholars’ perception of what the caves of Qumran had held hidden for nearly 2000 years. As a consequence, manuscripts found subsequently were approached in the light of 1QS. The

\textsuperscript{118} See the following link for the digital photographs of the manuscript at the website of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem: \url{http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/community}. 1QS was first published in Burrows 1951. More recent text editions with translation and commentary are Qimron and Charlesworth 1994; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; Metso 2019; Hempel 2020.

\textsuperscript{119} For an overview, see Meyers 2010.

\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Serek} is the first (partly preserved) word in the manuscript and means a manual, rule, or order.
text was considered the fundamental “rule-book” of the “Qumran community,” testifying to its theology, organization, and self-understanding. Manuscripts with extensive affinity to 1QS, not identical copies, were found later in caves 4 and 5.\textsuperscript{121} These manuscripts and fragments are in a poorer condition than 1QS and seem to represent shorter and perhaps more original versions of 1QS. They prove that the content of 1QS evolved as the Qumran community developed.\textsuperscript{122}

As the Dead Sea Scrolls (among them 1QS) became known, biblical scholars were facing a unique window into an ancient Jewish literary collection from Second Temple times, that no one would have thought existed. Scholars have divided the Dead Sea Scrolls into two main categories. The first category includes the biblical scrolls (approximately one third of 900 manuscripts, older versions of some of the books of the Hebrew Bible, e.g. Psalms or Isaiah). The second category, the rest of the scrolls (approximately two thirds), which were designated non-biblical scrolls. The non-biblical scrolls were subdivided into “sectarian” (authored by the Qumran community) and “non-sectarian” manuscripts. 1QS has been placed in the “sectarian” category. Thus, scholars encountered a large collection of manuscripts and fragments inspired by the Hebrew Scriptures. However, notions drawn from the Hebrew Scriptures were presented in completely new contexts. They were new pieces of literature with their own agenda and not just replications of the Hebrew Scriptures. Consistent with these characteristics, 1QS displays a mixture of different genres, ideas, and notions inspired by the Hebrew Scriptures.

Scholars have examined and restored the material condition of 1QS, made qualified estimates about its dating, and attempted to reconstruct the lacunas. They have identified 1QS’s connections to other Dead Sea Scrolls and its affinity to the Hebrew Scriptures (Wernberg-Møller 1957; Grossman 2007; Tzoref 2012; Metso 2019; Hempel 2020). In more recent years, transdisciplinary approaches such as rhetorical and literary theories have been applied to analyze the discourse of knowledge in 1QS (Newsom 2004). Moreover, sociological approaches to examine the concept of social identity (Lawrence 2005; Hakola 2007; Jokiranta 2010) as well as cognitive theories to investigate the possible occurrence of tedium effect of rituals in 1QS (Jokiranta 2013) and the function of blessings as action, have also been utilized on 1QS (Jokiranta 2017). In the present study, I aim to apply insights from cognitive and social psychology to uncover why and how the agenda

\textsuperscript{121} The cave 4 manuscripts are 4Q255–4Q264, and the cave 5 manuscript is 5Q11.
\textsuperscript{122} For an overview of the manuscript situation, and a discussion of previous research, see Hempel 2020, 15–51.
Power of Perception in the Community Rule

of 1QS seems to persuade and encourage its recipients to do as it bids them to.

1QS seems to describe a unique and radical Jewish community.\textsuperscript{123} The text comprises 11 columns and has been labeled a manual of discipline for a \textit{maskil} (designation for a teacher or a sage figure), who has the obligation to instruct his community (“all sons of light”).\textsuperscript{124}

An overview of the content of 1QS looks as follows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IQS</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Introduction/Manifesto (I, 1–15); Description of the Annual Ritual of Covenant Renewal (I, 16–III, 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Myth-like Section “Two Spirits Treatise” (III, 13 – IV, 26)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Rules for the Congregation (V, 1–VI, 8)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Rules for “the Session of the Many” (VI, 8–13); Ritual and Rules for Admission of New Members (VI, 13–23); Transgressions and Sanctions (VI, 24–VII, 25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>The Ideal Group (VIII, 1–19); Rules for the Perfect (VIII, 20–IX, 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Rules for the \textit{Maskil} (IX, 12–X, 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>The \textit{Maskil}’s Hymn (X, 6 – XI, 22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The text combines different genres such as manifesto, rituals, rules and sanctions, myth-like narrative, and a hymn. The shifts between genres have been explained as a result of different compilation processes. The ritual section contains descriptions of procedures such as an annual covenant renewal (column I–III) and admission ritual (column VI, 13–23). The rules sections include prescripts for different settings such as dining, studying, speaking, ritual purification along with procedures to readmit or punish disobedient members, and reward compliant members (the rules are spread in columns II–III and V–X). The text interrupts itself by a myth-like section describing the formation of cosmos and man’s place within it (column III–

\textsuperscript{123} For a nuanced overview, see Collins 2010.  
\textsuperscript{124} The title is only found in some of the manuscripts pertaining to 1QS. \textit{Maskil} originates from the Book of Daniel. In Dan 11:33.35; 12:3.10 \textit{maskilim} designates “wise teachers” among the Jewish people.
IV). Additionally, 1QS provides a profile of an ideal elite group (column VIII). However, it remains grammatically unclear whether the ideal elite group belongs to a golden past or will occur in the future. Finally, the text ends with the *maskil’s* hymn that glorifies God, and emphasizes man’s total and eternal submission into God’s will (columns X–XI).

3. **Construal Level Theory (CLT)**

CLT deals with the human mind’s ability to transcend the immediate situation, the “here and now.” As far as we know, humans are the only species who are capable of mental travel. Humans are “… able to recollect themselves in the past, plan the future, take others' perspective, cognize spatially remote places, and contemplate counterfactual alternatives to reality. In each case, a psychological distance from the self in the here-and-now is traversed” (Trope and Liberman 2012, 122).

The two fundamental concepts of CLT are “construals” and “psychological distance.” These two are in constant mutual interaction. CLT proposes that we form “construals” which are mental representations or ways of imagining and representing objects, events and actions in the mind. We form more and less abstract mental construals depending on how distant events, objects, and actions seem to us. “Construal levels” are a measure of abstraction, a way to describe how we perceive things. “Construals” are not static perceptions but are shaped dynamically in the minds of individuals. The same thing can be mentally represented, or “construed,” in different ways by various individuals, or by the same individual in different situations.

CLT operates with high- and low-level construals, two different ways of mentally representing objects, events, or actions. High-level construals are defined as “… schematic, decontextualized representations that extract the gist from the available information, emphasizing a few superordinate core features of events” (Trope and Liberman 2012, 120). In other words, when construing something at a high-level people tend to focus on the greater picture and not the details (a forest, not the particular tree type). Low-level construals are defined as “… relatively unstructured, contextualized representations that include subordinate and incidental features of events” (ibid.). When construing something at a low-level, the mind tends to focus on concrete, specific and minor details and not the most essential or overall aspects (e.g. the patterns of the leaves and not the forest).

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125 For the understanding of an elite group in column VIII, see Collins 2010, 69–75.
126 This section is an abridged version of the presentation of Construal Level Theory in Chapter Two and in Chapter Six (Article 4).
The second fundamental concept in CLT is “psychological distance.” CLT estimates how people construe objects, events, and actions differently depending on the psychological distance. Every time we imagine objects, events, and actions we intuitively connect to them by considering and estimating their distance from us.

Psychological distance increases the impact of abstract and superordinate aspects of a situation, while decreasing the impact of subordinate and contextual aspects (Eyal and Liberman 2012, 186–188). Moreover, high-level construal is associated with the desirability of a given object, event or action (the why or the end-state), while low-level construal is associated with its feasibility (the how or the means to reach the end-state) (Trope and Liberman 2012, 121; Eyal and Liberman 2012, 187).

High-level construals are the instruments by which the mind traverses various psychological distances – in time, space, between oneself and other people, and between what is factual and what is merely possible (Trope and Liberman 2012, 121). The correlation between construals and psychological distance occurs in four dimensions: 1) temporal distance (refers to when an event occurs), 2) spatial distance (refers to where it occurs), 3) social distance (refers to whom it occurs to) and 4) hypothetical distance (refers to whether it occurs).

Across these distances, the high-level construals are able to “preserve the essential, invariant properties of the referent event” (Trope and Liberman 2012, 121). This means that when we perceive something as being far from us, in any of the four psychological dimensions, we tend to imagine the thing in its general, superordinate features.

CLT also suggests a reciprocal effect between construal levels and psychological distances. Things perceived at greater distance are construed mentally in more abstract and high-level terms than things that are perceived to be close. Conversely, a high-level construal makes us view the object as more distant. Furthermore, the different dimensions of distance are interrelated, and mutually interdependent. An object in a remote place is perceived in higher-level construals than an object that is spatially close. If another dimension is added, so the object is both situated in a remote place and remote in time (past or future), the tendency of perceiving the object in higher-level construals increases (Trope and Liberman 2012, 125).

An example of construing the same event in both high-and low-level terms could be a close friend’s wedding. A year from the wedding day (distant future), the focus will be on the general aspects of the event, feelings of joy and anticipation, sharing this day with one’s friend. A week before the wedding day (near future), one would be occupied with the details of the event, what to wear and what time to show up.
Chapter 5: 1QS and Identifying High- & Low-level Construals

CLT has been applied in relation to a number of topics such as climate change (Spence, Poortinga, and Pidgeon, 2012), consumer behavior (Williams, Stein, and Galguera, 2014), fear of crime (Gouseti and Jackson, 2015) and much more.

Particularly relevant for my investigation are four studies that include CLT: The first study applies CLT to the genre of Science Fiction, which is the first time CLT has been applied to literature (Carney, 2017). The second study investigates the impact of “Religion” versus “God” on pro-sociality (Karatas and Gürhan-Canli, 2020). The third is a CLT study on concepts of values and moral principles as being high-level construals by nature (Eyal et al. 2009; Eyal and Liberman 2012). Finally, the fourth study examines the way people express their faith in God by high- and low-level construals (Grabowska, 2013). Inspired by the findings of these studies, I will apply CLT to explore the structure of 1QS.

4. CLT and Science Fiction Literature

James Carney applies CLT to Science Fiction (SF) literature and suggests that “SF manipulates psychological distance to affect construal level” (Carney 2017, 77). This description aligns with earlier descriptions of SF “as a genre of cognitive estrangement that alienates readers from their habitual environment” (ibid.).

Citing a large amount of SF literature, Carney demonstrates how all four psychological distances are typically foregrounded in SF. Accordingly, spatial distance is a frequent theme where “extremities of space” take the form of enormous distances (e.g., outer space) as well as extremely small distances (e.g., nanotechnology) (ibid., 77–78). Temporal distance is another typical SF feature including extreme temporal displacement and the use of scenarios in a very distant future or past. Social distance often comes in the shape of aliens that “can only with difficulty be reconciled with human values and behavioral norms” (ibid., 79). Finally, the hypothetical distance is yet another basic feature of SF, which “explicitly thematizes the counterfactual” (ibid., 80).

Carney suggests that the manipulation of psychological distance affects its readers in at least three ways: 1) Distance maximization increases the sense of “purposiveness.” CLT proposes that distant actions lead our focus towards overarching goals and motives. Carney sees SF with its emphasis on remote goals as a “heroic” genre. Its cognitive stance is “proactive rather than reactive,” leading the reader to expect agents to be self-motivated and

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127 Carney’s study on Science Fiction and Construal Level Theory is also used in my Chapter Six (Article 4).
to act in recognition of remote goals, regardless of mundane concerns or limitations. This feature, according to Carney, also explains the often-noticed “lack of well-drawn characters in the genre” (ibid., 81–82). Distance maximization further enhances readers’ expectations of moral engagement. CLT research has found that moral values are more intensely activated in relation to distant objects. Carney relates this to the recurrent occupation of SF with “the axis of the utopian/dystopian imaginary.” SF often displays aspects of a utopian ideology, which combines moral commitment to a better world with praxis striving to make that world a reality. Maximizing psychological distance “makes this moral impulse more salient to readers” (ibid., 83). Distance maximization is associated with formality of language in SF. Most SF writing exhibits “formulaic style,” avoiding the affective and emotional registers (ibid., 83–84).

