

THE USE OF  
THE OLD TESTAMENT  
IN THE NEW AND  
OTHER ESSAYS

*STUDIES IN HONOR OF*  
WILLIAM FRANKLIN STINESPRING

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ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOTERIOLOGY  
IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS  
AND IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

WILLIAM HUGH BROWNLEE

The ancient Psalmist, standing beneath the Palestinian sky at night, exclaimed:

When I look at Thy heavens,  
the work of Thy fingers,  
the moon and the stars  
which Thou established,  
what is man that Thou rememberest him,  
a human that Thou carest for him?

(Ps. 8:4-5 [=8:3-4])

This is still a relevant question; for every scientific advance in the knowledge of the cosmos leads all the more poignantly to the question: "What is man?"<sup>1</sup> Biblical answers are also still relevant. Ancient Jews languishing in exile at Babylon were assured by God's prophet that He had not forgotten them, although all nations are but as "a drop from a bucket" in His sight, by appealing to the might of Yahweh who created and sustains each star. Puny humans should not think that God disregards them.

- 25 To whom would you compare Me,  
that I be equal? asks the Holy One.  
26 Set your eyes toward the sky  
and see Who created these:

It is a heartfelt privilege to contribute this article to the honor of Dr. William F. Stinespring who was both my former teacher and colleague at Duke University. His own scholarship and enthusiasm in all that relates to biblical studies and the biblical languages have served to guide and to inspire me through the intervening years since I first came to know him. His prophetic concern for righteousness and justice in society and in the world at large, together with his cordial and sympathetic spirit, elicit admiration and esteem. Above all, he is my friend.

1. Albert Einstein is reported to have said, approximately: "If there is a God, He is the great Mathematician, preoccupied with the whole universe. If so, He has no time for me." As yet I have not been able to verify this quotation; but it sounds very much like him. In any case, this expresses well the mood of many in our day.

- Who marshals their army by number,  
mustering them all by name!  
By His multiple powers  
and mighty strength  
not one is missing!  
27 Why do you say, O Jacob,  
and complain, O Israel:  
"My way is hidden from Yahweh,  
my cause has no standing with my God!"  
28 Have you not known  
or even heard?  
"The God of eternity is Yahweh,  
Creator of earth's far reaches.  
Inexhaustible and untiring is He;  
unsearchable are the insights of Him  
29 Who gives<sup>2</sup> strength to the exhausted  
and multiplies the vigor of the powerless.

(Isa. 40:25-29)

Deutero-Isaiah indulges in verbal play when he asserts that Yahweh with "His multiple powers" "multiplies the vigor of the powerless." This same intimate care of the Almighty for impotent man is paralleled in the teaching of Jesus (Matt. 10:29): "Are not two sparrows sold for a penny? And not one of them will fall to the ground without your Father's will. . . . Fear not, therefore; you are of more value than many sparrows."

For the people of Qumran, the question of "What is man?" was one of moral perplexity arising quite as much from man's sinfulness as from his apparent insignificance.<sup>3</sup> The answers given to this question by these ancient Jews are the subject to be taken up here. Correlated with the nature of man is the nature of God's saving work, so that anthropology and soteriology stand together. The ideas of the people of the Dead Sea Scrolls will be discussed also in relation to the New Testament.

2. The presence of the article with the participle in the text of 1Q Isa<sup>a</sup> requires the translation "Who gives" rather than "He gives." The Massoretic Text can be translated either way.

