

Dual Community Policy : Women, Qumran, and Marriage

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I. Introduction

The gender issue of the community was not the major concern with Qumran scholarship from the time of its discovery (DSS; Dead Sea Scrolls)¹⁾ used to focus on the provenance of the 850 documents in relation to the unique life of the Essene sect.²⁾ The general evaluation that the authors of the Cave 1 scrolls were commonly connected with the male celibate Essenes, drew the initial picture of the community identity in the context of the social gender. While one of the first manuscripts (1QS)

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1) Gruber argues that the women studies in ancient societies and religions were unconsciously ignored until 1970s and the women of Qumran were not excluded from the tendency. Mayer I. Gruber, "Women in the Religious System of Qumran," in *Part Five: The Judaism of Qumran: A System of Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Judaism in Late Antiquity*. Edited by Alan J. Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner, and Bruce D. Chilton. (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 2001), 173-175.

2) Lena Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes: A Re-Evaluation of the Evidence*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1997). 49.

describes no feminized terms of sexual relations, marriages or family, there is no specific account about the nature of women. Also the entire manuscripts were not published together soon after the discovery, rather it took such a long time (five decades) to be individually available to scholars.³⁾ The partial availability of the ancient texts spontaneously affected contemporary readers, not able to draw a certain image of the community life sooner. Less interest of the initial archeologists⁴⁾ on women additionally encouraged the socio-religious structure of a masculine community. However, since most of the texts have been published, it is newly reviewed that there are textual traces of women. If one also re-considers the updated results of the Qumran cemeteries, the single gender perspective is no longer the definite conclusion.

II. Feminist Scholarship in Qumran Studies

How is, then, the historical tendency of Qumran scholarship in recent time? The traditional Qumran scholars strongly believed in the terms of election, celibacy, asceticism, purity, rituals, communal life, and eschatology, but during the last two decades there has been a shift in thinking with the ideas of impartiality, egalitarianism, coalition, and family. Such tendency bore a new branch within the probability of a feminine perspective, even though the scholars still used the same method of textual criticism. Around 1990s Schuller and Elder, as pioneers of Qumran gender studies, introduced the notion of gender itself in the view that the

3) Eileen M. Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam. (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 1999), 117-120. Gruber(2001). 175.

4) For more stories of the first archaeological discovery, see C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1896), 2 & 15-16. James L. Kelso, "the Archaeology of Qumran," *Journal of Biblical Literature*. Vol. 74, No. 3 (Sep., 1955) 141-146. Joan E. Taylor, "the Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran and Women's Presence at the Site," *Dead Sea Discoveries*. Vol. 6, No. 3 (Nov., 1999) 285-323.

strong androcentrism of the community texts with male covenanters do not ignore the existence of the opposite gender.⁵⁾ Wassen analyzed the role of women in the text of *Damascus Document* (CD). The women of the text were seen in such a light that the traditional family structure has been superseded by the role of the community overseer.⁶⁾ Grossman in a reader-response approach considered the issue of gender within the same text (CD), suggesting that the text should not be read ‘as a straight-forward or transparent reflection of historical reality’, but as an ideological structure for the righteous covenant community.⁷⁾ Collins and Davies, followed by the works of Baumgarten and Qimron, went with the two views of celibates and non-celibates⁸⁾, but Regev denied the celibate character of the *Yaḥad* members. *Cherchez Les Femmes: Were the Yaḥad*

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- 5) Eileen M. Schuller, ‘Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ in Wise et al., *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*. Edited by M. Wise et al. (New York: The New York Academy of Science. 1994). 115-132. Ibid., (1999), 117-144. Ibid., “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Research in the Past Decade and Future Directions,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture; Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem* (July 6-8, 2008). Edited by Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref. (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 2011), 571-588. Linda Bennett Elder, ‘The Women Question and Female Ascetics among Essenes,’ in *The Biblical Archaeologist*. Vol. 57 No 4 (Dec., 1994) 220-234.
- 6) The chapter six (“Communal Laws”) is in particular for her view. Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).
- 7) Maxine Grossman, ‘Reading For Gender in the Damascus Document’ in *Dead Sea Discoveries*, Vol 11, No 2 (2004), 212-239. Maxine Grossman, ‘Rethinking Gender in the Community Rule’, in *the Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem* (July 6-8, 2008). Edited by Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref. (Leiden and Boston: Brill. 2011). 497-512
- 8) J. M. Baumgarten, ‘The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage,’ in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by L. H. Schiffman. (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990). 18-23. Elisha Qimron, ‘Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Two Kinds of Sectarians,’ in the Madrid Qumran Congress. Edited by J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Mountaner. (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 125-139. John Collins, ‘Family Life,’ in *Encyclopaedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). 287. Philip Davies, ‘Reflections on DJD XVIII,’ *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty*, Edited by R. A. Kugler and E. M. Schuller. (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1999), 161-165.

Celibates? accepted the compositions of the *Yahad* that is reflected in 4Q502.⁹⁾ Further, Stegemann and Boccaccini completely disagreed with the traditional view of Essene's celibacy. They, through reading the texts of CD, 11QT, and 1QSa, asserted the temporality of being celibacy that was due to under age or being widows or divorced.¹⁰⁾ The wisdom texts were continuously evaluated in the context of the attitudes of the particular community toward women.¹¹⁾ The women studies of Qumran were developed by Bernstein through the legal and liturgical texts.¹²⁾ The sexuality of the entire DSS was also approached by Schiffman, Crawford, and Loader.¹³⁾ However, such a textual approach commonly struggled with

9) Eyal Regev, 'Cherchez Les Femmes: Were the Yahad Celibates?,' in *Dead Sea Discoveries* Vol. 15 (2008) 253-284. Ibid., 'The yahad and the Damascus Covenant: Structure, Organization and Relationship,' in *RevQ* Vol. 21 No. 82 (2003) 233-262. Ibid., *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Case Cultural Perspective*. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007).