4.1. 1QS, CLT, and Science Fiction
Looking at 1QS through the lens of Carney’s application of CLT on SF literature, there seems to be an informative overlap. 1QS, much like SF, displays all four psychological distances.

We begin with the temporal distance. Both in the introduction (column I) and later in the rule-material (e.g., column VIII), 1QS connects itself to figures of the biblical past, e.g. Moses.

…he (God)\textsuperscript{128} commanded through Moses and through all his servants the prophets; …

(I, 3)

This (way)\textsuperscript{129} is the study of the law that he commanded through Moses, … (VIII, 15)

As 1QS links itself to the stability of the well-established tradition, it taps into the credibility that ancient Judaism associated with these past figures. By doing this 1QS seems to create a stable foundation for its message. Moses is an ideal figure in the biblical context, belonging to a very distant past. Such a figure becomes a high-level construal as the reader focuses on the superordinate features associated with Moses, and omits smaller details. The myth section (columns III–IV) looks back to the time before creation, and explains that the creator has planned everything that exists, from before creation to the eschatological end.

\textsuperscript{128} In this article, I use the translation by Metso 2019 for quotations. Square brackets indicates Metso’s reconstructions, and normal brackets are my own explanations unless otherwise indicated.

\textsuperscript{129} “(way)” is Metso’s explanation.
From the God of knowledge comes everything that is and will be. Before they existed he fixed all their plans, and when they come into existence they complete their work according to their instructions in accordance with his glorious plan and without changing anything. (III, 15–16)

The idea of the eschatological end pops up frequently throughout the text in the form of different concepts (e.g. everlasting fire (II, 8); everlasting destruction (II, 15); appointed time of visitation (IV, 18–19 & 26); the day of vengeance (IX, 23 & XI, 19)).

But God in his mysterious insight and glorious wisdom has assigned an end to the existence of injustice, and at the appointed time of the visitation he will destroy it forever. (IV, 18–19)

Social distance is a key feature in 1QS. The text requires an absolute separation from the adversaries (called, e.g. “all sons of injustice” / “sons of darkness”/ “the lot of Belial”). Any wrong interaction with these adversaries is dangerous and can contaminate and destroy the whole community.

… in accordance with these rules, they shall separate themselves from the settlement of men of injustice and shall go into the wilderness to prepare the way of him, … (VIII, 13)

Furthermore, the text presents a large repertoire of supernatural beings (such as God, spirits of light and darkness, angels, a heavenly prince, and heavenly sons). All actions, rules, and prescripts are explained and justified within the framework of the eschatological end-state.

Control over all the sons of righteousness lies in the hand of the prince of lights… complete control over the sons of injustice lies in the hand of the angel of darkness… (III, 20–21)

Hypothetical distance is also a noticeable feature in 1QS. The text presents its readers with a great number of non-experienced events and postulated realities such as the time before creation, the eschatological judgment, the constant interference of transcendent spirits and angels in the lives of humans, and an ideal state of being that no one has actually experienced but which the community is urged to strive after.

and all the spirits of his (angel of darkness) lot make the sons of light stumble…(III, 24)

Spatial distance is also present in the text in the form of a utopian strive to prepare “the land” by atoning and keeping the right conduct and complete separation from the wrong company.
And they shall be accepted to make expiation for the land and to determine the judgment of wickedness, and there shall be no more injustice (VIII, 10)

As illustrated, all four psychological distances are noticeably present in 1QS. The manipulation of distances produces at least three effects on the implied recipients of 1QS: 1) As distance increases, the sense of purposefulness increases. 1QS operates with an extremely purpose-driven worldview. In the myth section, the creation of the world is described as a result of God’s premediated plan. Anything that exits has been assigned a purpose by the creator. The goal of 1QS not only connects itself to a primeval past but also to the eschatological future. “All sons of light” are urged to act and behave in accordance with the eschatological end-state as the goal of their existence. 2) As distance increases, the recipients’ expectation of moral engagement increases as well. The agenda of 1QS is to form its recipients into a selected group “all son of light,” by living a very strict, scheduled, and disciplined lifestyle. This is only permitted and possible within the community. 3) As distance increases, the sense of “formulaic language” increases too. Formality of language is a characteristic feature of 1QS. Emotional and affective modes of expression are not entirely absent, but large portions of the text are in a traditional, formulaic style. The frequent literary loans from, and allusions to, biblical expressions heighten this tendency.

5. CLT and the Impact of “God” versus “Religion” on Prosociality
Karataş and Gürhan-Canli (2020) rely on CLT to pursue a study on the impact of thinking about “God” versus thinking about “religion” on prosocial and altruistic behavior. They enter an ongoing discussion concerning possible links between religion and religious attitudes on the one hand, and prosocial and altruistic patterns of acting on the other hand. Their premise is that “the God concept is associated with both decontextualized higher order moral values and abstract characteristics that go beyond the senses and concrete imaginations of people” (Karataş and Gürhan-Canli 2020, 1108). Understanding “God” as the highest construal is linked to the idea of the divine in the Abrahamic religions, where God is attributed with characteristics such as omniscience and omnipotence. By contrast, Karataş and Gürhan-Canli regard “religion” as a human social and practical system of beliefs and actions (e.g., dogmas or rituals). In other words, religion represents a lower-level construal. The relation between God and religion is summed up as follows: “God represents the superordinate values that act as ultimate destinations or ends to be reached … These relatively

130 Cf. Chapter Two on recent development within Cognitive Science of Religion.
decontextualized values achieve meanings by being located in context through the subordinate actions or rituals involved in religion” (Karataş and Gürhan-Canli 2020, 1110). Briefly stated, God is the why and religion is the how.

Based on CLT’s earlier findings, Karataş and Gürhan-Canli predict that if people are primed with thoughts about God, they will be lead in the direction of higher-level construals, and if primed with thoughts about religion, lower-level construals tend to prevail. Furthermore, this will impact people’s promptness to act in prosocial ways differently. Accordingly, when people are primed with the God concept, the tendency towards prosocial behavior would be expected to be stronger when related to distant goals. In comparison, when people are primed with concepts of religion, they would be expected to show a stronger inclination to act prosocially with closer goals in mind. Different series of experiments conducted by Karataş and Gürhan-Canli revealed the expected outcome: People are more inclined to act prosocially towards distant targets, when thoughts about God are activated. When thoughts about religion are activated, closer targets comprise a better “construal fit” for activating prosocial behavior. The concept of “construal fit” refers to people’s experience of “feeling right.” This occurs when the construals, either high or low, fit the psychological distance of the targets (Karataş and Gürhan-Canli 2020, 1117).

5.1. 1QS, CLT and the Impact of “God” vs. “Religion” on Prosociality
As the following examples from the myth and hymn sections will show, 1QS has an extremely abstract, high-level construal of God as omniscient, exalted, and omnipotent.

From the God of knowledge comes everything that is and will be… (III, 15)

I will say to God: “My righteousness,” and to the Most High: “The one who prepares my good lot,” “Well of Knowledge” and “Spring of Holiness,” “Height of Glory” and “Omnipotent Eternal Splendor.” (X, 11–12)

In accordance with Karataş and Gürhan-Canli, such descriptions would motivate recipients to act with their eyes fixed on their ultimate goals. By contrast, the rules sections are primarily focused on prosocial behavior within the community, the intimate group of people surrounding the recipient’s everyday life.

The one of lower rank shall obey the one of higher rank in regard to work and money. Together they shall eat, together they shall pray, and together they shall take counsel. (VI, 2–3)
No man from among the men of holiness shall have anything to do with his wealth or with his counsel in regard to any matter… (VIII, 23-24)

1QS exhorts its recipients to act prosocially towards fellow members of the community. Shifting between higher- and lower-level construals (emphasizing God’s exalted nature and underlining the importance of daily praxis), 1QS constantly maintains both perspectives. In 1QS, “construal fit” occurs when high-level construals describing God are combined with formulations pointing to the end-state goal (entering the community of the eternal covenant). Similarly, “construal fit” is achieved when low-level construals describing one’s obligation towards fellow members are combined with formulations pointing to the immediate, feasible practices.

6. CLT, Values, and Moral Principles
CLT considers values and moral principles, by nature, as high-level construals. Values and moral principles guide our behavior and are central for our self-identity (Eyal et. al 2009, 35). CLT proposes an explanation of how moral principles and values affect people’s judgments of particular objects, events or actions, and how people’s personal values relate to their actual behavior. Earlier findings have been inconsistent; some showing that values are reliable predictors of judgments and behavior, and others suggesting a much weaker correspondence. According to CLT, personal values predict people’s behavior better when distant (rather than near) future situations are involved (Eyal et al. 2009). Similarly, values and moral principles exert greater influence on people’s judgments and predictions of psychologically distant situations in comparison to near situations (Eyal and Liberman 2012).

Values and moral principles as high-level construals, are “abstract, superordinate cognitive construals that provide continuity and meaning under changing environmental circumstances and serve as trans-situational goals that guide action” (ibid., 2012, 188). Psychological distance increases the impact of abstract, superordinate aspects of a situation, and decreases the impact of subordinate and contextual aspects (ibid., 187).

The choice between focusing on values versus focusing on situation specific circumstances is influenced by psychological distances. The psychological distance is affected by different factors (spatial, temporal, social and hypothetical distances). Values and moral principles guide people’s plans and intentions for psychologically distant situations, whereas immediate

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131 The studies by Eyal and colleagues on values and moral from a Construal Level Theory perspective occurs also in Chapter Six of the present thesis (Article 4).
plans for near situations are influenced by circumstantial aspects of the situation (ibid., 193–196).

Important for my investigation of 1QS from a CLT perspective, value-based messages seem also to be more persuasive when they are presented from a distant perspective (Fujita et. al 2007; Eyal and Liberman 2012, 196–197).

6.1. 1QS, CLT, Values, and Moral principles
CLT’s categorization of values and moral principles as high-level construals and “trans-situational goals that guide action,” is relevant for understanding 1QS.

1QS is a value-based document, a handbook for the maskil who has to instruct his community about the right life conduct. The opening lines of 1QS state the agenda of the text as to “seek God with a whole heart and soul” (I, 1–2). The rest of 1QS is dedicated to this goal; every rule, ritual and prescript is a subordinated step towards the life conduct of “seeking God.” To ancient Jewish readers, these words would recall the so-called Shema (Jewish “creed”) from Deuteronomy 6:4–5. In its biblical context, the Shema sums up all Yahweh’s commandments to Israel. Shema symbolizes the ideal relation between God and his people. In Deuteronomy, the ideal end-state presented by the Shema, is achievable for all Israelites. However in 1QS, the familiar words that connote the Shema are used in a new context where mankind’s and God’s relation is not as straightforward and achievable as in Deuteronomy but requires hard work and daily dedication. In 1QS, “seeking God” is the means which implies adapting oneself and sacrificing everything necessary to be worthy of entering “the community of the eternal covenant.” The different sections in 1QS function as sub-elements of the overarching ideal of achieving this end-state. In the different sections, the end-state is represented as high-level construals (i.e., abstract and in general terms), while the actions required to pursue the end-state are low-level construals and take the form of rules, rituals, prescripts, and sanctions.

7. CLT and Faith in God
Madgalena Grabowska (2013) applies CLT on empirical material documenting various conceptualizations of religious faith in contemporary Polish Christians. She sets out to investigate how the contemporary Polish

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132 The first line in the manuscript of 1QS is damaged; a reference to the maskil is often restored here. At any rate, the maskil is mentioned several times in 1QS.
133 I deal with the connection between the introduction in 1QS and the Shema more thoroughly in Chapter Four (Article 2).
134 The study by Grabowska is also used in Chapter Six (Article 4).
Christians understand the notion of faith in God, which associations this notion produces, and how faith interacts with the life of the individual (Grabowska 2013, 2).

Grabowska’s approach is qualitative and ethnographic, and she also employs linguistic theory in her analysis of the interview material. In particular, she builds on the cognitive grammar of Ronald Langacker, and his notion of “construal” as linguistic “profiling.” Grabowska combines the fundamental CLT concepts of low- versus high-level construals, with linguistic observations on the utterances of her respondents. Combination and selection of words can be an important indicator of construal levels. “If respondents define faith through the prism of their needs, feelings, refer faith to the context of own life then they incline towards the lower level of construal. If, in turn, we discuss faith from the point of view of rules, regulations, church requirements, then this account corresponds to the higher level construal” (ibid., 14–15).