3. For the question "What is man?" see 1Q S xi, 20-22; 1Q H iv, 29 ff.; ix, 29; xiii, 13 ff.; xv, 21; xviii, 21.

## GOD CREATED MAN WITHIN A CONTEXT OF DUALISM

It is the dualistic context of life which explains both the angelic heights and the demonic depths of which human nature is capable. The basic passage dealing with the nature and destiny of man is found in the Qumran Society Manual (1Q S iii, 13–iv, 26).<sup>4</sup> In my translation of 1951, I entitled this section “The Instruction of the Community Concerning the Moral Nature of Man, or the Divisions of Mankind and the Spirits by Which They Walk.” Others have referred to this simply as the passage concerning the Two Ways. Man’s creation took place in a context of dualism; for not only are there two classes of men, righteous and wicked, children of light and children of darkness; but also the character of man is determined by two angels (or spirits) which the God of knowledge created. The good angel is referred to variously as the “angel of light” or “the spirit of truth,” and as the “prince of lights.” The evil angel is designated variously as the “spirit of perversity” and the “angel of darkness.” The good angel leads men forward in holiness and to eternal life in everlasting light. The evil angel leads men ever more deeply into sin, to their perpetual ruin in the realms of everlasting darkness. Although some of this dualistic language comes from the Old Testament, the overall presentation and terminology remind one much more of Zoroastrianism.<sup>5</sup> Hebrew monotheism is safeguarded not merely by asserting that God is the source of everything, but also by designating this God as “the God of Israel” (iii, 24). This merging of Zoroastrian dualism with the ethical dualism of the Old Testament was undoubtedly accomplished by interpreting the Old Testament in peculiar ways. Indeed

4. This document has also been called “The Sectarian Document,” “The Manual of Discipline,” and “The Community Rule,” etc. See “Scroll Nomenclature and Abbreviations,” in W. H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. xix–xxi. Hereafter this will be cited as *Meaning*. H. Farley has employed my nomenclature which is designed to fit the technical symbols, in his translation of Marcel Simon, *Jewish Sects at the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967).

5. The Zoroastrian influence was noted briefly in *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline, Translation and Notes*, Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplementary Studies, Nos. 10–12 (1951), p. 13, n. 21, p. 15, n. 30. K. G. Kuhn and André Dupont-Sommer have in their studies (cited in *Meaning*, p. 96, n. 76) presented detailed comparisons. See also David Winston, “The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha, and Qumran: a Review of the Evidence,” *History of Religions*, 5 (1966), 183–216.

the idea of the two angels could be readily derived from Zech. 3:1 f., in which the prophet describes a scene in which Satan appears as an accuser before the throne of God and the angel of the Lord as the champion of the accused. Similarly in the Book of Job, Satan is Job’s accuser, and despite his general mood of despair, Job at times rises to the idea of a heavenly redeemer, or intercessor on his behalf.<sup>6</sup> In the dualistic passage of the Society Manual, the roles of accuser and intercessor are entirely passed over, and the two angels appear rather as enticing, or seductive powers. The one allures men into the way of truth and righteousness. The other seduces men into the way of error and sin. This view of the two angels was not without precedent in the Old Testament; for already in I Chron. 21:1 Satan is said to have incited David to sin, and Elihu in Job 33:23 entertains the idea of an angelic mediator who is also man’s moral guide. Under the influence of Zoroastrianism, it seems, the two angels (or spirits) both came to be regarded as tempters: the one tempting men to be good, and the other tempting men to be evil. The idea that God had created these two angels was probably read into Isa. 45:7, which in the Massoretic text reads:

I form light and create darkness;

I make weal [שָׁלוֹם] and create woe [רָע].

The intention of this verse was to assert that the Lord is the creator of both fortune and misfortune, which are symbolized by light and darkness respectively. The Qumran sect, however, probably interpreted the creation of light and darkness as referring to the creation of the angels of light and darkness; and a peculiar reading in 1Q Isa<sup>a</sup> increases this probability. There one reads no longer “I make שָׁלוֹם and create evil,” but “I make טוֹב and create evil.” The substitution of טוֹב (“good”) for שָׁלוֹם (“weal”) probably arose as an interchange of synonyms; but the result is the presence of two antithetical terms capable also of an ethical interpretation: “I make good and create evil.” The midrashic explication of this would be that God made the mediating powers through which good and evil come to man. This is quite unlike gnosticism in which with greater pessimism all the mediating powers become evil, with the

6. See *Meaning*, pp. 96 f.

human spirit being but a spark of light immersed in a sea of darkness and evil.<sup>7</sup>

According to the Society Manual it would appear there is only darkness, and not light, in the children of darkness; for we are told: "In the hand of the angel of darkness is *all the rule* over the sons of perversion." On the other hand, though "the rule over *all the sons* of righteousness is in the hand of the prince of lights," the text does not say that this is "*all the rule*" over them. The different placement of the qualification "all" indicates that the "sons of righteousness" (children of light) are at times under the sway of the angel of darkness. In fact, we are explicitly told: "It is because of the angel of darkness that all the sons of righteousness go astray, so that all their sin and their iniquities and their guilt and the transgressions of their deeds are under his dominion (according to God's mysteries), until his end." Although "all the spirits allotted" the angel of darkness strive "to trip the sons of light, yet the God of Israel and His angel of truth have helped all the sons of light." One finds then a hopeless situation for the damned and an ambiguous, though hopeful, situation for God's elect. The demarcation between the two parties is complete, even though moral perfection is not within the reach of the righteous "during the dominion of Belial" which precedes the messianic kingdom.<sup>8</sup>