10) H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1993). G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998).

11) 11Q5, 4Q 184, 4QInstruction (4Q415, 416, 417, 418, 423), and 4Q525. Benjamin G. Wright III, 'Wisdom and Women at Qumran,' *Dead Sea Discoveries* Vol. 11 No 2 (2004) 240-261. D. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1996.) Maxine L. Grossman, 'Women and Men in the Rule of the Congregation: A Feminist Critical Assessment,' in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods*. (Grand Rapids, Michigan/ Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2010). 229-245.

12) 1QS (with 4QS), 1QSa, 1 QM, 4QD, 4QMMT, 4Q 159, 251, 513, (4QHalakhah A), and 11QT. Moshe J. Bernstein, 'Women and Children in Legal and Liturgical Texts from Qumran,' *Dead Sea Discoveries* Vol 11 No 2 (2004) 191-211.

13) Sidnie White Crawford, 'Not According to Rule: Women, The Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran,' in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*. Edited by S. Paul, R. A. Kraft, L. Schiffman, and W. Fields. (Leiden: Brill, 2003). 127-150. Lawrence Schiffman, 'Women in the Scrolls,' in *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: the History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran*. (Jerusalem/ Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994). 127-143. William Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality: Attitudes Towards Sexuality in Sectarian and Related Literature at Qumran*. (Grand Rapids, Michigan/ Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009).

the critical question; how one would know or is sure that the instructions of the community texts were for a real social group or a religio-idealistic group?

While the textual criticism by itself was hesitant, there was a great archaeological progress with the Qumran cemeteries during the last decade. In 2001, the Qumran site was newly mapped by the efforts of Eshel, Broshi, Freund, and Schultz.¹⁴⁾ The archeological data of sexuality has been scientifically updated and reassessed. In fact, the archeological collection of Father Roland de Vaux (1949, 51, 53, 55, and 56) that had been sent to Paris, Jerusalem, and Munich, had not been properly analyzed for almost three decades. Those segments of the Qumran collection were eventually re-opened and re-valued by Sheridan (1990s).¹⁵⁾ Taylor and Magness approached the gender issue with evidence of the Khirbet Qumran cemeteries,¹⁶⁾ while an official excavation was taken between 1993-2004 by Magen and Peleg of Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA).¹⁷⁾ For the identity of some burials, the view of Bedouin and Muslim cemeteries was progressively suggested by Zias.¹⁸⁾ Yet, there was no

14) The professional performance of the local experts of Israel was also extraordinary along with external scholars. Hanan Eshel, Magen Broshi, Richard Freund, and Brian Schultz, 'New Data on the Cemetery East of Khirbet Qumran' *Dead Sea Discoveries*. Vol 9. No 2 (2002) 135-165.

15) Susan Guise Sheridan, 'Scholars, Scrolls, Craftsmen, Elites? Analysis of French Collection on Human Remains from Qumran,' *Dead Sea Discoveries* Vol. 9 No 2 (2002) 199-248.

16) J. E. Taylor, 'The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran and Women's Presence at the Site,' *Dead Sea Discoveries* Vol 11 (2004) 174-190. Jodi Magness, 'Women and the Cemetery at Qumran,' in *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. (Grand Rapids., MI: Eerdmans, 2002). 163-187. Ibid., 'Women at Qumran?' in *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on Its Archaeology* (International Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 4). (Leuven: Peeters, 2004). 113-149.

17) Yitzhak Magen, and Yuval Peleg, *The Qumran Excavations 1993-2004: Preliminary Report*. (Jerusalem: Civil Administration of Judas and Samaria, 2007).

18) J. Zias, 'The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest,' *Dead Sea Discoveries*. Vol. 7. No. 2 (2000) 220-253. Ibid., 'Qumran Archaeological Skeletons with Multiple Personality Disorders and Other Grave Errors' *Revue de Qumran* 21 (2003) 83-98. Brian Schultz, 'The Qumran Cemetery: 150 Years of Research,' *Dead Sea Discoveries*. Vol 13. No 2 (2006) 194-228.

proper consideration for the testimonies of Jewish Roman Historians during the last two decades, except the work of Atkinson who compared the work of Josephus with the *Community Rule* (1QS) to draw a picture that the Qumran sectarians were part of the wide Essene movement.¹⁹⁾ As a result, the archeological data of the cemeteries was also re-analyzed, but, it was like the textual scholars, approached individually with less methodological co-operation.²⁰⁾ The feminist scholarship challenged the tradition view that the Qumran community was purely a male group, yet this obscurely remained in the inference that there would be women, but being not sure how it actually happened.²¹⁾

III. The Theory of a Dual Community Policy

If then, how did women become members of the community? What was the origin of women or the historical routine by which the androcentric community accepted women as companions? This is not an easy topic due to various questions unanswered: such as, how can one trust the secondary sources? How much would the Qumran texts be relevant to the real life of the community people?, or did all the cemetery tombs belong to its own members? The way of understanding women was once supposed to be through the case of adoption. The idea was derived from their ascetical characteristics; “the desire for a high degree of ritual purity, a preparation for the eschatological holy law, or prerequisite to receive special prophetic inspiration.”²²⁾ Another assumption was that the

19) Kenneth Atkinson, and Jodi Magness, ‘Josephus’s Essenes and the Qumran Community,’ *Journal of Biblical Literature*. Vol 129. No 2 (2010) 317-342.

20) Schultz (2006) 198-199. See Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref, *the Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6-8, 2008)*. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011).

21) For more details of uncertainty, see Schuller, “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Research in the Past Decade and Future Directions,” (2011), 571-588.