Other linguistic features are also of interest in this context. Long and grammatically structured statements are indicative of higher-level construal, whereas unstructured statements (long or short) pertain to lower-level construals. Expressions of emotion and personal evaluation point to lower-level construals. In particular, reference to oneself by means of first person pronouns and forms, may be seen as an indicator of lower-level construal. Higher-level construals, on the other hand, are typically verbalized in “generalised, decontextualised, impersonal and usually neatly organised statements” (Grabowska 2013, 16). In this type of statements, personal opinions are not expressed in a direct manner, and the emotional, interactive function of language is not in the foreground.

The aforementioned traits seem to occur regardless of whether the informants see themselves as believers or not. Thus, they tend to switch from articulating faith in God in general terms (e.g., church, dogmas, and organization), to accentuating their personal perception of and relationship to these general concepts.

7.1. 1QS, CLT, and Faith in God

The text of 1QS also switches from high-level construals (i.e., impersonal and abstract definitions), to low-level linguistic units (i.e., personal expressions and specific notions):
the stubbornness of a guilty heart and lustful eyes, committing all evil; and to admit into the covenant of faithfulness all those who willingly offer themselves to observe the statutes of God, so that they may be joined to the counsel of God and may walk perfectly before him in accordance with all the things that have been revealed at the times appointed for their revelation, so that they may love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in the plan of God, and may hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in the vengeance of God (I, 1–11)135

This introductory section uses a series of infinitive verbs indicating the purpose of 1QS. The agents of the actions are nowhere specifically revealed. The language is predominantly generalized and abstract. Emotionally charged expressions occur (love and hate in I, 3–4), but the context is general, and is connected to the God’s selection or rejection. In other words, attention to the grammatical features of the text corroborates an understanding of the passage in terms of a high-level construal.

This interpretation seems to be supported by other observations, such as the abstractness of the behavior delineated in the passage, which focuses on how to “seek God,” as mentioned above. The reference to Shema and what God has commanded through Moses and the prophets (as touched upon earlier), also highlights the formalized and impersonal character of the text.

First person language (pronouns, suffixes, and verbs) occurs most prominently in the hymn section:

At the arrival of day and night I will walk in the covenant of God; at the departure of evening and morning I will recite his statutes. When these occur I will set my boundary so as not to turn back. I acknowledge his judgment concerning my sin. My iniquity is in front of my eyes like an engraved statute (X, 10–11)

As for me, I belong to sinful humankind and to the assembly of evil flesh. My transgressions and iniquities, my sins and the degradations of my heart belong to the assembly of worms and to those to walk in darkness. (XI 9–10)

The tenor of these lines is personal, and every statement is connected to the personal experience of the speaker by pronouns and first person verbs. Compared to the opening passage in 1QS, the hymn lines show features of lower-level construal. However, we also find abstract concepts like “the covenant of God,” “his statutes,” and “his judgment.” These few observations on grammatical and linguistic features of 1QS illustrate how

135 In this quotation, I have modified Metso’s translation (she uses active forms: “they shall seek...”) in order to show, at the expense of elegance in English expression, how the Hebrew text is made up of a series of infinitives.
the text switches from high-level construals (i.e., impersonal, abstract definitions) to low-level construal language (i.e., personal expressions and specific notions). 1QS uses both the higher construals, the why (desirability/end-state) and the lower construals, the how (feasibility/means by), to guide its recipients in the direction of what it aims at, and provide the necessary motivation and prescripts to stay on track.

8. Conclusion
Utilizing the four studies to analyze 1QS from a CLT perspective has hopefully proved valuable in understanding the potential of this ancient Jewish text to impact its implied recipients. 1QS is a mixture of different genres (e.g. manifesto, rituals, rules and sanctions, myth-like narrative, and hymn). As 1QS is seen through the lens of CLT, it becomes clear that the different sections and genres communicate the same ultimate end-state (the why), which is “entering the community of eternal covenant.”

Carney’s study of SF literature showed how the four psychological distances (spatial, temporal, social, and hypothetical) are foregrounded in SF. The sense of purposefulness increases as psychological distance increases. 1QS operates with an extremely purpose-driven worldview. All actions, rules, and directions are explained and justified with the eschatological culmination as the final end-state. As Carney also found, expectation of moral engagement are raised as distance increases. Accordingly, 1QS strives to shape its recipients into the selected group, “all sons of light.” Carney finally demonstrated, that as distance increases, “formulaic language” increases too, and this is a prominent feature of 1QS (literary loans from biblical contexts).

Karataş and Gürhan-Canli showed the “construal fit” between thoughts about “God” (high-level construal) and psychologically distant goals. Similarly, “construal fit” occurs between thoughts about “religion” and closer goals. 1QS achieves “construal fit” when descriptions of God as high-level construals motivate recipients to act with the ultimate goal in mind. Low-level construals describing obligations within the daily life of the community also constitute “construal fit.” The why and the how are necessary aspects of 1QS’ aim to persuade its recipients to act according to the desired goal of “entering the community of eternal covenant.” Both seem indispensable in order to transmit the message in a persuasive and effective manner.

Eyal and Liberman’s examination of values and moral principles from a CLT perspective is relevant, since 1QS is a value-based document. Maximizing psychological distance in key passages (such as the introduction) renders the emphasis on ultimate values more persuasive.
Finally, Grabowska’s study is helpful in showing how the language of 1QS uses both higher and lower construals – the *why* (desirability/end-state) and the *how* (feasibility/means by) – to guide its recipients in the direction of what it aims at, and provide them with the motivation necessary and prescripts to stay on track.

I hope that this study has demonstrated the usefulness of a CLT perspective when it comes to understanding the frequent shifts between genres and the constant interplay between highly abstract and general statements and down-to-earth prescripts and concerns.
Chapter Six

Research Question 4: How do knowledge and actions in TST, from the perspective of Construal Level Theory, provide stability and change – as the text encourages attaining knowledge (of the end-goal) and directing actions towards it?

This chapter consists of an article that is submitted to the Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. The aim is to apply an exegetical and a cognitive approach of CLT in equal measure on the Two Spirits Treatise (TST, 1QS III, 13–IV, 26).

TST conveys knowledge to “all sons of light” and is often understood as a text promoting a dualistic and deterministic world-view, leaving no room for human choice.

Various views have been advanced with regard to the relation between knowledge and action in TST, and I include important contributions by Carol A. Newsom, Shane A. Berg, and Thomas Dixon. Inspired by their findings, I suggest an understanding of knowledge and actions as inseparably connected in TST, using novel insights from Construal Level Theory (CLT), a theory from cognitive and social psychology.

CLT operates with the basic notions of “mental construals” (high- or low-level) and “psychological distance” (occurring in spatial, temporal, social, or hypothetical dimensions). High-level construals are decontextualized, abstract, and superordinate representations (emphasizing desirability, the why), while low-level construals are contextualized, concrete, and subordinate representations (emphasizing feasibility, the how). By reading TST through a combination of a CLT perspective and a classical exegetical approach, I attempt to demonstrate that the unity of knowledge and actions is central to the communicative strategy of TST. Moreover, a CLT approach reveals that the unity of knowledge and action is presented primarily in abstract, decontextualized high-level construals. These high-level construals point the recipients to the end-goal, the why. However, elements of lower-level construals, connoting the how, also occur in TST. The why (i.e., the end-goal) provides knowledge and therefore stability through the process of change as one moves and acts (by means of the how) towards the end-goal.

Finally, I briefly examine the interrelation between knowledge and action, and the interplay between aspects of high- and low-level construals in different sections of 1QS, and attempt to demonstrate how each section contributes to rendering the document persuasive.
Article 4: The Two Spirits Treatise: Exploring the Why and the How Using Construal Level Theory

1. Agenda
In this article, I apply a cognitive approach to investigate the interrelation between knowledge and actions in the Two Spirits Treatise (TST) from the Community Rule (1QS) found at Qumran. Several scholars have recognized the complexity of this relationship, and I will therefore relate my investigation to their discussions. For the present study, I combine an exegetical analysis of the relevant passages in TST with Construal Level Theory (CLT), a theory from cognitive and social psychology, to shed new light on the interplay between knowledge and actions. Finally, I will put into perspective how knowledge and action interrelate in the rest of 1QS.

2. Introduction
The Two Spirits Treatise (TST) is a unique, rich text that has gone through numerous explorations since the discovery of the Community Rule (1QS) in 1947. TST (col. III, 13–IV, 26) comprises one and a half columns out of the eleven columns in 1QS. Some scholars have regarded TST as an integral part of 1QS while others have seen TST as a preexisting composition that found its way into 1QS at some point. In any case, the 1QS manuscript is the only place where the entire composition of TST is found. TST is distinctive as it deals with several crucial topics such as the creation, the structure of cosmos, man’s relation to the supernatural, the ongoing struggle between the forces of light and darkness, and the eschatological future. These
themes are known from the world of the Hebrew Scriptures but TST presents them in a new context.140

In what follows, I will discuss some central contributions to the theme of knowledge and actions in TST. These studies approach the relation of knowledge and actions in TST from literary, rhetorical, historical, and exegetical vantage points, and expand our understanding of this issue. Building on their insights, I intend to take a step in a new direction by applying the basic assumptions of Construal Level Theory (CLT), a theory from cognitive and social psychology that deals with cognitive abilities to traverse the “here and now” (the present). I aim to show that the relation of knowledge and actions in TST is affected by the mind’s ability to go beyond the here and now construing objects, events, and actions across distances in different ways. I hope that uncovering these basic mental mechanisms will make us see the interaction between knowledge and actions in a novel way.

3. An Overview of the Two Spirits Treatise (1QS III, 13–IV, 26)

Before digging deeper, a summary of TST will be useful. TST addresses itself to the maskil as a text about the “origins of all sons of man” (בתולדות כל בני אדם) that has to be conveyed to “all sons of light” (כול בני אור). TST expounds the order of the entire cosmos from before creation to beyond the eschatological time of visitation. In the opening lines, TST tells of a preplanned design for all creation and for every being’s place in the universe, as it is contained in the unchangeable, glorious plan of God of Knowledge (III, 13–17a).

TST states that God has created man to rule the earth, and has appointed two spirits in which man must walk: The spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit, each originating from one of the contrasting sources, the spring of light and the well of darkness. Mankind is divided into the sons of truth, governed by the prince of lights, and walking on the paths of light, and the sons of deceit, ruled by the angel of darkness, and walking on the paths of darkness. The angel of darkness is authorized to influence the sons of truth to err, go astray, and stumble. This course of events has been pre-decided by God and will last until the appointed time when God and his angel of truth will be a help for the sons of light (III, 17b–25a).

Moreover, TST relates the creation of the two spirits, and describes their paths and their influence on man. The spirits enlighten the heart of man in two different directions. The outcome of the path of the spirit of light is

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140 In Chapter Three (Article 1) I discuss adaptions and transformations of themes from the creation narratives in Gen 1–3. On Gen 1–3 as the “pretext” for TST, see also Newsom 2004, 86–87; Schwartz 2020, 31–65.
healing, a long peaceful life, a crown of glory, and a garment of honor. The outcome of the path of the spirit of darkness is total and eternal destruction (III 25b–IV, 14).

The final section of TST focuses on the eschatological future. As humans walk on the paths of the spirits, there is constant hostility between the spirits of truth and deceit. The spirits are not designated to walk together, and at the appointed time, God will end the existence of deceit. God will purify those who are chosen for an eternal covenant, they will gain insight into the knowledge of the Most High, the wisdom of the sons of heaven, and they will be restored to the glory of Adam. Until then humans walk either in wisdom or in folly and the two spirits are struggling in the heart of man (IV, 15–26).