Not all Qumran thought can be so harmoniously systematized; for the horoscopes found at Qumran do not draw such a sharp demarcation between the good and the evil. One man, born under the constellation of Taurus, is declared to possess "six (parts) spirit in the House of Light and three in the Pit of Darkness." Another fragmentary description tells of a man who has "eight (parts) spirit in the House of [Darkness] and one (part) from the House of Light."<sup>9</sup> Thus, it would seem, there are gradations of light and

7. Yet cf. the various proportions of light and darkness in the Qumran horoscopes, cited at n. 9.

8. 1Q S i, 18. The defeat of the forces of Belial figures prominently in the Military Manual (1Q M) and in the Melchizedek *Pesher* (11Q Mel.).

9. J. M. Allegro, "An Astrological Cryptic Document from Qumran," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 9 (1964), 291-94, with improved readings by J. Carmignac, "Les Horoscopes de Qumrân," *Revue de Qumran*, 5 (1965), 199-217. According to P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1Q Serek iii, 13-iv, 26)," *Revue de Qumran*, 3 (1961), 433, each person according to 1Q S iv, 16, 25 has received the two spirits in equal proportions. A. A. Anderson, "The Use of 'Ruah' in 1Q S, 1Q H, and 1Q M," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 7 (1962),

darkness in the make-up of every person. Such a view does not logically follow from the usual dualism of Qumran; and therefore these horoscopes may be late intrusions into the community from the outside. Their point of appeal to the sectaries of Qumran would be their common dualistic analysis between light and darkness, also their preoccupation with human destiny. It could also be that delayed messianic fulfillment according to their interpretations of the Scriptures was a contributing factor. Thus in their vain efforts to predict the future, they may have increasingly turned to astrology during their last decades.

Qumran dualism with its good and evil spirits which motivate human conduct is closer to New Testament thought than to Old Testament thought; for in the New Testament we find a fully personal Devil, or Satan, and a fully personal Holy Spirit. The former tempts men to follow the ways of wickedness and the latter leads men in the way of righteousness. The Devil is a fallen angel and therefore a creature of God. The Holy Spirit is no creature, but rather a hypostasis of the one true God. The only place where one may question this is in the Johannine literature where we find the Qumran terminology "Spirit of truth" and "Spirit of error."<sup>10</sup> The "Spirit of truth" figures both in the Gospel according to John and in the First Epistle; but the "Spirit of error" figures only in I John. Identity of terminology does not prove identity of meaning, and nothing is said in this literature which would indicate that the Spirit of Truth is to be thought of as an angel and therefore as a creature.

In the Epistle (I John 4:1-6) it is evident that "the Spirit of truth" is the same as the "Spirit of God." In the Gospel (John 14:16 f., 26) it is clear that "the Spirit of truth" and "the Holy Spirit" are the same; but an ambiguity appears in a key passage

300, finds rather that according to 1Q S the spirits are received in various proportions in accord with the horoscopes. Unless there is an inconsistency within this Two-Ways passage, no parts light could be allotted to the sons of perversion, for otherwise they would not be wholly under the power of the "angel of darkness." Only the children of light would have various proportions of light and darkness, and presumably always more light than darkness. The struggle between right and wrong within the human heart would in that case be wholly the experience of the children of light.

10. "The spirits of truth and perversion [or error]" (1Q S iii, 18 f.) may be compared with I John 4:6 and the Testament of Judah 20:1. The "Spirit of truth" alone figures in John 14:16 f.; 16:13.

of the Society Manual (IQ S iv, 21), where "a [or the] spirit of holiness" is parallel with "a [or the] spirit of truth." The context is one of spiritual cleansing from sin in which the description of the Spirit of Truth as holy is apt. This does not necessarily mean that the Spirit of Truth in the scrolls is the same as God's Holy Spirit of other passages.<sup>11</sup> Yet it does introduce an element of uncertainty affecting also the Fourth Gospel, unless we accept the evidence of I John for the Spirit of Truth as God's own Spirit.<sup>12</sup> Although there are a few passages in the Old Testament which personify God's Spirit and hence prepare for hypostatization of the Spirit in the New Testament,<sup>13</sup> it is John's synthesis of Qumran's Spirit of Truth with the Holy Spirit which gives us the strongest evidence of all for the Holy Spirit as a personal distinction within the one God, as a person within the Godhead.