22) The current reports from the Qumran sites, cemeteries, and caves (numbers 4-10)

community did not allow the family custom, but was not that strict on individual females becoming celibate Essenes for spiritual or religious purposes: such as the prophetess or “women, who decided not to marry, came there to (dwell) in complete chastity, like Christian nuns (1989: 365).”²³⁾ The terms of ‘מִיִּנְקָה: לַהֲנִיֵּק’ (elderly women), ‘אֲחֵיוֹת’ (sisters), and ‘הַ חֵבֵר שֶׁלוֹ’ (his companion)’ remind the readers of the Qumran female ascetics.²⁴⁾

Nevertheless, these ideas are less solid than the theory of a ‘dual community policy’ that the Qumran people had two community policies. It means that they kept the celibacy lifestyle as well as allowing the family structure through marriage. Both groups still required the pure and ascetic commitment. Men were the community leaders, main community actors, and canonical writers. The community rules were written by men and for men. Yet, the androcentric community did not disrespect the opposite sex who became part of the community through marrying a member. Torah centered Qumran community in the Second Temple period did not entirely marry, but those who wished to follow the marriage custom of the Jewish Canon did it and lived in the community.²⁵⁾ In this regard, the history of feminine Qumran studies shows that applying various single methods has failed to prove it confidently. But the multi-methodological perspective of historical, textual and anthro-archaeological approaches systematically supports the dual community policy within the marriage culture of the Jewish tradition.²⁶⁾

do not also support the notion that all the Essenes were married as no Qumran sectarian was celibate. Schuller, (1996) 255.

23) Ibid. 256.

24) See 4Q502.

25) Grossman, (2004) 235–236.

26) The possible existence of feminine figures was previously suggested in this way, but without the certain theory of ‘a dual community policy’. See D. W. Kim, ‘*Hearing the Unsung Voice: Women in the Qumran Community*’, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IJHSS)*, Vol 2, No. 18 (Oct., 2012) 275–282.

Firstly, the historical records of Jewish-Roman authorities do have some indications of women's participation, even though those are indirect evidence. Philo of Alexandria (30/15 BCE-45 CE), according to *Hypothetica: Apology for the Jews*, had a low opinion of women in terms of being rejected by men.²⁷⁾ For example, they (Essenes) recognized women as selfish, jealous, and disturbing the religious life (8.11.14-15). If they had children, women became even more "hostile to the life of fellowship" (8.11.16-17). They thought that a man bound to his wife (and children) "has become a different man and has passed from freedom into slavery" (8.11.17). The negative view has been progressively changed in *The Contemplative Life*. Philo in the text describes that their sanctuary is divided by a wall in two parts, one for men and one for women²⁸⁾:

This common holy place ... is a twofold circuit, being separated *partly into the apartment of the men, and partly into a chamber for the women*, for women also, in accordance with the usual fashion there, form a part of the audience, having the same feelings of admiration as the men and having adopted the same sect *with equal deliberation and decision*... (III. 32-33).

The females were given a socio-religious right to be involved at a community feast (VIII. 68).²⁹⁾ There was also a community order that during the meal, men sit by themselves to the right and women to the left (IX. 69).³⁰⁾ After the meal both men and women stand up, "form themselves" into two choirs and sing hymns to God (XI. 83-84, X. 80 and III. 29). Later the two choirs unite and sing together in imitation of the choir of the Israelites after having been saved through the Red Sea (XI. 85-88). Philo depicts that the Essenes (*Therapeutae*³¹⁾) permitted social

27) C. D. Yonge(Trans.), "Hypothetica: Apology for the Jews," in *The Works of Philo*, (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 742-746.

28) Ibid., "The Contemplative Life," in *op. cit.* 698-706.

29) "And the women also share in this feast, the greater part of whom, though old, are virgins in respect of their purity".

30) "And the order in which they sit down to meat is a divided one, the men sitting on the right hand and the women apart from them on the left".

31) Philo in *The Contemplative Life* describes *Therapeutae* as a strange Jewish group

equality of women with men in the community, in particular women's rights to participate and practice worshiping the God of Israel with men. This testimony does not reflect the picture of young girls, but the activity of married women in the community.

Another Jewish oriented Roman historian, Josephus (37/38–100 CE) in the *Wars of the Jews* claimed that women were accepted in the community by reason of marriage: "They do not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the succession of mankind is thereby continued" (2.8.2 (121)).³²⁾ The Roman authority also informs his readers that he was aware of a *separate group* of Essenes that differed from the main group by its positive view of marriage:

There was another order of Essenes, who agree with the rest as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but *differ from them in the point of marriage* (2.8.160–161).

Josephus says that women became a part of the community, even though it was only for propagation. The Essenes took care to show that their interest in marriage did not stem from carnal lust, but only from their wish to beget children. From such views, one can insist that the testimonies of the Roman historians were not reliable evidence from the Qumran community, but outsiders' observations. Even when they mentioned women, the descriptions were not certain whether they were writing for the same group or different groups of the same community.³³⁾ The

living near Alexandria. Philo brings them into connection with the Essenes. Yonge, (1995) 698.

32) Yet, their esteem of women was low because men had uncertain confidence in the faithfulness of women. C. D. Young, "The Wars of the Jews" in *The Works of Josephus*, (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996), 450–542.