4. Knowing as Doing – Carol A. Newsom

In chapter three, “Knowing as Doing,” of her book The Self as Symbolic Space (2004), Carol A. Newsom explores the different ways that “knowledge as a symbolic form” in TST is connected to the historical circumstances of the Qumran community during the Second Temple period. Newsom posits that the abstract construction of knowledge in TST mirrors historical conditions. She uses Kenneth Burke’s concept of language as symbolic action with Fredric R. Jameson’s adjustments: History, or the world, is only available for us to the extent that we can “textualize” it. She hypothesizes that “the inherited structures of knowing” presented in TST reflect to some extent a process of engaging with the contemporary historical challenges (Newsom 2004, 77–79). Consequently, she proposes that the construction of knowledge in TST can be regarded as a symbolic solution to insoluble contradictions in contemporary reality.

Newsom points out that the concept of knowledge in TST (like other Qumran literature) consists of “webs of significance” where everything is connected. For example in order to know oneself, one has to know about the past and about the future. Building on the observation that knowledge in TST is a coherent web, Newsom operates with a model of knowledge as being “implicitly semiotic.” Actions, intentions, and phenomena in TST (as well as in the rest of 1QS) are meaningful when they are understood as parts of “a system of relationships” (ibid., 83).

Time plays a major role in relation to knowledge in 1QS. Newsom shows that knowledge has two axes: “temporal” and “atemporal.” An example of the importance of time is 1QS I, 13–15. God’s commandments must be

141 “But this does not mean that history is in itself a text, only that it is inaccessible to us except in textual form or, in other words, that we approach it only by way of its prior textualization” (Jameson 1978, 511).
enacted at the exact time neither too soon nor too late. Another important example is the references to God’s plan (המאתנה חבדה) in TST (III, 14–15) as the atemporal element that directs the temporal order of events. Man is located in the temporal dimension and God’s plan is expanding man’s knowledge towards the transcendent atemporal dimension. In TST Newsom detects a hidden response to political and contemporary circumstances. Knowledge becomes a way of symbolically transcending the temporal realm (historical circumstances) by keeping gaze and symbolically acting toward the atemporal reality (ibid., 88–90).

5. Spirit’s Doing in Man and Man’s Knowing of Spirits – Shane A. Berg

Another important input on the topic of the relation between knowledge and actions in TST is Shane A. Berg’s investigation of “religious epistemologies” (Berg 2009, 95–146). “Religious epistemology” signifies the way the text describes religious knowledge and how one acquires it (ibid., 3). Berg summarizes the religious epistemology of TST as follows: “God is in control of all of every facet of human existence, and consequently human behavior provides a window into where a person fits in the plan and will of God” (ibid., 102). In other words, TST displays a combination of “a rigid divine determinism” and “a taxonomy of human deeds and experiences” and this combination forms the religious epistemology in TST (ibid., 107).

In TST, human actions are caused by the divine plan through the mediation of the spirits (ibid., 99). Berg notes that TST does not mention human volition explicitly and there is no exhortation or reference to human choice of good and evil (ibid., 113–115).142 The human heart is not described as the seat of intelligence and choice but as a “neutral locus upon which the spirits of light and darkness and their minions do battle” (ibid., 115).143 Thus, Berg holds that TST displays a thoroughly deterministic perspective on human actions.

Knowledge is exclusive in TST and not directly accessible to everyone. It is the spirits who convey knowledge to humans; and humans need to obtain

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142 Newsom, while regarding knowledge as symbolic action in TST, states that “the text does not exhort the sectarian to overcome his bad characteristics, as would be possible if the volitional dimension were the predominant one” (Newsom 2004, 133). Hinojosa (2016, 74) argues that “it is not the dispositions of human nature that is at stake here but rather the idea that every human being has access to good and evil and therefore can make a choice.”

143 Berg argues (against the interpretation proposed by Wernberg-Møller (1961, 422)) that the struggle of the spirits within the heart of man does not refer to a psychological conflict involving man’s will, but reflects a notion of man as under the control of the spirits (Berg 2009, 116).
knowledge about the spirits, and the spirits’ role within the structure of the cosmos (ibid., 117). Berg observes that in TST IV, 22 one of God’s eschatological actions is to instruct “the uprights in the knowledge of the Most High and to make those of perfect behavior understand the wisdom of the sons of heaven” (ibid.). Thus, knowledge is not only necessary for all belonging to the select group “all sons of light,” but knowledge is a large part of what one receives as a result of God’s purification in the eschatological future (ibid.).

Berg argues that TST’s perspective on both knowledge and human actions is deterministic. A person’s knowledge and actions reflect the influence of either the spirit of truth or the spirit of deceit (ibid., 124).

6. Knowing Causes Doing – Thomas P. Dixon
In an article from 2014, Thomas P. Dixon engages with the question of the relation between knowledge and actions in TST (Dixon 2014). Dixon’s main thesis is that knowledge in TST is primarily practical knowledge and stands second to actions. He develops his argument in conversation with Newsom and Berg. Knowledge, according to Dixon, serves the purpose of producing good deeds, and people’s spiritual character is recognized through what they do.

In TST, the spirits are responsible for transmitting knowledge to man. Building on Berg’s expression: “epistemological agency of spirits,” (Berg 2009, 117, 139, 148–149) Dixon maintains that what he calls “deed agency” of the spirits is more prominent than their “epistemological agency” (Dixon 2014, 81). The “deed agency” of spirits implies that the spirits are responsible for generating both good and evil actions (ibid., 82).

According to Dixon, knowledge is more present in the second half of TST than in the first half, and in almost every instance knowledge is connected to deeds (IV, 2–4; IV, 22; IV, 26). The only exception is IV, 6 where the text refers to the concealment of the truth of the mysteries of knowledge (חקלאת התורה אצולה). Taken together, Dixon argues that knowledge is not the main goal in TST but it serves the purpose of producing good deeds.

Widening the perspective to the rest of 1QS, Dixon maintains that there is a tight connection between knowledge and deeds (with an emphasis on deeds) in the entire composition. TST states that a person’s deeds are the indication of which spirit is at play. Thus, TST provides the standards for observing and ranking people in the community of 1QS. Therefore, Dixon argues that the placement of TST within 1QS has a practical purpose: “…those who incorporated it [TST] into the Community Rule seem to have applied the standards in the Treatise to their very real struggles to maintain a holy community” (ibid., 87).
Dixon sums up the relationship between knowledge and deeds in TST in three points: First, knowledge is a means to produce deeds. Second, deeds become signs of whether one has knowledge and whether one’s knowledge is caused by the spirit of truth. Third, by evaluating the deeds of others one may discern if they are in possession of the spirit of truth or deceit. Knowledge in TST is practical, it has to result in good deeds and also facilitate good deeds in others. Thus, the primary emphasis on deeds surpasses knowledge per se in 1QS.

7. Knowledge and Actions in TST – a Problem?

The discussions by Newsom, Berg, and Dixon demonstrate the complexity of the relation between knowledge and actions in TST. Newsom sees knowledge primarily as “symbolic action,” a way of compensating for the lack of opportunity to react to the contemporary circumstances. Berg emphasizes the “religious epistemology” in TST by pointing out that both knowledge and the possibility to act is given to man by the two spirits. Man has no real agency, and is governed by the rigid deterministic divine plan. Dixon maintains that knowledge serves to generate proper actions, and that TST focuses on the execution of the right deeds rather than knowledge alone.

Each of the above-mentioned studies places a main emphasis on either knowledge or actions. Either knowledge is of primary importance, because knowing becomes a compensatory symbolic action (Newsom), or because knowing about the agency of the spirits and acting accordingly is a sign that one is under the influence of either spirit (Berg). Or proper actions are what ultimately matters, and knowledge serves to enable man to act rightly in the world (Dixon).

Inspired by these studies, I view knowledge and actions in TST as intimately related and of equal importance. TST is a kind of instruction text, but not in the classic wisdom literature sense. TST does not contain direct instructions or admonitions. Through a mythical framework, transmitted by the sage figure, the maskil, TST provides background knowledge about the order of creation, and this perspective is the central reason for instructing. TST’s explanation of the cosmic order is not simply informative or entertaining, but seeks to persuade its recipients to adopt its worldview and shape their behavior by it, so they strive to live and act in

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144 There is no direct speech and no second person pronouns or second person verbal forms in TST.
145 TST deepens and expands the mythological universe of Gen 1–3 by going back beyond creation. Cf. the precise remark by Newsom: “What 1QS 3–4 manages to do is to open up a space behind Genesis 1 and to insert itself into that space” (Newsom 2004, 86).
accordance with its principles. Therefore, knowledge and actions are simultaneously at the center of TST. Knowledge is always directly or indirectly linked to actions, and likewise, actions are always directly or indirectly linked to knowledge. In what follows, the relation of knowledge and actions in TST will be approached without prioritizing one over the other.

8. Why Construal Level Theory (CLT)?

Before engaging in an analysis of TST from a CLT perspective, one might ask, what are the advantages and disadvantages of applying a theory from social and cognitive psychology on an ancient Jewish text? To what extent can a CLT-based analysis be expected to yield new insight? One of the most obvious problems of applying CLT to an ancient text is the risk of anachronism. However, CLT claims that it detects and describes fundamental workings of the human mind. If this is true, then CLT’s description must be valid across historical, cultural, and religious differences. CLT provides us with a better grasp of fundamental mechanisms that occur when our mind engages with the surrounding world not only in the immediate here and now but also when transcending the present and interacting with possible realities. A CLT-based approach may deepen our comprehension of our mental functions when we interact with the world of objects, events, and actions, both physically and cognitively.

In recent years, cognitive approaches have increasingly captured the interest of scholars working on biblical and related texts. I take the view that cognitive approaches are important supplements to our historical, philological and exegetical insights, since humans are, as Armin W. Geertz formulates it, “hybrid creatures, consisting of biology and culture” (Geertz 2010, 312). The integration of a cognitive perspective into our interpretation of history, culture, and religion, including texts, can best be summed up by using Geertz’s notion of “a biocultural theory of religion” (ibid., 306). An aspect of the biocultural theory is to view narratives, in particular religious narratives, as means to understand ourselves and our surroundings. Since

146 To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time that CLT is applied to an ancient text.
147 On the general usefulness of Cognitive Science for the study of biblical and related ancient texts, see Martin 2007, 37–56; Czachesz and Uro 2013, 1–14.
148 The relative stability of the basic cognitive architecture of human minds is a fundamental presupposition of Cognitive Science of Religion. Cf. Luther H. Martin’s formulation: “Given the scale of evolutionary time and change, it is reasonable to conclude that our cognitive capacities, like our behavioral biases, have remained significantly unaltered since the emergence of modern humans by the late Pleistocene era, some 60,000 to 50,000 years ago” (Martin 2013, 15–23, 16).
humans are socially, biologically, and psychologically embedded, a biocultural approach seems to embrace a bigger picture of our understanding and interaction with the world (ibid., 313).

9. Basic Assumptions of Construal Level Theory

Humans unlike other creatures we know are capable of time-travel. The human mind can transcend the immediate present and traverse through distances in time and space. We remember the past, foresee the future, take others people’s point of view, imagine places far away and think of counterfactual alternatives to reality. In every instance, we traverse a psychological distance from our present (Trope and Liberman 2012, 122). CLT engages with this ability to go beyond the here and now.

CLT operates with two fundamental concepts that are in constant mutual interaction: “construal levels” and “psychological distance.” CLT suggests that the mind arranges abstract mental construals depending on the distance of an event or object. “Construal level” is a measure of abstraction, and the way the mind imagines and represents things. Construals are shaped by the individual’s mind dynamically and are not static perceptions. Different individuals construe different representations of the same object, and an individual can rearrange and alter the construal of the same object depending on its distance.

Construals are classified as high- and low-level construals, which are the two ends of the spectrum of mental representations of objects, events, or actions. Yaacov Trope and Nira Liberman define high-level construals as “[...] schematic, decontextualized representations that extract the gist from the available information, emphasizing a few superordinate core features of events.” They further define low-level construals as “[...] relatively unstructured, contextualized representations that include subordinate and incidental features of events” (ibid., 120). The same event can be represented in higher- or lower-level construal terms, for example a group of children playing in a park, may be construed with the focus on the activities (e.g., playing hide and seek or playing ball) or with the focus on the overall perspective (e.g., the children are having fun in the park).

“Psychological distance” is the second concept in CLT. The mental construal of the object depends on psychological distance. Whenever objects, events, and actions are imagined, the mind intuitively estimates their distance from itself.