GOD CREATED MAN TO LORD IT OVER THE CREATURES, BUT  
NOT OVER HIS FELLOW MAN

The Manual of Discipline declared (iii, 17 f.) that God "created man for dominion over the world." This statement rested upon Gen. 1:26-28 and Ps. 8:6-9. The former passage reads as follows:

11. For studies on *ruah* in Qumran usage, see George Johnston, "'Spirit' and 'Holy Spirit' in Qumran Literature," in *New Testament Sidelights: Essays in Honor of A. C. Purdy*, ed. H. K. McArthur (Hartford: Hartford Seminary Foundation Press, 1960), pp. 27-42; W. Foerster, "Der heilige Geist im spät Judentum," *NTS*, 8 (1962), 117-34; Joseph Schreiner, "Geistbegabung in der Gemeinde von Qumran," *Biblische Zeitschrift*, n.s. 9 (1965), 161-80; A. A. Anderson, "Use of '*Ruah*' in 1Q S, 1Q H, and 1Q M," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 7 (1962), 293-303; F. Nötscher, "Heiligkeit in den Qumran-schriften," *Revue de Qumran*, 2 (1960), 163-81, 315-44; J. Pryke, "'Spirit' and 'Flesh' in the Qumran Documents and Some New Testament Texts," *Revue de Qumran*, 5 (1965), 345-60.

12. See here Jean Paul Audet, "Affinités littéraires et doctrinales du Manuel de Discipline," *Revue Biblique*, 60 (1953), 41-82.

13. Although a few have argued that the "spirits of truth and perversity" at Qumran are only personifications of the good and evil tendencies within man, a concept current in rabbinic thought, yet the representation of these spirits as angels engaged in a cosmic struggle indicates that the term "spirit" is here more than a psychological term according to Helmer Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), pp. 68-80.

Many references to God's Spirit in both the Old and the New Testaments allow for the Holy Spirit as simply a manifestation of God's own power and presence, without any clear personification at all. However, sometimes the Spirit possesses personal attributes. Thus the Spirit is grieved by human sin. (Isa. 63:10, Eph. 4:30) and intercedes for Christ's followers (Rom. 8:26 f.). See A. H. Strong, *Systematic Theology* (Philadelphia and Toronto: The Judson Press, 1907), pp. 323-26; Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1946), pp. 95-99.

And God said, "I will make man in My image, after My likeness. They shall *rule* the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, the cattle, the whole earth and all the creeping things that creep on the earth." God said to them, "Be fertile and increase, fill the earth and *master* it; and rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that creep on the earth." (Jewish Publication Society)

The same idea is eloquently expressed in Ps. 8:5-8:

For Thou hast made him little less than a god;  
with glory and honor hast Thou crowned him.  
Thou hast installed him over the works of thine hands  
and put all things beneath his feet:  
sheep and cattle, all,  
even beasts of the wild,  
birds of the air, fish of the lakes,<sup>14</sup>  
every swimmer of the currents of the seas.

The first clause is rendered in the Revised Standard Version, "Yet Thou hast made him little less than God." The older versions which took אלהים as "angels" rather than "God" were better. A number of Old Testament passages refer to subordinate members of the divine assembly as "gods" or "sons of God." The Septuagint often translates these terms as referring to the angels.<sup>15</sup> Even the texts of Qumran distinguish between God and angels by calling the former אל and the latter אלים, with no fear that the latter would call into question Jewish monotheism. That man is infinitely less than God all ancient Jews knew right well; but the Psalmist declares man to be but little less than the angels, little short of supernatural.

In our day man's dominion over the world is vastly extended through modern technology, so that he has begun to harness the atom and to explore space. All this is fine and is a legitimate expression of man's God-given dignity, but he must beware lest he feel self-sufficient and independent of the Almighty Creator and all-

14. Or "fish of the sea," but י includes all large bodies of water. The shift from the singular to the plural in the parallelism is purely stylistic.