33) Bailey critically explains the reason why Josephus' view of women was so negative. He argues that it originated from his family background (not describing family (women) members' name) as well as the era's influence (in the Hellenistic milieu). James L. Bailey, "*Josephus' Portrayal of the Matriarchs*," in Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata (Ed.), (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 154–157. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994). 129.

impression only reflects that the size and locations of the community were various and that they somewhere had flexible or individual policies. However, Atkinson and Magness clearly argue the relevance of Josephus' testimony with the life of Qumran people that 'Josephus' testimony is a valuable source ... for understanding the sectarian community at (Khirbet) Qumran, whose members were part of the wider Essen movement.'³⁴) It shows that wherever each ascetic community including the Qumran Essenes was located, they were generally constituted with the two characteristic policies of celibacy and marriage. French Collection of Human Remains from Qumran reasonably proves the sex ratio for the regional and temporal counterparts to the Qumran community³⁵): the Jericho site (male: 86, female: 52); Jerusalem and Ein Gedi sites (male: 122, female: 71); En el-Ghuweir site (male: 13, female: 6); Cave of the letters (male: 4; female: 9); the Goliath family tomb of the Dead Sea region (male: 11, female: 7); and Hesban (Moab) site (male: 67, female: 68). The average of the sex ratio of the ancient community sites from the Dead Sea, Jordan, Jerusalem and Judeans hills are approximately *1.6 (male) : 1 (female)*. It does not present that all of them were married, but indicates a certainty that half of the community men were married and that 30 % of the community members were not males (but females). Such numerology can be impractical to apply to ancient community cases, but if the other Essene communities kept such a rate of the community membership, there is no excuse not to apply this to the Qumran community of the similar region and era either.

Secondly, the members of the Qumran community often call themselves as - ילדים של זאדוק ('sons of Zadok': 1QS 9.14), ילדים של צדק ('sons of justice': 1QS 3. 20), גברים של הקהילה ('men of the community': 1QS 5.1), and

34) The points of 'ragged clothing', 'spitting', 'community meals', 'Sabbath observance', 'toilets and toilet habits', and 'oil and bathing' were similar between sayings of Josephus and Qumran texts (mainly 1QS, CD, and 1QSa). Atkinson, and Magness, (2010) 318.

35) Sheridan, (2002) 229-232.

'sons of Light' (1 ילדים של אור: QS 3. 25).³⁶⁾ Nonetheless, there is not the slightest reference to celibacy in the DSS.³⁷⁾ Not even any equivalent of the title 'Essene' has appeared in the scrolls. Rather, the literal trace, for the social position of feminine figures, is clearer than any other ancient writings. A few scrolls not only identify the presence of women, but also demonstrate the active life of women and marriage.³⁸⁾ The *Damascus Document* (CD), both from the Cairo Genizah copy (called "the Zadokite Fragments")³⁹⁾ and from the multiple (ten) copies of Cave 4, 5, and 6, describes marriage and family life in the regulations of the community.⁴⁰⁾

36) Vermes gives detailed support for this view with the etymology of "Essenes" in relation to some ancient writings and modern approaches by R. De Vaux, Dupont-Sommer, M. Black, J.T. Milik, I. M. Grintz, H. Kosmala and J. -P. Audet. Geza Vermes, *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975). 8-19. The textual fact that there is no copy of the book of Esther in the Qumran Biblical manuscripts and that Esther is only the one not included in the Qumran Hebrew canons, also opposes the feminine hero's story of the Jewish tradition and depicts the "group of male celibates who withdrew to the desert wilderness to live without women". See Eileen M. Schuller, "Evidence for Women in the Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls" in John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson (Ed.), *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1996). 252-257.

37) See Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan/ Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company; Leiden, New York and Köln: E. J. Brill Academic Publishers, 1998). 199-201.

38) The objection that the instruction of the texts was a religious ideal not for a real life, would be challengeable, but if the community members truly believed the doctrine of the scrolls, contemporary readers cannot gainsay that they practically adopted the religious teachings and custom of the canons into their community. Generally, it can be comprehended together with contemporary religious groups who try to follow their culture, moral and ethics of canonical teachings even if it does not often match their secular life style.

39) There are two medieval copies. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J. *Responses to 101 Questions on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (New York/ Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1992). 28-30.

40) In this regard, the post-1990s readers theoretically presumed the position of CD. In particular, *Women in the Damascus Document* identify CD as a foundational Essene text at their early stage of sectarian formation. Philip R. Davies, "Women in the Damascus Document by Cecelia Wassen," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. 128. No. 2 (2008) 391-392. Grossman in terms of a sociological

For example, a man is not allowed to marry with close relatives, in particular with his niece (CD 5: 10); and a man is prohibited to take a second wife while his first wife is alive (4: 21). The evaluation of gender-equality issue is geared with the view of women's full membership within the community.⁴¹⁾ 'Taking two wives in their lifetime' has been interpreted in many ways, but all have implications for women. While some insist this passage is a prohibition against 'polygamy,' other readers concede this as a prohibition against 'divorce'⁴²⁾ or 'remarriage after divorce'.⁴³⁾ The reason for monogamy is not simply the issue of finance or social custom, but that it was by divine decree, even if royalty and the wealthy and authorized social classes of ancient Near East were allowed to practicing polygamy based on their economical ability.⁴⁴⁾

Especially, the passage ("and if they live in camps, according to the rule of the land, taking wives and begetting children, they shall walk according to the Law (CD 7, 6-7)"), supports the view that there were two groups in the Essene movement including those married.⁴⁵⁾ While Baumgarten

perspective argues that CD and IQS are thoroughly androcentric. Men are the 'normal' or 'neutral' actors in society, but women are exceptions to the general rule in the male-defined sphere. Grossman, (2011) 497-512.

41) Schuller, (1994) 123-124. Ibid., (1999). 123-131.

42) See Gershon Brin, "Divorce at Qumran," in Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez and John Kampen (Ed.), *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meetings of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995*, (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill, 1997). 231-244. John Kampen, "The Matthean Divorce Texts Reexamined," in George J. Brooke and Florentino García Martínez (Ed.), *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*, (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill, 1997). 149-167.

43) Schuller, (1994) 118-120, and Ibid., (1999). 123-131.