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149 This section overlaps with the presentation of the theory in Chapter Two and in Chapter Five (Article 3).
The impact of abstract, superordinate (high-level) features of a situation increases as the psychological distance increases. Accordingly, as the psychological distance increases, the impact of subordinate, contextual features declines (Eyal and Liberman 2012, 186–188). High-level construals tend to highlight the desirability of an object, event or action (the why or the desired end-state). By contrast, low-level construals tend to emphasize the feasibility (the how or the means to reach the end-state) (Trope and Liberman 2012, 121; Eyal and Liberman 2012, 187).

The mind transcends psychological distances (e.g. time, space, distance between people, and distance between facts and imagination) by means of high-level construals (Trope and Liberman 2012, 121). Construal level and psychological distance interact in at least four dimensions: 1) temporal distance, which refers to when an event occurs, 2) spatial distance, which refers to where it occurs, 3) social distance, which refers to whom it occurs to, and 4) hypothetical distance, which refers to whether it occurs. High-level construals serve to “preserve the essential and invariant properties of the referent event” across these four dimensions of distance (ibid.). When an object is perceived at a greater distance, it is construed by its general, superordinate aspects.

The relation between construal levels and psychological distances is reciprocal. The mind construes objects perceived at greater distance in more abstract and high-level terms than when an object is close. Likewise, abstract, high-level construals lead the mind to imagine an object as more distant. CLT asserts that the various dimensions of psychological distances are mentally interconnected. If more than one dimension of psychological distance is activated, the inclination to construe a distant object in higher-level terms increases (ibid., 125). So, if the mind perceives an object in a spatially remote place and the same object is also imagined as being far away in time (i.e., either in the past or in the future), the tendency towards high-level perception will be enhanced. Researchers speak of a “construal fit” that prompts a sense of “feeling right” (Karataş and Gürhan-Canli 2020, 1117). This occurs when the construal of an object, whether high- or low-level, fits the psychological distance of the object.

CLT has been a useful analytical tool in a variety of fields. For the present enquiry, three lines of investigations are particularly relevant: The first categorizes the concepts of values and moral principles as high-level construals (Fujita et al. 2008; Eyal et al. 2009; Eyal and Liberman 2012).

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150 CLT has been applied in studies of climate change (Spence, Poortinga, and Pidgeon 2012), consumer behavior (Williams, Stein, and Galguera 2014), fear of crime (Gouseti and Jackson, 2015) and the impact of “Religion” versus “God” on pro-sociality (Karataş and Gürhan-Canli 2020).
The second analyzes expressions of faith in God by means of high- and low-level construals (Grabowska 2013). The third applies CLT on literature, in particular the genre of Science Fiction (Carney 2017). The findings of these studies provide a suitable ground for applying CLT to the relation of knowledge and actions in TST.

9.1. Attitude Objects, Values and Moral Principles, according to CLT\textsuperscript{151}

From a CLT perspective, values and moral principles are regarded as high-level construals by definition, inasmuch as they are “abstract, superordinate cognitive construals that provide continuity and meaning under changing environmental circumstances and serve as trans-situational goals that guide action” (Eyal and Liberman 2012, 188). Psychological distance – in all four dimensions (i.e., temporal, spatial, social, and hypothetical) – increases the impact of superordinate aspects of a situation, and decreases the impact of subordinate, contextual aspects (ibid. 186–188). When people make plans for psychologically distant situations, they will be guided to a greater extent by values and moral principles. When they plan for near situations, circumstantial aspects will have greater impact on their planning (ibid., 195).

In other words, CLT proposes an explanation, based on the notion of psychological distance, of how moral principles and values affect people’s judgments, and how personal values and actual behavior are related. From a CLT perspective, personal values predict people’s behavior and judgments better when distant (rather than near) future situations are involved (Eyal et al. 2009; Eyal and Liberman 2012). As an example, the plan for more exercise and more healthy food (reflecting one’s superordinate values), is often envisioned in connection with a New Year resolution or starting next week, rather than in the immediate situation.

Important for my investigation of TST, is that value-based messages seem to be more persuasive when they are presented from a distant perspective (Fujita et al. 2008; Eyal and Liberman 2012, 196–197). Temporal distance changes the mental construal of “attitude objects” which are potential goals or objects that people may be persuaded to desire or strive at. When these objects are perceived as more distant, people tend to give more attention to arguments that emphasize primary, abstract, high-level aspects (rather than incidental, concrete low-level features). This implies that a message that consists of, or focuses predominantly on, high-level features is more persuasive in relation to temporally distant goals. Preferences and decisions systematically shift in the direction of superordinate desirability concerns

\textsuperscript{151} The presentation of Values and Moral Principles from a CLT perspective occurs also in Chapter Five (Article 3).
(versus subordinate feasibility concerns) when temporal distance increases. Arguments that foreground these primary superordinate aspects are therefore more persuasive when related to temporally distant goals. Consequently, the arguments – if they have persuasive strength in themselves – have a greater chance of changing people’s attitudes (Fujita et al. 2008, 569–570).

9.2. Expressions of Faith from a CLT Perspective

Madgalena Grabowska has applied CLT on empirical data harnessed through interviews with Polish Christians. In these interviews, the respondents conceptualize religious faith in various ways. Beside the qualitative and ethnographic approach, Grabowska combines the basic CLT concepts (i.e., lower and higher-level construals) with linguistic observations. Different construal levels, according to Grabowska, are indicated by the selection and combination of the respondents’ words: “If respondents define faith through the prism of their needs, feelings, refer faith to the context of own life then they incline towards the lower level of construal. If, in turn, we discuss faith from the point of view of rules, regulations, church requirements, then this account corresponds to the higher level construal” (Grabowska 2013, 14–15). Statements expressed in long, grammatically well-structured sentences indicate higher-level construal, whereas lower-level construals are typically expressed in unstructured shorter statements. Emotional expressions and utterings of personal evaluation are often signs of lower-level construal (e.g., where respondents use first person pronouns). By contrast, “generalised, decontextualised, impersonal and usually neatly organised statements” point to higher-level construals (ibid., 16). Grabowska finds that her respondents often switch between expressing religious faith in general terms (i.e., related to church, dogmas, or organization) and referring to their personal relationship to faith. Thus, both higher- and lower-level construals are activated.

9.3. Science Fiction Literature, According to CLT

While the aforementioned study by Grabowska focuses on linguistic observations, demonstrating how variations in the use of language are indicators of different construal levels, James Carney has for the first time applied a CLT perspective to literature focusing on Science Fiction (SF). In the light of CLT, Carney suggests that maximizing psychological distance is a fundamental characteristic of SF designed to deliberately “alienate” readers (Carney 2017). By manipulating psychological distance, SF achieves at least

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152 The presentation of Grabowska’s study overlaps with the presentation in Chapter Five (Article 3).
153 The summary of Carney’s study of Science Fiction in the light of CLT overlaps with the presentation in Chapter Five (Article 3).
three effects on its readers: 1) Maximizing distance increases the sense of “purposiveness.” Imagining distant actions, according to CLT, leads us to focus on abstract, superordinate goals and motives. With its emphasis on remote goals, SF stands out as a “heroic” genre. SF prompts the readers to expect heroic actions from the agents who are motivated by goals and unrestricted by everyday concerns. The heroic stance of SF provides an explanation for the “lack of well-drawn characters in the genre” that critics have often noticed (ibid., 81–82). 2) Maximizing distance enhances readers’ expectations of moral engagement. CLT points to moral values being more intensely activated in relation to distant objects. Carney sees the engagement of SF with “the axis of the utopian/dystopian imaginary” in this light. Utopian ideology in SF often combines a moral commitment to a better world with practices aiming at its realization. Distance maximization “makes this moral impulse more salient to readers” (ibid., 83). 3) Maximizing distance in SF goes along with a tendency to use “formulaic style,” avoiding the affective and emotional registers (ibid., 83–84).

10. Knowledge and Actions in TST from a CLT Perspective
Now using CLT, we will examine the relation between knowledge and actions in TST, by asking how construal levels and psychological distance are manifested when TST aims to motivate its recipients to attain knowledge and to act accordingly. This analysis will be carried out in close combination with an exegetical reading of the text.

10.1. Knowledge and Actions Aiming at the “Attitude Object”
As a text, conveying a highly value-charged message, TST seeks to determine and control the recipient’s perception of the surrounding world. TST leads the recipient to perceive the world in such a way that every step and every action (the hows) aim at the end-goal (the why). In TST, the attitude object is expressed through a rich value-charged linguistic usage (e.g., designations and long enumerative and descriptive constructions):

all sons of light/all sons of justice/all sons of truth
(III, 13.20.22.24–25; IV, 6)

From God of Knowledge is everything that is and everything that comes into being, and before their being he established all their plans, and in their being to their appointed times according to his glorious plan they will fulfill their deeds, and this cannot be altered.

(III, 15–16)
These descriptions designate different aspects of the ideal end-state or the attitude object (the why), which is becoming sons of light/justice/truth, fulfilling God’s glorious plan, realizing the divinely determined purpose for man and all created beings, entering the eternal covenant, and regaining Adam’s glory. The attitude object is presented in the highest construal level in terms of abstract, superordinate, and decontextualized features. As we have seen, attitude objects are more persuasive when they are presented as distant (Fujita et al. 2008). Can we therefore predict that TST will situate its attitude object at a greater psychological distance (temporal, social, spatial, and hypothetical)?

TST places its attitude object at the two ends of the temporal spectrum. The desired end-state originates as far back as imaginable before God’s creation of the cosmos, in the premediated glorious plan of God of Knowledge (III, 15–17). Moreover, the full realization of the end-state is placed in the most remote future, the eschatological end (IV, 22–23).

Social distance is also maximized as TST points to the constant agency of supernatural beings (e.g., God, the spirits of light and darkness, the prince of lights, and the angel of darkness). Hypothetical distance is maximized as well, in so far as TST points to the situation before the beginning of creation, and predicts a future complete destruction of deceit, and a resulting ideal era after the eschatological judgment, all situations that no human has actually witnessed.

Mankind’s fulfilment of the divine plan is placed at maximized psychological distance: 1) as it is associated with the remote primeval past and the eschatological future; 2) as supernatural beings are involved as means to reach the end-state; 3) as it is placed in hypothetical situations that no one has yet experienced.

154 The two hiphil verbs להבין and להשכיל can be translated “comprehend” and “understand,” with the righteous as logical subject, or “make comprehend” and “make understand,” with the righteous as object of instruction (this is the meaning of להבין in III, 13).
155 The negative counterpart describes the ultimate end-state when walking on the path of the spirit of Darkness. This serves as a pedagogical warning and emphasizes the necessity of walking on the path of the spirit of light.
The consequences of maximizing psychological distance in TST are comparable to what Carney describes as a prominent feature of SF literature. The perspective in TST as it promotes its attitude object is extremely purpose-driven. Everything that exists is a direct result of the plan conceived by God of Knowledge before the beginning of creation, with a purpose for every being assigned by the creator. Knowledge about the distant goal therefore becomes the all-important motivation for acting in the here and now. Distance maximization also enhances the “heroic” aspect of human behavior, since “all sons of light” are urged to adopt and maintain a way of life that suits their ultimate goal. In TST, as in SF, distance maximization goes hand in hand with the use of “formulaic language,” avoiding emotional and affective modes of expression, and often building on traditional (scriptural) motifs and allusions.

TST achieves “construal fit” when it presents its attitude object in high-level construals (the why) and places it at maximized psychological distance. The effect of this construal fit, according to CLT, is to render the message persuasive and motivating. As construal fit is achieved when the attitude object is presented in the maximal psychological distance and in its high-level features, it becomes an unchangeable target, providing stability regardless of any experienced change. Thus, TST’s recipient will be more likely to submit his life to aiming at this attitude object.

10.2. Knowledge Linked to Action

In the following, paying attention to high- and low-level construals, we will examine the notion of knowledge in TST. Knowledge is one of the means to reach the desirable attitude object. The task of the maskil is described by two verbs (לָהֲנָבָה וּלְמָדֵה) for conveying knowledge.