15. Pss. 8:6 (=8:5, English); 96:7 (=97:7, Hebrew and English); 137:1 (=138:1, Hebrew and English). Cf. also Deut. 32:43 according to the LXX and one manuscript of 4Q (Brownlee, *Meaning*, pp. 9-12).

gracious Redeemer. To dispense with God is to deify oneself and to become guilty of the gravest offense to God; and, in the end, self-deified man tyrannizes his fellowmen. In his lament to Yahweh, Habakkuk complained:

Thou hast made man as fish of the sea,  
as gliding things *over which is no ruler*

(Hab. 1:14)

If this reading of the Massoretic Text is correct, the prophet is remonstrating that by subjecting the Kingdom of Judah to Babylonia, Yahweh is making His people subject to exploitation like subhuman creatures which have no governmental protection. In this case, the language of Habakkuk stands related to the descriptions of creatures like the ant and the locust in Proverbs (6:6-8; 30:27), which are there declared to have no ruler. This text is reshaped, however, in the ancient Habakkuk Commentary from Qumran so as to read:

Thou hast made man as the fish of the sea,  
as gliding things *over which to rule.*

"The fish of the sea" and the "gliding things" reminded the commentator of Gen. 1:26-28 and Ps. 8:5-8. Even the verb *rule* (or participle *ruling one, ruler*) seemed reminiscent of these passages where man is assigned the role of ruling, or mastering, the lower creatures.<sup>16</sup> Consequently the author of the commentary altered "over which is no ruler" to "over which to rule." According to this wording, Habakkuk's remonstrance protests the fact that God has reduced man to the status of animals in making him subject to exploitation by the Chaldeans. Yet the Almighty had never intended man either to exploit, or to be exploited by, his fellowman; but He made him to have dominion over the works of His hands. The author of the Habakkuk Commentary applied the text to the Kittim (probably the Romans),<sup>17</sup> whom he charges with harsh

16. Cf. here 1Q H i, 15 f. as restored by André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumrân* (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1962), p. 202.

17. The best study on this is still Roger Goosens, "Les Kittim du Commentaire d'Habacuc," *La Nouvelle Cléo* (1952), pp. 137-70. 4Q p Nahum i, 3 now confirms this identification by distinguishing a period "from the time of Antiochus until the coming of the rulers of the Kittim."

rule and exploitation. It is they who in their worldwide conquest and vast empire tyrannize men, treating them as if they were mere fish of the sea, which man has the right to take for his own use.

How often has man tyrannized his fellowman in human history. Whenever man exploits his fellowman, he reduces him to the status of a mere animal. In seeking to lord it over men, he assumes the role of God, who alone has absolute sovereignty over humanity;<sup>18</sup> but in so doing he makes a beast of himself and treats others as beasts. Accordingly the commentary declares that the Kittim have deified their instruments of war:

And as for what it says, "Therefore they will sacrifice to their net and burn incense to their seine," its interpretation is that they sacrifice to their military standards and that their weapons of war are their objects of veneration.

In this interpretation of Hab. 1:16, the commentary has followed an interpretation which was found already in an ancient targum; but what it says fits admirably the ruthless Romans who a century later than the Qumran text actually erected their military standards in the Jewish temple and performed sacrifice to them.<sup>19</sup> This was their crowning act of contempt to the God of Israel after they had conquered his holy city Jerusalem and gained control of his temple.

#### TO WALK HUMBLY WITH GOD IS TO WALK HUMBLY WITH GOD'S PEOPLE

The Society Manual contains at least six allusions to Mic. 6:8,<sup>20</sup> which is the grandest epitome of what is involved in godly living to be found in the prophets. The grammatical constructions of the document show that *אהבה חסד* was understood as a nominal phrase with the meaning "*hesed*-type love." 1Q S v, 3 f. illustrates this:

18. Yahweh says to the oppressor: "Let my people go, that they may serve Me." Cf. Jer. 5:19.

19. Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, VI, vi, 1 (§316). This was probably a unique event in so far as the Jewish temple is concerned; but the assured earlier dating of 1Q p Hab indicates that the practice must not have been unknown elsewhere. Contrast G. R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), pp. 213 f.