44) The women servants are introduced twice (CD 11:12; 12:10) in both cases in conjunction with menservants. One in 4Q271 refers to women in the category of **אל מנה** ('widow': CD 3. 12), CD 14:15 (and 4Q271. 3.13) in the category of **בת** ('girl') and **אחיות** ('sisters') (4Q266. 5.i.1). Also, references to **ש"ע (שפחת חנם)** ('bondswoman') (4Q270 4 14), **מינקת: להניק** ('wet nurse') (4Q266 6 ii 11), and **אם** ('mother') (4Q270 .i.14) parallel to **אב** ('father') are in the text. Gruber, (2001) 187-190.

45) Wassen, (2005) 23-34. Crawford, (2003) 127-150.

presumes the unmarried men of the male members were a specific elite group within the movement⁴⁶, the reasons for the unmarried Essenes were the religio-circumstantial factor of 'ritual purity (*niddah*, *zavah*, and *yoledet*)', 'being widowers or divorced', or 'under age'.⁴⁷ In this regard, the feminine laws of CD 'are often not focused on women only, but are laws about the interactions and relationships of men and women in a variety of contexts'.⁴⁸ According to 4QD (Cave 4 *Damascus*) that derived from a non-celibate group⁴⁹, the marriages have been not only arranged by the marrying group of the community, but also the marital relationship was taken quite seriously: For the case, 'the *mebaqqer* of the camp oversaw those marrying and gave his attention to those divorcing (CD 13: 16-17)'.⁵⁰ The indications of a community where marriage and family life are normal is also reflected in the *Zadokite Fragments* which follows the marriage rules of the Jewish tradition: 'the foundation of creation is male and female. He (God) created them and those who entered the ark, 'two of each (male and female) came to (Noah) into the ark...' (*Zadokite Fragments* 4: 20-5:2).⁵¹ The Genizah text of the community implies the Genesis tradition of the family principle. *Law Pertaining to Women and Sexuality* argues that the Zadokite/ Sadducee legal system of CD was 'practiced before there was a Qumran sect'.⁵²

46) Baumgarten, (1990) 18-23.

47) Regev, (2008) 260.

48) Bernstein, (2004) 194.

49) Ibid., 201-202.

50) 'Let no man do anything involving buying and selling without telling the Overseer of the camp, ... And so with all who take a wife ... and so with divorce'. Aharon Shemesh, 'Marriage and Martial Life in the *Dead Sea Scrolls*', in *the Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem* (July 6-8, 2008). Edited by Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011). 589-600.

51) Schiffman, (1994) 130-131.

52) This point is related with the conclusion of this paper. Ibid., 'Law Pertaining to Women and Sexuality', in *the Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem*

The text of 4Q502 that is interpreted as a ritual of marriage, also does not indicate any rule for celibacy. Instead, the family terms of ‘man and his wife’, ‘to reproduce offspring’, ‘a daughter of truth’, ‘his wife’, ‘young men’, ‘virgins’, and ‘young women’ are dominant. The passage, such as “to him a reliable woman who walks ... his father... joy of being together... his belly for the fruit of the womb ... their glory ... for the joy of togetherness ... father of the girl”, though it is fragmentary, makes one imagine the joy of the wedding ceremony under the blessings of the family and community members.⁵³⁾ The culture of wedding (marriage) and identity of women can be located in the community life⁵⁴⁾, if one accepts the phrase of ‘when you add ... the law of God’ (fragments 1-3) as ‘a ritual of admission of a married couple into the sect’.⁵⁵⁾

The text of *the Temple Scroll* (11QT) compels readers to assume that women are protected by the laws of the community.⁵⁶⁾ 11QT 66: 15-17 prohibits marriage between a man and his niece which is stricter than the legislation of the Torah (*Lev.* 18: 12-13).⁵⁷⁾ The scroll allows a soldier to bring home a (beautiful captive) woman from the enemy and to marry her. The woman may then obtain clothes as well as some kind of freedom (63: 10-15).⁵⁸⁾ The scroll known as law of king (57: 15-19) maintains strict marital regulations for the king: He may not marry more than one woman. She must be a Jewish woman of his own clan. He may not divorce her

(*July 6-8, 2008*). Edited by Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref. (Leiden and Boston: Brill. 2011). 550-569.

53) Shemesh, (2011) 592-594.

54) Loader, (2009) 257-260.

55) Regev, (2008) 276.

56) See Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage,” in Philip R. Davies (Ed.), *Behind The Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1987). 13-23.

57) “A man may not marry his brother’s daughter or his sister’s daughter, for it is an abomination.”

58) A law of *The War Scroll* (1/4QM) forbids women to enter the war camps from the time the soldiers leave Jerusalem until they come back (7: 3) which is adopted from *Deut* 23: 10-15.

and remarry as long as she lives. He may remarry only if his wife dies.⁵⁹⁾ This is the same concept with the ‘monogamy’ of CD, even if there is still controversy as to whether a group used the two texts together or multiple groups read one or the other. 11QT 65:7–66:4 shows a woman’s right of remaining in marriage, when she proves the evidence of virginity or was attracted by a man.⁶⁰⁾ The man cannot divorce her for any reason. Women were also involved in incest laws: a man may not marry the wife of his father, nor may he uncover his father’s skirt (66:11–12). These laws of the community, in a sense, protect women from unexpected and harmful events by keeping their purity and holiness. While the women narratives in 11QT have been treated based on pentateuchally-based regulations, the author of *the Rule of the Congregation* or *the Messianic Rule* (1QSa) includes the case that women were even given some kind of legal obligations and rights for their partners: “She shall be received to give witness against him (about) the precepts of the law and to take his place in the proclamation of the precepts (1: 10–11).”⁶¹⁾ Baumgarten⁶²⁾, Vermes, and Schiffman⁶³⁾ disagree that women could give evidence against their husband, but why could women not be called as a witness as to their spouse’s conduct, since they were accepted as members of the scroll community?⁶⁴⁾ Of course it would be dangerous to conceive that the whole

59) More details in Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Laws Pertaining to Women in the Temple Scroll,” in Devorah Dianat and Uriel Papport (Ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Leiden, New York and Köln: E. J. Brill; Jerusalem: The Magnes Press; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992). 212–218.