לָהֲנָבָה וּלְמָדֵה אֵלֶּה דְּרֵיכָם בְּתֵבָא לְהַעֲרָר בֵּי בֵּית אִישׁ

For the teacher, to instruct and teach all the sons of light about the origins of all sons of man

(III, 13)

The content of the knowledge conveyed is “the origins of all sons of man” presented as an abstract, decontextualized notion, encompassing all humanity at all times. The spirits, according to TST, are the agents conveying knowledge to man:

ואלה דְּרֵיכָם בְּתֵבָא לְהַעֲרָר אִישׁ לִיהֶרֶם לְפָנָיו כֹּל דְּרֵיכָם בְּתֵבָא אִישׁ לִיהֶרֶם לְפָנָיו כֹּל בְּלִי בְמִשְׁפָּט אָל

156 Love and hate occur in connection with God loving and hating the spirit of light and darkness respectively in III, 26–IV, 1. However, in the context the meaning of the verbs are general and superordinate.
And these are their paths on earth to enlighten the heart of man and to make right before him all the paths of true justice and to cause fear in his heart by God’s regulations

(IV, 2–3)

Knowledge functions as a light in the heart of man, preparing the “paths of true justice” (ודרכי צדק אמת), an image pointing to human actions or life conduct as an immediate aspect of gaining knowledge.157 No details are stated of either the contents of knowledge or the nature of the actions. Knowledge and action are combined, as they are both described in abstract, superordinate terms. The high-level construal of knowledge is particularly clear when we regard the description of how the spirit of truth influences man:

ורוח عنه אוהד אספר רוח רחמים טוב עולם ושלום דברא עמה ובעת ובינה וחכמה גבורה מאמנה בכול מעשי אל

משנת ברוח והות רוח ועת בכול מתרשת מעשה

And it is a spirit of humbleness and patience, and great compassion, and eternal goodness, and knowledge and insight and powerful wisdom trusting in all God’s doings, and relying on his great faithfulness, and a spirit of knowledge in every plan of action

(IV, 3–4)

TST combines four terms for knowledge (ודאה,-medah-2, בינה-1, חכמה-1) in a long well-structured chain of descriptive expressions. Inspired by Grabowska’s observations, we may categorize the level of linguistic complexity as an indication of high-level construal. Again, no specifics are given as to the nature of the knowledge, but as in IV, 2–3 knowledge is connected with being aware of what to do (בכול מח 쉽ת מעשה) and thus it is inseparably linked to action at an abstract, superordinate level. The influence of the spirit of truth is further manifested in a combination of correct behavior and the right attitude to knowledge:

ונצטנ לכת בועמת כל חכמה לאמת ירא דעש

and restrained walking in cleverness regarding everything, and concealment158 of truth of the mysteries of knowledge

(IV, 5–6)

“Restrained walking” is the image used for proper action (an allusion to Micah 6:8),159 and two terms for knowledge are employed: דעתי and דעת. Both terms are used in a generalized, abstract way, rendering this passage as

157 Dixon (2014, 82; 84) rightly notes that the image of the “way” (דרכים) often connotes human deeds in TST.
158 I understand the word חבא as an infinitive or a verbal noun.
159 On the allusion to Mi 6:8 here and in 1QS see Hinojosa 2016, 78. The phrase from Micah 6:8 is also echoed in 1QS VIII, 2 (והצטנ לכת ארשא עשת רמות). The formulation in TST resonates with the ethics of the wisdom tradition. See especially the use of הצטנ meaning “carefully” in Sir 16:23. Cf. Newsom 2004, 130–131.
high-level construal. The usage of כל הרמה makes the notion of universal, and here is no specification regarding the contents of אמה רוּח הָעָיִן. This complex grammatical construction (i.e., a preposition followed by a construct chain) fits with Grabowska’s observation that long, structured sentences are linguistic indicators of high-level construal. The act of concealment is the correct behavior as one engages with knowledge, as it should not be shared with the wrong people. Knowledge is exclusive and should only be given to the select group. Once again, the right behavior is the external face of “cleverness.” Knowledge is bestowed upon man as a part of the eschatological reward:

…” in order to make the righteous comprehend in the knowledge of the Most High, and to make those who walk perfectly understand the wisdom of the sons of heaven (IV, 22)

Knowledge (חכמה, דעת) is associated with God and heavenly beings. It is given to those who have lived a righteous life and acted accordingly, or who have been perfect regarding their “way.” No indications of the contents are given, and the notions are universal and general high-level construals. The psychological distance is increased as knowledge is linked to the supernatural beings. One more dimension of psychological distance (i.e., temporal) is also emphasized as the reward is placed in the eschatological end time. Finally, knowledge (דעת) is mentioned in the last line of TST:

…” and he has given them as inheritance to the sons of man to discern good […] (IV, 26)

Unfortunately, this line is damaged which makes it difficult to ascertain what “knowledge” implies. Many scholars have restored ורע (“and evil”) in the second lacuna. In any case, it seems that this passage speaks of knowledge in universal, abstract, and high-construal terms.

When summing up all the references to knowledge throughout TST it seems clear that knowledge is linked to correct actions. Knowledge in general terms provides the reason (the why) for acting. In CLT terms, TST presents knowledge in high-level concepts, and psychological distance is

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160 See the injunction for the maskil to “hide the counsel of the law in the midst of the men of injustice” (IX, 17). Concealing knowledge from outsiders is a recurring position in TST and in 1QS as a whole.
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used to achieve construal fit and to enhance the persuasiveness of the knowledge-related discourse. Knowledge of the end-goal (the *why*) is a stable target at which all actions are directed.

10.3. Actions Linked to Knowledge in TST

TST refers to actions a couple of times by using the basic and comprehensive terms: מלאה, מפעולה, ומפעולה. The deeds of men throughout their generations are the “signs” of their spirits (כל מעשה הפרחים בבראשית, III, 14). God founded every deed (כולם מעשה) and every work (כל עבודה) upon the spirits and their ways (III, 25–26). All the works that humans do (一切 מעשה ועבודה) are related to the “divisions” of the spirits (IV, 15–16). The “actions of injustice” (עלילות עביה) are contrasted with the “paths of truth” (דרך אמת). All created beings “complete their work” (כלmaal השכלה) in accordance with God’s plan (III, 16). The description of actions contain no specific information with regard to their content or nature.

The majority of references to action in TST are expressed through the image of walking. This metaphor intuitively combines knowledge (i.e., orientation towards the goal) with action (i.e., the act of moving towards the goal). Walking is performed in one’s present, with the future goal of the journey in mind, and in order to walk, one must know where to go. Walking properly means constantly keeping one’s sense of direction by orienting oneself towards the goal of the journey.

TST states that when God created man for the dominion of the world, he placed for him two spirits so man could walk in them (לשתלט בכם, III, 17–18). The image of man’s dominion of the world is embodied as an act of walking, which takes place in two contrasting spheres. The prince of lights and the angel of darkness rule these dominions. All sons of righteousness walk in the paths of light and all sons of injustice walk in the paths of darkness (II, 20–21; IV, 15). The angel of darkness and his spirits have the power to lead all sons of righteousness/light astray (ובמלאך חושך תעות כול בני צדק, III, 21) and cause them to stumble (בממשלת משטמת וכל בני אור, III, 24).

From a CLT perspective, this description remains within the overall framework of higher-level construals, with the emphasis on the desired end-state, the *why*. However, the walking metaphor, by its very nature, is able to include aspects related to the feasibility of the journey (lower-level construal,
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the how) as well. TST contrasts the image of walking with the counter-metaphors of going astray and stumbling (III, 21–24). When one walks aimlessly and without sense of direction, one is disconnected from the intended knowledge and therefore unable to act properly. This negative image is an indication of how acting and knowing are intimately connected.

The spirits are described as path-makers, facilitating man’s walking: Their ways consist in “enlightening the heart of man and making right before him all the paths of true righteousness” (לָהֵם רָצוּן נַעֲנוּ, IV, 2). The spirits themselves do not “walk together” (IV, 18), but the humans walk on their paths, and human actions are in the spirits’ “divisions” (ורְדוּרֵיהֶם וְלִעֵה הָעַל מִשְׁרָה מְשֻׁרָה), IV, 15–16). Walking on the path of the spirit of light is handsomely rewarded with healing, long peaceful life, eternal blessing, and joy (IV, 6–7). Correspondingly, walking on the path of the spirit of darkness results in great sufferings and ultimate and total destruction (IV, 12–14). The way one walks is dependent on the enlightenment of the heart. Walking, or acting in the world, cannot be separated from having (or lacking) knowledge. The descriptions of the eschatological rewards and punishments maximize psychological distance on the temporal (i.e., eschatological future) as well as the hypothetical dimension (i.e., referring to situations that are not yet accessible to human experience).

The following passage has already been dealt with as we reviewed references to knowledge as an eschatological reward tied to human actions:

…in order to make the righteous comprehend in the knowledge of the Most High, and to make those who walk perfectly understand the wisdom of the sons of heaven, for God has chosen them for an eternal covenant. And to them will be all Adam’s glory…

(1QS IV, 22–23)

Walking correctly (i.e., being perfect regarding one’s way) is again the metaphor for acting in the right way, and walking leads to gaining knowledge. TST explicitly associates walking with knowledge in IV, 24 stating that men walk in either wisdom or folly (יתהלכו בחכמה ואולת). As one walks on the path of the spirit of light, one gains insight, understanding, and strong wisdom trusting all God’s deeds and relying on his kindness (IV, 3–4). One is granted the ability to plan and act with knowledge (IV, 4–5). Walking on the path of the spirit of light is done carefully and cleverly, so one knows when to conceal the truth of the mysteries of knowledge (IV, 5–

164 The contrast between the paths of wisdom and folly is a classical theme in Hebrew wisdom literature. See, e.g., Prov 8–9.
6). By contrast, walking on the path of the spirit of darkness is a sign of lacking proper knowledge, or possessing the wrong kind (IV, 10–11).165

Descriptions of human actions in TST, like the references to knowledge, link actions and knowledge as two sides of the same coin. This can be seen, above all, from the extensive usage of the walking metaphor. The presentation of knowledge and action is generally in higher-level construals, and in several passages this presentation is supported by maximization of psychological distance. The main emphasis is on the desirability of the end-goal, or the why. However, the walking metaphor also leaves room for including feasibility aspects, or the how, and while the construal is still high-level (i.e., abstract and general terms are used), some elements of lower-level construal are included (i.e., the walking metaphor allows for aspects like stumbling, temporarily missing the direction, etc.). As one walks toward the end-goal, the landscape and one’s vantage point of the path change constantly, but keeping the gaze on the final and stable goal is the reliable compass when one encounters obstacles.

11. The Relation of Knowledge and Action in the Context of 1QS
I concur with the following two observations made by Dixon: First, the tight connection between knowledge and action in TST is also present in the rest of 1QS. Second, the placement of TST within 1QS has a practical aim. However, I do not see that actions are prioritized over knowledge. On the contrary, I view knowledge and actions as going hand in hand in different sections of 1QS, each with their own function. The eleven columns of 1QS display a collage of various genres such as manifesto, rules and sanctions, rituals, myth-like narrative, and hymn. Depending on the genre of each section the weight shifts from knowledge (high-level construal/the why) to action (low-level construal/the how) or the other way around. The value-charged message is presented differently and in different construal-levels. Throughout the composition, the intention remains the same, which is to influence and control the recipient’s perception of the surrounding world. In this final section, I will illustrate how these shifts between low- and high-level construals serve to render the message of 1QS persuasive.

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165 Walking (הלך in the qal or hithpael) and “path/”way” (דרך) as a metaphor for correct actions and conduct is used several times throughout 1QS, while “going astray” (עשת) or “stumbling” (莸, כשל) is the counter-image (I, 6.8.15.25; II, 14.26; V, 4.10.11; VI, 2; VII, 19.24; VIII, 4. 20.21.25; IX, 2. 5.6. 8. 9–10.12.18. 9.20 21; XI, 10.11.12.17).
11.1. Introduction and Manifesto of 1QS
The opening lines of 1QS, column I, 1-15, reveal the purpose of the composition, by signaling the highly value-charged message that is unfolded in the rest of the document.