20. 1Q S ii, 24 f.; v, 4, 25; vi, 5; viii, 2; x, 26.

According to their judgment [i. e., that of the priests], the divinely guided decision is reached with regard to every matter, whether Torah, or property, or laws, *to practice* truth, unity and humility, righteousness and *justice*, and *devoted love and humble walking in all their ways*.

Notice in the italicized words that all the virtues of Mic. 6:8 are presented as the object of the infinitive "to practice" which also derives from that verse. The meaning of the verse as understood at Qumran was:

He has told you, O man, what is good,  
and what does the LORD require of you,  
but to practice: justice  
and devoted love  
and humble walking with your God?

The treatment of the infinitive phrase *לכה והצנע* ("to walk humbly") as nominal is as much supported by the parallelism with *havat hesed* as the opposite conclusion that the latter is to be interpreted as containing a verbal idea: "love for *hesed*" = "to love *hesed*." It could therefore be, as Philip Hyatt has argued, that the Qumran construction is correct.<sup>21</sup> The point one wishes to make here is Qumran's interpretation of the "humble walking":

They shall all live in true community and good *humility*, and *devoted love* and righteous purpose, *each toward his fellow* in the holy Council, and as members of the eternal assembly.  
(1Q S ii, 24 f.)

In the Council of the Community, there shall be twelve laymen and three priests who are perfect in all that is revealed of the whole Law, through *practicing* truth and righteousness and *justice and devoted love and humble walking each with his fellow*.  
(1Q S viii, 1 f.)

Notice that all the virtues, including "the humble walking," are "each with his fellow." This interpretation may be partly due to a

21. "On the Meaning and Origin of Micah 6:8," *Anglican Theological Review*, 34 (1952), 232-39. I do not agree, however, that this verse is nongenuine, on the basis of a supposed universalism in the use of the word *man* (אדם). If there was a special reason for using this Hebrew word, it may allude to the time of Adam's walking with God in Eden. The simplicity of God's requirement upon Israel is like that placed on Adam.

reverential avoidance of too intimate language in connection with one's relationship to God, but it is more than this. It is founded upon the theological proposition that fellowship with God and his angels is to be found only within the society of God's people.<sup>22</sup> Fellowship with the divine is conditioned upon a person's right relations with his fellow religionist. One has moved far in the direction of I John 4:20: "for he who does not love his brother whom he has seen cannot love God whom he has not seen."

HOWEVER HELPFUL A LIFE OF DISCIPLINE, TRUE  
RIGHTEOUSNESS MUST COME AS A GIFT OF GOD

The sect of Qumran placed such great emphasis upon discipline and good deeds that one of its self-designations is "the doers of the Law."<sup>23</sup> Neophytes were not admitted to full membership until after two years probation during which they were tested annually according to their progress in understanding and deeds. These annual examinations continued even after this so that members could be promoted or demoted according to their accomplishments. Failure to conform with the regulations of the society led to the imposition of fines, such as a deprivation of one-fourth of one's food for thirty days. The more severe infractions were punished by expulsion. In a society governed by such strict discipline, salvation would logically be due largely to human effort; but whenever referring to the subject of human righteousness in prayer or praise, the people of Qumran discard this logic and declare their sole dependence upon God's righteousness and grace. Their philosophical outlook may be described in terms of the popular Sunday school aphorism of our day: "Work as though everything depends upon you; but pray as if everything depends upon God." It is because these people worked so hard at being good and were as much concerned with the inner man as with the outer man that they quickly realized their human limitations and confessed their sole dependence upon the grace of God. The hymnic material of the last column of the Society Manual is replete with language emphasizing

22. See Menâhem Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), 3: 77-84; Ringren, pp. 81-93.

23. 1Q p Hab vii, 11; viii, 1; xii, 4 f.

man's sinfulness and his dependence upon God's righteousness and mercy for justification.

- xi, 2 As for me, my justification belongs to God;  
and in His hand is the perfection of my way,  
together with the uprightness of my heart. /
- 3 Through His righteousness my transgression shall be  
blotted out . . .
- 9 But I belong to wicked humanity,  
to the assembly of perverse flesh.  
My iniquities, my transgressions, my sins  
(together with the perversities of my heart) /
- 10 Belong to the assembly of worms  
and of things that move in darkness.  
For a man's way is [not] his own;  
a man does not direct his steps;  
For to God belongs the decision,  
11 and His counsel / is perfection of way . . .