60) The death penalty is applied to both the woman and man for committing adultery (66:7–8).

61) “They shall assemble all those who join (the sect), women and children...” (1: 4).

62) *The Community Rule* (1QS) makes no appearance of women except for the biblical idiom “one born of a woman (1QS 11: 21), Grossman yet encourages to see the context of the text that ‘the absence of women in the wording should not lead us to assume their absence from the world imagined in the text’. Grossman, (2010) 244–245. Joseph Baumgarten, “On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa,” in *Studies in Qumran Law*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977), 182–186.

63) Schiffman, 1994. 134–135.

64) Ilan and Cansdale consider the concept as they admit the authors intention in it.

Qumran texts are for the instruction of the sectarian life, but in considering such materials of CD, 4Q502, 11QT, and 1QSa it would be rather unwise if one completely disconnects its relevance with the community culture and custom.⁶⁵⁾ Loader agrees with Schiffman that the laws of the text are conservative, but it does not disprove two facts that the activities of “marriage, sexual relations, and childbirth are part of a properly ordered life” and that the author of the texts believed in the Torah style of the family life.⁶⁶⁾

Lastly, the anthro-archeology (archeology with anthropology) approach likewise maintains the marriage culture of the dual community policy through visual or tangible evidences. Especially, the updated information of the German collections (Munich) and French collections (Paris and Jerusalem) from the initial collections of Father Roland de Vaux and his team (1940-50s)⁶⁷⁾ reconfirm the sexual gender of many human remains (2002 & 2006).⁶⁸⁾ In details, the T22 and T24A of the main cemetery

Tal Ilan, “The Attraction of Aristocratic Women to Pharisaism During the Second Temple Period,” *Harvard Theological Review* 88:1 (1995) 1-33. Grossman, (2010). 244-245. Cansdale, (1997) 53.

65) Women were envisioned in various guises such as wives, servants, sisters, tempresses and beautiful captives, and possessing purity or impurity, wisdom or guile. They also strictly legislated women’s ritual purity in their law. Loader, (2009) 341-390.

66) Bernstein, (2004) 195. Loader, (2009) 51-52. Schiffman, (2011) 568.

67) Practically, Ferdinand de Saulcy of 1851, Henry Poole of 1855, and Clermont-Ganneau of 1873 explored the site before Roland de Vaux and his team. Clermont-Ganneau (1896) 2. 15-16. Kelso, (1955) 141-146. Kugler and Chazon based on the initial work of de Vaux also presume that “the entire known archaeological record” shows “only the slimmest of physical evidence for women having been at Qumran”. Rob Kugler, and Esther Chazon, “Women at Qumran: Introducing the Easays,” in *Dead Sea Discoveries*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2004) 167-173. “The Schweich Lectures, 1959”, in *L’archéologie et les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1961) from Schuller (1999) 118-119. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran*, (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney and Auckland: Doubleday, 1995). 37-61.

68) See Röhrer-Ertl et al., ‘Über die Gräberfelder von Khirbet Qumran’, 47 (German

were determined as two female skeletons.⁶⁹⁾ Six graves (T32–37) of the extensions of the main cemetery had eleven female skeletons.⁷⁰⁾ From T32 and T33, women’s belongings such as pieces of jewelery, finger rings, beads and pierced ear-rings were discovered. The ‘engendered archaeology’ demonstrate specific women’s domestic lifestyle.⁷¹⁾ The use of bone spindle whorls with bronze needle additionally defines a symbolic life of women in the community.⁷²⁾

Regarding these burials of the southern cemetery and southern extension (T32, T33, and TS1), Zias once suspected that it is a rare

collection). S. Sheridan, J. Ullinger, and J. Ramp, ‘Anthropological Analysis of the Human Remains from Khirbet: The French Collection’, in *The Archaeology of Qumran*, Vol. II (eds J-B Humbert, OP and J. Gunneweg; Presses Universitaires de Fribourg, Suisse and the École Biblique et Archéologique Française (French collection). Sheridan, (2002) 198–248. 54 graves of 58 individuals were excavated: Clermont-Ganneau, de Vaux; T1–37, TA and TB, TS1–4, and Steckoll: G2–11. See Schultz, (2006) 194–228. Elder, (1994) 225–227. Stegemann, (1998) 48. Magen Broshi, “The Archaeology of Qumran – A Reconsideration,” in Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport (Ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Leiden, New York and Köln: E. J. Brill; Jerusalem: The Magnes Press; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1999). 103–113. Zdzislaw Jan Kapera, “Some Remarks on the Qumran Cemetery,” in Michael O. Wise, Norman Golb, John J. Collins, and Dennis G. Pardee (Ed.), *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences Volumes 722), (New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 97–111.

69) Vallois of Paris also sexed the T7 of the main cemetery as female, but was reassigned to the category of male because the stature of the human remain was 160 cm. From the French collection there is only one female identified. Zias, (2000) 231–232. *Ibid.*, (2003) 83–98. Sheridan, (2002) 223–225.

70) The T 37 used to be recognised as uncertain male, but turned into a female. According to Crawford, there were eight females and five children of twenty-two skeletons from the German (or Munich) collection that was identified by O. Röhrer-Ertl. One female was included at the French collection (the remains of the Paris and Jerusalem collections) of S. Sheridan. See Röhrer-Ertl et al., ‘Über die Grabenfelder von Khirbet Qumran,’ from the footnote thirty four of Zias, (2000) 231. R. De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (London: the Oxford University Press, 1973). 46–47. Taylor, (1999) 306–309.