This passage, like TST, focuses on the why, pointing to the abstract, superordinate values that are to guide every action undertaken by the recipients at all times and in all places, without any specific details. One has to seek God with whole heart and soul and devote one’s emotions, to love and hate, what and whom God has chosen. The most tangible image of executing this program is walking perfectly, the same metaphor we have encountered in TST. As in TST both the why, which is the long theological exposé expressed through chains of infinitives, and the how, walking perfectly, are expressed in general abstract terms. Taken together, this section of 1QS fits the criteria of high-level construals. In this introductory passage, it is virtually impossible to distinguish between knowledge and action, or to discern which one comes first. They are merged into one entity, requiring the recipient to simultaneously pay attention, comprehend and act. Or to slightly rephrase Newsom’s formulation: “Knowing [in this section] is Doing.”

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166 In this section I generally quote Metso’s translation of 1QS (Metso 2019). For this quotation, however, I have modified Metso’s translation (she uses active forms: “they shall seek…”) in order to show, at the expense of elegance in English expression, how the Hebrew text is made up of a series of infinitives.
Other parts of 1QS, however, offer detailed descriptions of how one is required to act in concrete changing situations. The two sections describing the ritual of yearly covenant renewal and the admission ritual for new members (I, 16–III, 12 and I, 16–23) are both primarily concerned with details of how to act. In the following, I will concentrate on the sections in 1QS that contain rules and sanctions, and finally point to an example of the discourse in the hymn of the maskil (X, 6–XI, 22).

11.2. Rules and Sanctions in 1QS
Extensive parts of 1QS state what is considered to be the right or the wrong conduct for the community. Columns V, 1–VI, 8 contain rules for the Congregation. Column VI, 8–13 describe the rules for “the session of the many.” Columns VI, 24–VII, 25 define the community boundaries in terms of transgressions and sanctions. Columns VIII, 20–IX, 11 describe the rules and behavior expected of the men of perfect holiness. Finally, in columns IX, 12–X, 5 we find the rules for the maskil.

In the following, I point to some examples of these rules and sanctions. Most of these examples concern circumstances of the daily life of the community, where the large amount of the preparation toward the end-state (being “sons of light” or fulfilling God’s plan) takes place. These examples regard mundane situations such as eating, studying, sitting in gatherings, cleansing oneself, the appropriate interaction between the community members, and the attitude toward outsiders. All these sections with emphasis on low-level construal discourse, constantly describe how one should and should not act. However, we also find elements of high-level construal connecting the tangible and concrete actions, the how, to the necessary knowledge of the desired end goal, the why.

No one shall eat or drink anything of their property or take anything at all from their hand.

(V, 16)

They shall register them in the order one before another according to his insight and his deeds, that they may all obey one another, the one of lower rank obeying the one of higher rank.

(V, 23)

And let no man bring a matter against his neighbor before the many except after reproof before witnesses.

(VI, 1)

167 I analyze the covenant renewal ritual and the admission procedure from a cognitive perspective in Chapter Four (Article 2).
In every place where there are ten men of the Community council, there should not be missing among them a priest. And every one shall sit according to his rank before him, and in this way they shall be asked for their counsel in every matter. (VI, 3–4)

No man shall interrupt his neighbor’s words before his brother has finished speaking or speak before one registered in rank before him. (VI, 10–11)

If a man is found among them who knowingly lied about wealth, they shall exclude him from the purity of the many for one year, and he shall be fined a quarter of his food. (VI, 24–25)

Whoever knowingly and for no reason insults his fellow will be punished for a year and will be excluded. And whoever speaks to his fellow with deception or knowingly deceives him, will be punished for six months. (VII, 4–5)

A man who spits into session of the many shall be fined for thirty days. Whoever brings his hand out from beneath his garment and is so raggedly dressed that his nakedness is seen shall be fined for thirty days. (VII, 13–14)

Everyone who joins the council of holiness (the council) of those who walk in perfection of way in accordance with what he has commanded – every man of them who transgress a word from the law of Moses presumptuously or negligently shall be sent away from the council of the community and shall never return. (VIII, 21–23)

Only the sons of Aaron shall rule in matters of justice and wealth, and on their word the decision shall be taken with regard to every rule of the men of the community. (IX, 7)

He [the maskil] shall not argue or quarrel with the men of the pit but shall hide the counsel of the law in the midst of the men of injustice. (IX, 16–17)
He [the maskil] shall teach them everything that has been found to be done at this
time and to separate themselves from every man who has not turned his way from all
injustice.

(IX, 20–21)

Modern text:

The majority of rules are situational and contextual, prescribing or
prohibiting specific ways of acting, and laying down particular punishments
in terms of exclusion for a specified period of time, or receiving less
provisions (V, 16.23; VI, 1. 3–4. 10–11.24–25; VII, 4–5.13–14). One is not
supposed to speak without permission or at least without it being one’s turn.
No spitting is permitted in the gathering of the many, or one will be excluded
from the community for thirty days. These are tangible instructions of how
to deal with and behave in different situations. They are concrete, and very
contextualized, tailored to equip the members with know-how to deal with
changing situations of the community’s life. The psychological distance in
hypothetical, spatial, and temporal dimensions is close as these rules
prescribe certain behavior in a specific tangible and realistic situation. The
social dimension is spelled out in detail as the rules concern either oneself,
one’s manners toward fellow community members, or behavior towards an
outsider. All together, these rules describe situations imaginable in the
everyday life of the community, therefore they belong in the near
psychological distance, as low-level construals.

As low-level construals, placed in close psychological distance, they are
the hows, step by step towards the fulfilling of the unchangeable divine plan.
The rule section supports and provides the necessary tools for attaining the
attitude object described in TST, or what the introductory part of 1QS
expresses as seeking God with whole heart and soul.

Beside the situation-specific elements, the rules also contain references to
stable abstract, goal-oriented ideas such as “those who walk in perfection”
(VII, 23–24), “what he has commanded” (VII, 23–24), “the counsel of the
law” (IX, 16–17), “everything that has been found to be done at this time”
(IX, 20). These higher-level elements function as the steady reminders of
why one should act in a certain way. Both the higher-level construals, the
why (desirability/goal or end-state) and the lower-level construals, the how
(feasibility/means by) are necessary for keeping the motivation.

11.3. The Maskil’s Hymn
A hymn by the maskil occupies the last two columns of 1QS. With first
person utterances, the maskil praises and exalts God, expressing gratitude
and obedience in view of the eschatological judgment, and emphasizing the low status of man.

As long as I live, the engraved statute will be on my tongue as a fruit of praise and an offering of my lips. I will sing with understanding, and all my music will be for the glory of God. My lyre and my harp accord with his holy order, and I will raise the flute of my lips according to his just measure. At the arrival of day and night I will walk in the covenant of God; at the departure of evening and morning, I will recite his statutes.

(X, 8–10)

As for me, I belong to sinful humankind and to the assembly of evil flesh. My transgressions and iniquities, my sins and the degradations of my heart belong to the assembly of worms and to those who walk in darkness.

(XI, 9–10)

For without you there is no perfection of the way, and without your will nothing is done. You have taught all wisdom, and all that happens is by your will. (XI 17–18)

In several passages in 1QS including TST, the maskil is referred to in the third person as a sage figure responsible for transmitting and instructing others in the knowledge and actions that 1QS holds important. This vantage point changes in X, 6–XI, 22, where the voice of the maskil is heard through the usage of personal pronouns, verbs, and second person addresses to God. Through the maskil’s “own voice,” he is portrayed as humble, thankful, and obedient. The carefully crafted image of the maskil serves as a role model; he is the incarnation of the attitude required by the members of the community, “all sons of light.” One cannot separate the maskil’s doing from his knowing, his understanding and behavior are deeply integrated features of this ideal sage figure.

Inspired by Grabowska’s study, it is worth noticing that the level of construals in the hymn shifts towards lower-level construals as the maskil’s utterances express his personal emotions such as recognizing his sinful
nature, feeling humble, thankful, and in need for God to direct and support him, throughout life.

As observed by Grabowska, the use of personal pronouns in language tends to diminish the psychological distance. The pronouns placed in the mouth of the maskil, contextualize the discourse of living a certain life directed by the attitude object of 1QS. The second person addresses to God minimize the social dimension of the psychological distance.

However, more abstract concepts like “his holy order,” “his just measure,” “the covenant of God,” and “his statutes” point to higher-level construal (the why). The maskil refers directly to knowledge, as he states his willingness to praise God with understanding (בֵּדְעָת), and connects this aspect to the physical engagement of his tongue and lips, which turn metaphorically into musical instruments. Moreover, he relates his intention to walk, or enter (אֶבֶּאֲאָה) into the covenant of God, expressing his daily conduct (praise) in terms of external, bodily movement.

Many scholars have emphasized the maskil as an ideal role-model. Seen from a cognitive perspective, this observation seems to gain further support. In the figure of the maskil, as depicted in 1QS, we find a perfect balance between the high-level and low-level construals, the why and the how. He is the embodiment of the right knowledge and behavior, keeping the stable end-goal in mind through the changing conditions of life. The low-level construal features of the maskil presented through “his own voice” situate him in such a way that one can relate. The figure of the maskil becomes a how, a personification of what the introductory lines of 1QS set out as agenda, seeking God with whole heart and soul. This makes the maskil an ideal example of how a dedicated community member should approach the attitude object/the end-goal.

12. Conclusion
Applying basic principles of CLT has proven useful in understanding the relation between knowledge and actions in TST. The text contains a highly complex, abstract description of God’s premediated plan for the cosmos, the creation, man’s position, the dominion of the spirits of light/truth and of darkness/deceit, and the eschatological future. The abstract, high-construal presentation of the end-goal goes hand in hand with maximization of psychological distance: The goal is associated with the remote past and the future. Agency is ascribed primarily to supernatural agents ruling the cosmos, and TST never directly admonishes or instructs its readers to act.

168 The list of the scholars who have dealt with the figure of the maskil as an ideal figure is long, including, to mention but a few, Newsom (2004, 107, 189–190), Angel (2012), Hinojosa (2016), Newman (2016), Jost (2019).
From a CLT perspective, the combination of high-level construal and maximized psychological distance functions as an efficient persuasive strategy. The effect is to motivate the recipients to both obtain knowledge about the creator and the cosmos and to act in accordance with this knowledge, constantly orienting themselves and their actions towards the stable end-goal. When references in TST to knowledge and actions are analyzed in light of CLT, it becomes clear how these notions are inseparably linked to each other: Gaining knowledge and acting in the right way are two sides of the same coin.

A CLT approach was also helpful demonstrating that the predominant form of presenting the unity of knowledge and actions in TST is based on abstract, decontextualized high-level construals, pointing readers primarily to the desired end-goal, the why. However, elements of lower-level construals, connoting the how, also enter the descriptions of human actions, above all by the persistent use of walking as a metaphor for acting through changing conditions. Finally, it was observed how aspects of high- and low-level construals are combined in the various sections of 1QS, each contributing to rendering the document persuasive.
Power of Perception in the Community Rule
Conclusion and Summary of the Thesis

Based on the rationale and motivation presented in the Introduction of the present thesis, I have sought to apply cognitive science approaches to the well-known Qumran text, the Community Rule (1QS). First and foremost, my aspiration has been to detect the cognitive and motivational mechanisms underlying the literary structure and communicative strategy of 1QS.

In Chapter One, I sketched the journey of the Community Rule through more than 70 years of scholarship since the discovery of the cave 1 manuscripts in 1947. In Chapter Two, I presented the broad lines of the emergence of Cognitive Science of Religion (CSR), which forms the theoretical background for the thesis. Furthermore, in Chapter Two, I also provided a brief overview of recent applications of CSR within biblical studies and, in particular, within the Qumran field.

Chapter Three (Article 1) is a close exegetical reading of the Two Spirits Treatise (TST, III, 13–IV, 26). This reading revealed and confirmed that TST engages creatively with Gen 1–3. As Gen 1–3 becomes the stable, traditional, and inspirational foundation beneath the text, TST uses and changes this framework, and introduces a new narrative, composed to face contemporary challenges and changes. TST’s dependence on Genesis is extensive, going beyond shared motifs and vocabulary. TST stages its account of creation as a two-fold presentation: First the creation of mankind (III, 17c–25a), and second, the creation of the two spirits (III, 25b–IV, 14). The creation accounts in Gen 1–3 are independent narratives, while TST presents one coherent image of creation. However, the two-fold presentation in TST seems to connote the two creation accounts in Genesis. Moreover, TST introduces a particular cycle of time, extending from the beginning (i.e., the past), through the present and to the end (i.e., the future), but also constantly connecting past, present, and future crosswise.