Here the worshipper confesses his own sinful nature and due mention is made not only of overt "sins" but also of the "perversities of the heart." Although the worshipper despairs of having any righteousness of his own, his prayer is no cry of despair to God, but it is a confession of glad confidence that God's righteousness and grace are sufficient for all his sin:

- xi, 12 And I, if I totter,  
God's dependable mercy is my salvation forever;  
And if I stumble in the guilt of flesh,  
My justification through God's righteousness  
will stand everlastingly.
- 13 And if He begin my affliction,  
even from the pit He will draw out my soul,  
and He will direct my steps in the way.  
In His compassion He has brought me near,  
14 and in His dependable mercy He will bring my  
justification.  
In His steadfast righteousness He has justified me  
and in His great goodness He will pardon all  
my iniquities;

- 15 And in His righteousness, He will cleanse me from  
impurity,  
and from the sin of the children of men.

The last lines are particularly remarkable in stressing that not only is "God's righteousness" (צדקת אל) the source of man's justification (משפט) and the ground by which God will pardon (יכפר), but it is also the source of man's moral and spiritual cleansing, so that "in His righteousness *He will cleanse me* [יטהרני] from . . . impurity and from sin." God's righteousness is not primarily forensic, but a force of divine goodness which purges away all sin and fills the justified with inner righteousness.

So strikingly similar are these ideas with those of Paul that one stands in amazement of them. Although some scholars would seek to minimize the correspondence by translating משפט as "judgment" and שפטני as "he has judged me," poetic parallelism strongly reinforces the above translations.<sup>24</sup> "My salvation" in line 12 finds its parallel in "my justification." So also in line 14, "In His steadfast righteousness He has justified me" receives as its parallel: "In His great goodness He will pardon all my iniquities." Sometimes in the Old Testament itself, צדק ("righteousness") and its cognates are connected with God's vindication and deliverance, and the same is true even of שפט,<sup>25</sup> but nothing goes quite this far, despite Isa. 53:11:

- After his mortal suffering, he shall see light  
and shall be satisfied in knowing himself *vindicated*.  
My servant shall *vindicate* many,  
since it is their iniquities that he bears.<sup>26</sup>

24. So P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957), 1: 38 f.; A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), pp. 235 f. A real connection of these passages with justification is found in the authors surveyed by Herbert Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1966), 1: 173 f., on Rom. 3:21-26. See also Walter Grundmann, "The Teacher of Righteousness of Qumran and the Question of Justification by Faith in the Theology of Apostle Paul," in *Paul and Qumran*, ed. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor (Chicago: Priory Press, 1968), pp. 85-114.

25. See *Meaning*, pp. 180-82 and n. 43, p. 182. Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (New York: Scribner's, 1961), pp. 125-28, finds here a continuation of the piety of the prophets and psalmists.

26. On this verse, see *Meaning*, pp. 226-33.

The vindication of the Suffering Servant corresponds with the early Christian hymn quoted in I Tim. 3:16: "He was vindicated in the spirit."<sup>27</sup> Here is more than agreement of language, for in both passages there is a vindication which is a triumph through and beyond death.

Paul goes beyond all these passages by making the "righteousness of God" identical with the salvation wrought by God's Suffering Servant Jesus. The Qumran Community did not identify this "righteousness of God" with any messianic figure. Yet Paul was able to do so, perhaps under the influence of Isaiah 53. It is this interpretation which explains the larger place he gives to forensic righteousness. In this, Paul is far in advance of Qumran; but in so far as *δικαιοσύνη* is for Paul an infused righteousness imparted by the Spirit of Christ, he is very close to Qumran thought. It is Christ and his work of atonement which marks the difference in Paul's understanding of justifying righteousness. The folk of Qumran seem not to have pondered much the problem of how a just God can pardon unjust men. Although they believed, like other Jews, that the suffering of all good men, or saints, atones,<sup>28</sup> this belief was left out of consideration when justification by God's righteousness was being discussed.