71) Crawford, (2003). 127–150.

72) *Ibid.*, 317–323.

occasion to see these jewelries from halakhical Jewish tombs or tombs from the Second Temple period.⁷³⁾ Zias challenged readers in the notion that those burials were Islamic burials of the post-Byzantine type and that 'all the women and children in the cemetery were Bedouins'.⁷⁴⁾ The Bedouin approach in the context of supporting the traditional theory of Qumran celibacy focused on a different type, level of burial from the surface, and direction of coffins.⁷⁵⁾ On the contrary, *New Date on the Cemetery of Khirbet Qumran* proved that T34 and T37 were known by Zias as male tombs, but the sexuality of T32, T33 and TS1 was not identified as either male or female.⁷⁶⁾ Also, in terms of the depth of tomb, Zias mentioned that the female body (30-40 years old) of T35 was buried 40 cm beneath the surface, but, a lot of females (and children) were buried at an average depth of 1.83 m which is the normal depth of the Qumran tombs: T15 (1.70 m), T37 (1.0 m), G6b (1.65 m), G7 (2.5 m), T24a (2.50 m), and G36 (1.85 m). Reversely, some of male bodies was buried even at a lower level than women: T7 (0.80 m), T19 (1.40 m), G5 (1.58 m), and BE1 (1.20 m).⁷⁷⁾ Even if these tombs belonged to Bedouins it is still problematic in the case where one applies the Bedouin view to the rest of the unexcavated tombs (over a thousand tombs). Meantime, recent anthro-archaeological data claimed that approximately 80 % of the tombs excavated are the Second Temple period tombs.⁷⁸⁾ Among the females and children's tombs the T4, T5, T15, T22, G3, G6, and G7 were surely seen as the tombs of the Second Temple period, while the (male) tombs of CG, T1-3, T8-10, T12-14, T16-21, T23, 25-31, TA, TB, G2-5, and G8-9 were from the same period. Another two women of 30s

73) Zias assumes the east-west tombs as recent Bedouin burials instead of the Second Temple period. Zias, (2000) 225-228.

74) Ibid., 229-231.

75) Schultz, (2006) 200.

76) Eshel, Broshi, Freund, and Schultz, (2002) 156-163. Zias, (2000) 224. Ibid., (2003) 83-98.

77) No bones were discovered from this tomb.

78) Schultz, (2006) 227-228.

and 50s from the Second Temple period was separately discovered from the small square structure (so called 'a mourning enclosure') of 'Tomb 1000' or 'de Vaux's Point B (BE2a and b)'.⁷⁹⁾ So, it could be reasonable to presume that 'the majority of its burials are indeed from the Second Temple period', with marginal cemeteries of the post-Second Temple period.⁸⁰⁾

Furthermore, the traces of children (boys and girls) are significant to sustain the marriage culture of the movement, since many tombs of Qumran belong to children (or teenagers).⁸¹⁾ For example, there was a girl around 6-7 years old at T36, while a sixteen years old boy was discovered from T15. Both of them were part of the north section of the main cemetery. The excavation of TS2 unveiled another six years old boy's bones that are different when compared with the seven-ten years old boy of TS3. The eight-ten years old boy of TS4 was discovered by himself. The G6b was the tomb for a two years old child. The G7 was the tomb of a fourteen-sixteen years old girl. The burials of couples or family likely carry the dual view that the Qumran Essene community partly had a

79) Schultz, (2006), 199. Eshel, Broshi, Freund, and Schultz, (2002) 149-151. Albert Baumgarten, 'Who Care and Why Does It Matter? Qumran and The Essenes, Once Again,' *Dead Sea Discoveries*. Vol 11. No 2 (2004) 184-185.

80) Ibid., 205-206. Zias still keeps the traditional view of the Qumran community where there were no women. Zias, (2000) 224. For the marriage Essenes, she points out "*the Wars of the Jews*" 2: 160, written by Josephus. Cansdale, (1997) 165-173. Solomon H. Steckoll, "Preliminary Excavation Report in the Qumran Cemetery," in *Revue de Qumran* 6: 23 (1968) 324, 328 and 335. Elder, (1994) 225-227. Taylor, (1999) 307-309. Ein Feshkha was like Ein el-Guweir, the site like Qumran, but there was no evidence of women discovered. Jodi Magnes, "Qumran Archaeology: Past Perspectives and Future Prospects," in Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam with the Assistance of Andrew E. Alvarez (Ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment (Volume One)*, (Leiden, Boston and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1998), 47-77. Pessah Bar-Adon, "Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at En el-Ghuweir on the Shores of the Dead Sea," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 277 (1977) 1-25. Elder, (1994) 224-225.

81) In this paper the age under twenty is recognised as non-adult. In other word, the children (as well as teenager) of this paper means they are under twenty years old. Eshel, Broshi, Freund, and Schultz, (2002) 139-165.

family policy as well as a celibacy policy. Representatively, women and men were buried together in the tombs of T22 and T24a. Vallois similarly suggested that ‘there would have been two individuals in T4, T5, T6, and T11’.⁸²⁾ The tomb of TS3 where a child boy was buried is also assumed since there were two bodies: maybe a parent and a child.⁸³⁾ The T37 is also believed to have two women’s bodies of around 20–30 years old.⁸⁴⁾ These anthro–archeological works have brought the conclusion that “thirty percent of the excavated tombs at Qumran contain remains of women and children”.⁸⁵⁾ The age of most of the females was between twenty three to forty years old and children are between two to ten years old (or sixteen years old for some teenagers). “The average stature of adult females during the Second Temple period was (around) 150.8 cm.”⁸⁶⁾ Thus, if one less considers the term ‘celibacy’, it is apparent that some Essenes from the beginning of the community (maybe during the Second Temple period Ia: 135 B.C.E.) married and lived a family life⁸⁷⁾, while some Essenes avoided marriage by religious reasons of purity. The notion of a harmony in the community should not be an extreme theory, but instead be seen as a unique lifestyle that the ‘marrying and non-marrying covenanters were in close contact and held competing claims to a *shared tradition*’.⁸⁸⁾

82) See the footnote no 133 of Eshel, Broshi, Freund, and Schultz, (2002) 161.