TST develops the central theme of knowledge in Gen 2–3 in a new direction. In Genesis, knowledge is dangerous and leads eventually to death. In TST, the absence of knowledge and the lack of ability to discern between good and evil is the real danger. Not possessing knowledge leads not only to death but also to eternal annihilation.

Chapter Four (Article 2) is an investigation of the underlying cognitive mechanisms involved in the process of transformation and transmission in 1QS. The investigation draws on insights from cognitive science and social anthropology in terms of Harvey Whitehouse’s Modes of Religiosity theory. According to this theory, certain religious ideas, concepts and practices are "cognitively optimal" (i.e., relatively simple and straightforward, often
minimally counterintuitive) and therefore they are easy to remember. Others are “cognitively costly” (i.e., requiring greater conscious effort to be preserved and transmitted). The imagistic mode (i.e., relying on low-frequency, highly emotionally charged rituals) and the doctrinal mode (i.e., relying on high-frequency and low-arousal rituals) are often used to preserve and transmit cognitively costly religious contents. 1QS displays its message in a variety of literary genres and discourses. Such a tendency of transmitting costly content in a variety of genres can be seen as a strategy to render the message appealing to memory. The Modes theory sheds light on important cognitive functions underlying this strategy. The introduction of 1QS transforms central scriptural themes (e.g., Deuteronomy 6:4–9) into a more cognitively costly agenda. Due to its low frequency and emotionally charged features, the annual covenant renewal ritual (I, 16–II, 25) can be categorized as a ritual in the imagistic mode. The admission procedure for newcomers (VI, 13b–23) combines elements of the imagistic and doctrinal mode. It is depicted as an extensive step-by-step enrollment procedure, each step representing a once-in-a-lifetime event. At the same time, admission involves a great amount of repetitive teaching. Finally, the myth-like narrative of TST presents itself as a cognitively costly myth, requiring comprehensive, repetitive instruction.

Chapter Five (Article 3) investigates 1QS from the perspective of Construal Level Theory (CLT) which is an approach derived from the field of social psychology. CLT operates with the association between mental “construals” (i.e., high- and low-level) and psychological distance (i.e., spatial, temporal, social, or hypothetical). High-level construals are abstract, general, and superordinate representations of things (i.e., the why, the end-state), while low-level construals are concrete, specific, and subordinate representations (i.e., the how, the means). Reading 1QS through the lens of CLT demonstrated that this ancient text deliberately combines different modes of expression to communicate its message, to persuade its recipients to accept its ultimate goal, and to motivate them to choose the appropriate practices in order to realize the end-state.

In Chapter Six (Article 4), I applied CLT to a specific passage in 1QS (the Two Spirits Treatise, TST) to deal with the particular question of the relation between knowledge and actions. This question has previously been dealt with by Carol A. Newsom, Shane A. Berg, and Thomas Dixon. In light of their findings and in combination with insights from CLT, I suggested viewing the relation between knowledge and actions in TST as two sides of the same coin.

By simultaneously employing a CLT perspective and an exegetical approach, I have sought to illuminate that the unity of knowledge and actions
is central to the communicative strategy of TST. Moreover, a CLT approach showed that the unity of knowledge and action is presented primarily in abstract and decontextualized high-level construals. The text operates with a highly complex, abstract notion of God and his premediated plan for all creation. The end-goal in TST is associated with the remote past and the future, the agency is ascribed primarily to supernatural agents, and TST never directly admonishes or instructs its readers to act in a specific manner. From a CLT perspective, the combination of high-level construals and maximized psychological distance functions as an efficient persuasive strategy. The effect is to motivate the recipients to both obtain knowledge about the creator and the cosmos and to act in accordance with this knowledge, constantly orienting themselves and their actions towards the stable end-goal. The high-level construals point the recipients to the end-goal, the why. However, elements of lower-level construals, connoting the how, also occur in TST. The why (i.e., the end-goal) provides knowledge and therefore stability through the process of change as one moves and acts (by means of the how) towards the end-goal.

Finally, I have briefly examined the interrelation between knowledge and action, and the interplay between aspects of high- and low-level construals, in different sections of 1QS, and thereby shown how each section contributes to rendering the document persuasive.

Taken together, it is my hope that the present thesis has contributed to revealing the potential of using cognitive approaches in the field of Qumran studies. In my experience, CSR has proved useful to shed new light on problems and issues that have occupied previous scholarship. Accordingly, the CSR framework provides researchers with a set of novel analytical perspectives to identify some of the underlying cognitive and motivational mechanisms of the human mind as it continuously interacts with a surrounding world that is constantly changing.
Power of Perception in the Community Rule
The Most Honest Page – Future Direction

This final page seems appropriate for an epilogue disclosing what a rewarding and engaging process the writing of this thesis has been (and believe me, it has been both rewarding and engaging). However, I am writing this final page of the thesis under the circumstances of lock-down and homeschooling, due to the spreading of an invisible tiny monster (maybe one of Belial’s minions?), that has been ravaging all over the world. Never before (perhaps with the exceptions of the Medieval plague and the Spanish flu), have the prescriptions to keep pure and clean – and the instructions to seek out in the wilderness in order to stay separated from those who are not pure and clean – been more relevant. The same goes for the promise that if we submit to such regulations, we will be redeemed when the help of vaccines arrive.

I have been using numerous pages seeking to convince my readers (and maybe even myself), that the application of a CSR approach to 1QS is meaningful. And I sincerely believe it is! But what would I tell myself if I had the opportunity to start designing and writing the thesis all over again? I think I would warn myself about the “Valley of Death” that I would face over and over again. The valley I am referring to is the huge gap between my educational background in classic theology and the modern field of cognitive science. The former includes the sacred tradition of exegetical approaches with an intense focus on the particular (low-level construals?), whereas the latter includes my efforts to identify the cryptic but universally shared cognitive patterns and mechanisms of the human mind (high-level construals?).

If my insight and time allowed for it, and hopefully they might one day, I also see a potential for conducting a CLT investigation of 4QInstruction. A quick surface reading of the remains of this composition reveals a combination of high-level construals (e.g., the promise of the רז נהיה) with low-level construals (e.g., the most tangible details of how one should harvest or dress in wool or linen), presented in the framework of the far psychological distance of the eschatological future.

Another topic that would be worth pursuing is the implementation of a bio-cultural theory of embodiment and embrainment to the intriguing and persistent metaphor of walking – a solid image of how one conducts one’s life. The metaphor of walking can easily be classified as a classical way of depicting the journey of life. To explore the cognitive aspects of why humans tend to use such image of basic bodily movement to encompass life in its entirety would be both pertinent and exiting.
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Melissa Sayyad Bach
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Power of Perception in the Community Rule
Summary

The present article-based Ph.D. thesis (4 articles) investigates the Community Rule (1QS) from Qumran by the application of Cognitive Science of Religion (CSR). More specifically, I employ the *Modes of Religiosity theory* by Harvey Whitehouse and the *Construal Level Theory* (CLT) by Trope and Liberman. The primary objective of using these two CSR approaches is to detect the cognitive and motivational mechanisms underlying the literary structure and communicative strategy of 1QS.

Chapter One sketches the journey of the Community Rule, since its discovery in 1947 up to the present.

Chapter Two describes the emergence of CSR, which serves as the theoretical background for the thesis. Furthermore, this chapter provides a brief overview of recent applications of CSR within biblical studies – and in particular within the Qumran field.

Chapter Three (Article 1), is a close exegetical reading of the Two Spirits Treatise (TST, III, 13–IV, 26) focusing on the intertextuality between TST and Gen 1–3. As Gen 1–3 becomes the stable, traditional, and inspirational foundation beneath the text, TST uses and changes this framework, and introduces a new narrative, composed to face contemporary challenges and changes.

Chapter Four (Article 2) investigates the underlying cognitive mechanisms involved in the process of transformation and transmission in 1QS by means of the Modes of Religiosity theory. From the perspective of the Modes of Religiosity theory, the variety of literary genres and discourses in 1QS can be seen as a strategy to render the message in a way that appeals to human memory processes.

Chapter Five (Article 3) reads 1QS from the perspective of CLT. Viewing 1QS through the lens of CLT demonstrates that this ancient text deliberately combines different modes of expression to communicate its message, to persuade its recipients to accept its ultimate goal, and to motivate them to choose the appropriate practices in order to realize the end-state.

Chapter Six (Article 4) investigates the relation between knowledge and actions in the Two Spirits Treatise in 1QS by means of a combination of CLT and exegesis. In light of previous scholarship and in combination with insights from CLT, I suggest viewing the relation between knowledge and actions in TST as two sides of the same coin. The text operates with a highly complex and abstract notion of God, and his predestined plan for all creation. Furthermore, TST combines high-level construals and maximized psychological distance. From a CLT perspective, this has the effect of
motivating the recipients to both obtain knowledge about the creator and the cosmos, and to act in accordance with this knowledge, while constantly orienting themselves and their actions towards the stable end-goal. Finally, Chapter Six briefly examines the interrelation between knowledge and action, and the interplay between aspects of high- and low-level construals, within different sections of 1QS.

Finally, the conclusion of the thesis sums up the findings of all four articles.
Resumé


Kapitel et skitserer Sekthåndbogens rejse fra den blev fundet i 1947 frem til i dag.

Kapitel to skildrer fremkomsten af den kognitive religionsforskning, som er ph.d.-afhandlingens teoretiske fundament. Dette kapitel giver desuden en kort oversigt over den kognitive religionsforskningens vej ind i bibelforskningen og i særdeleshed Qumran-forskningen.

Kapitel tre (artikel 1) er en nærlæsning af “Læren om de to ånder” (TST, III, 13–IV, 26), med fokus på intertekstualitet mellem 1 Mosebog 1–3 og TST. 1 Mosebog 1–3 udgør den stabile og traditionelle baggrund, som har inspireret TST. Gennem brug og transformation af traditionen fortæller TST en ny historie som skal imødekomme de skiftende omstændigheder i tekstens egen samtid.

Kapitel fire (artikel 2) anvender *Modes of Religiosity*-teorien til at undersøge de underliggende kognitive mekanismer, som indgår i transformations- og overleveringsprocesserne i Sekthåndbogen. Sekthåndbogen består af en række forskellige genrer og diskurser. I lyset af *Modes of Religiosity*-teorien kan denne forskellighed ses som udtryk for en implicit strategi, der skal gøre budskabet nemmere at bearbejde og lagre for den menneskelige hukommelse.

Kapitel fem (artikel 3) er en læsning af Sekthåndbogen ud fra et CLT-perspektiv. Når Sekthåndbogen læses i lyset af CLT, viser det sig at teksten kombinerer forskellige udtryksmåder for at meddele sit budskab på en overbevisende måde. Målet er at modtageren skal overtales til at acceptere tekstens verdenssyn og derved motiveres til at handle i overensstemmelse med dette verdenssyn.

Kapitel seks (artikel 4) undersøger forholdet mellem viden og handlinger i “Læren om de to ånder” gennem anvendelse af CLT i kombination med en eksegetisk tilgang. I lyset af tidligere forskning og ved hjælp af CLT, kommer jeg her frem til, at forholdet mellem viden og handlinger i TST udgør to sider af samme sag. Teksten opererer med et yderst kompleks og
abstrakt gudsbegreb og en forestilling om Guds forudbestemte plan for alle skabninger. Desuden kombinerer TST “high-level construals” med maksimal psykologisk afstand. Set fra et CLT-perspektiv medvirker denne kombination til at motivere modtageren til dels at opnå viden om skaberen og om den kosmiske orden, dels at handle ud fra denne viden ved konstant at orientere sig i retning af dette stabile endemål. I sidste del af dette kapitel undersøger jeg kort forholdet mellem viden og handlinger og samspillet mellem “high- and low-level construals” i udvalgte afsnit i Sekthåndbogen.

Til slut i afhandlingens konklusion sammenfattes resultaterne af de fire artikler.