83) See the footnote no 141 of Ibid., 163.

84) See the footnote no 139 of Ibid., 162. Further, the thought of a third individual at T24a and G3b was suggested, though those cases might be a mistake of archeological process (mixing of the bones).

85) While there were some female’s gravies in the main cemetery, the major female and children were located at the secondary cemetery or extension places. One might presume the social position of women and children, but that does not been proved yet. Taylor suggests a peculiar circumstance of “warfare”. Elder, (1994) 232. Taylor, (1999) 314–315.

86) The physical anthropologists for human remains have employed methods of checking the stature of human remains, dental eruption, epiphyseal union, public symphysis morphology, auricular surface morphology, cranial suture closure, and dental attrition (tooth wear). Sheridan, (2002) 223–225. Zias, (2000) 231–232. Ibid., (2003) 83–98.

87) Wassen, (2005) 88–102. Crawford, (2003) 146.

88) Grossman, (2004) 236.

IV. Conclusion

Although the feminine issue of the Qumran Essences was always objective rather than subjective in the history of modern scholarship, one can recognize that the voice of women was still echoing throughout the socio-religious context of the Qumran community. In this perspective, it is hard to keep the androcentric character of the ancient religious community only. Rather, readers should have an open mind to accept the dual condition of the eschatological Jewish group. In the case where the Qumran community was not the only ascetic Essene community in the similar region and era of the Mediterranean world, it would be useful to consider the character of other Essenes. The rate of women in other Essene communities, according to Sheridan, was not about 50 %, but around 30 %.⁸⁹⁾ It means that half of men would have their own family while the other half did not. The remains of women and children from Qumran cemeteries that are around 30 %⁹⁰⁾, is, then, applicable to the speculation that the Qumran community and other Essene communities shared a comparable policy at least on the gender issue. The multi-methodological approach orderly demonstrated a dual community policy, that the unique character of the community not only was represented by celibates, but the family teachings of the Torah were still applied in the traditionally *deuteronomic* community. While the indirect sources of Philo and Josephus in a broad concept of the Essene movement support women's relation with men of the religiously ascetic community⁹¹⁾,

89) Sheridan, (2002) 229-232.

90) Elder, (1994) 232.

91) Philo's wordings in the whole context suggest no ordinary marriage among the Essenes. He, however, proves the fact that there were women existing in the community. Phillip R. Callaway, "The History of the Qumran Community," in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series* 3. 71. Josephus' negative attitude toward women is not only for the Essene women, but also reflected through his personal life. Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*,

the presence of women and marriage, though from a masculine perspective, have been documented in their community canon(s). The sectarian authors of the DSS described the practical laws with sexual attitudes which could be one of the rising issues in the community.⁹²⁾ The archaeological evidence of women, children, and couple or plural tombs from the Khirbet cemeteries co-operatively identified that there was such a culture for women and family. Therefore, if this is the case for the Qumran community, it would not be an overvaluation to predict the dual community policy in the context of environmental transformation that the policy of being celibates was a new community rule they made and kept *publicly* while the family policy was the original one from the Torah tradition kept *customarily*. The dual community policy had to co-exist in some historical stages of the ancient religious movement.

Key Words: Qumran community, Essene, Ascetics, Women, Dead Sea Scrolls

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(Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1998). 188-192. Vermes, (1977) 125-130.

92) Roland de Vaux did not mention when he searched the caves 4-10, but many texts from Cave 4 (4Q texts) strongly support the community life of women and children. Vaux, (1973) 12-34. Ibid., *Dupont-Sommer, Black, Milik, Grintz, Kosmala, and Audet*, (1975) 8-19.

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<국문초록>

이중 공동체 정책: 여성, 콤란, 그리고 결혼

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사해문서 발견 초기(1940-50년대)부터 콤란공동체는 학자들 사이에서 남성금욕주의자들의 종교집단으로 이해되어 왔다. 그러나 그러한 전통적인 고정관념은 최근 20년 사이에 여성의 존재가능성이 부각되면서 도전받게 되었다. 만약 그 고대 유대공동체에 여성이 포함되었다면 어떻게 그 사실을 증명할 수 있을까? 그 종말론적인 종교단체에서 여성들의 역할이나 사회적 위치는 어떠했을까? 어떻게 그 남성중심적인 공동체가 성적인 순결을 유지하면서 여성의 거주를 허락했을까? 콤란 연구에서 이러한 에세네편(Essene)의 정체성에 대한 탐구는 항상 연구자들 가운데 논쟁의 중심이 되어 왔다. 이전에는 그 종교공동체의 여성적인 특성을 이야기할 때 불확실성과 부정적인 시각이 지배적이었으나, 이 논문에서는 콤란 내의 여성에 대한 연구의 현재 위치(1990-2010년대)를 진단해 볼 뿐 아니라 다차원적 방법론(역사적문헌, 사해문서, 인류-고고학)을 적용하여 콤란공동체의 ‘이중 공동체 정책’이라는 새로운 가설을 주장할 것이다. 이는 그 남성중심의 고대 종교 운동에 어떻게 여성 구성원이 포함되었는가를 이해하는 데 더 나은 논리적 이론이 될 것이다.

주제어: 콤란공동체, 에세네편, 금욕주의자, 여성, 사해문서