Despite partial Old Testament anticipations, the people of Qumran appear to be distinctive among pre-Christian Jews in basing their salvation upon a righteousness which God alone possesses and imparts. This remarkable fact may justify positing at least an indirect influence of Qumran upon Paul; for these semimonastic Jews were probably not able to keep all their ideas wholly to themselves, so other Palestinians may have been influenced by them at least indirectly.<sup>29</sup> Yet the suggestion that Paul's long stay in "Arabia" (Nabatea) brought him into direct contact with the Covenanters

27. On the contrastive earthly and heavenly spheres of this hymn, Eduard Schweizer compares Phil. 2:6-11 in his *Gemeinde und Gemeindeordnung im Neuen Testament*, Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, no. 35 (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959), p. 150, n. 592; p. 202, n. 877.

28. See Brownlee, "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls, II," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 135 (Oct., 1954), 33-38, esp. 34 f. On p. 34, please alter the misprint of "external planting" to "eternal planting." See also *Meaning*, p. 149, n. 59; Robin Scroggs, "Romans vi. 7," *NTS*, 10 (1963-1964), 104-8.

29. For four methods whereby New Testament authors could become familiar with language and ideas found in the Qumran Scrolls, see my comments in Brownlee, *et al.*, "The Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance to Religious Thought: A Symposium," *The New Republic* (Apr. 9, 1956), p. 22b.

of Judea (Qumranites) is a reasonable (though unprovable) speculation.<sup>30</sup> In either case, there is nothing here to undermine Paul's originality in understanding "God's righteousness" messianically. The partial parallels of Qumran, far from undermining Christian faith, reinforce the conviction that God was still working through his people, the Jews, for through them he prepared a theological perspective by means of which the work of redemption could be more adequately viewed. Contrariwise, if Apostolic revelation be taken as a standard for religious truth, then Paul's epistles to the Galatians and the Romans prove the validity of the Qumran conviction that despite man's striving after righteousness, its attainment is ultimately only as God's gracious gift.

#### HUMAN FRAILTY AND INHERITED SIN MAKE MAN ENTIRELY DEPENDENT UPON GOD'S DELIVERANCE

The reason for man's sole dependence upon God's righteousness is his innate weakness and proclivity to sin. This is spelled out most specifically in the Hymn Scroll:

- iv, 29 What sort of flesh is this?  
and what creature of clay  
to extoll [such] wonders?  
30 For he is [steeped] in iniquity / from the womb;  
and unto old age is in guilty rebellion;  
For I know for myself  
that no man has righteousness,  
31 nor a son of man perfection of / way.  
To God Most High all deeds of righteousness are  
credited;  
and a man's conduct is not established,  
Except through the spirit God fashioned for him, /

30. Cf. W. F. Albright, *New Horizons in Biblical Research* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 48: "In any case, Paul was probably in close association with the Essenes during those years of his life which he spent in Arabia, that is the Jordan Valley, Transjordan and the general area between the Arabian Desert and Palestine-Syria, the home of the Essenes." I doubt that "Arabia" was ever extended to the west part of the Jordan Valley; but Josephus interprets Gilead and Moab as "Arabia" (*Jewish Antiquities*, I, iii, 5 (§89)). Note that the designation "land of Damascus" in the Cairo Fragments of a Damascus Covenant (CDC) is not "the city of Damascus," and it may therefore be the equivalent of what Paul calls "Arabia." Cf. Vermès, p. 103.

- 32 to perfect a way for the sons of men,  
So that they may know all His works  
through His Mighty power,  
And that His abundant mercy may rest
- 33 upon all the sons of / His favor.  
But, as for me, trembling and shivering seized me  
and all my bones were about to break,  
and my heart melted  
as wax before fire,  
and my knees flowed [uncontrollably]<sup>31</sup> /
- 34 as water plunging down a precipice!  
For I remembered my own guilty deeds,  
together with the treachery of my fathers,  
when the wicked rose against Thy covenant, /
- 35 and the impious against Thy word.  
Then said I, while in my transgression,  
"I am forsaken, outside of Thy covenant."  
But when I remembered the strength of Thy hand,  
as well as the abundance of Thy compassion,
- 36 I regained my footing and stood erect,  
and my spirit held its stand  
in face of the scourge;
- 37 For [I] leaned / on Thy dependable mercy,  
and on the abundance of Thy compassion;  
For Thou dost purge iniquity away<sup>32</sup>  
and dost c[leanse] man from guilt through  
Thy righteousness.
- 38 It is not for man's sake,  
[but for Thy glory] that Thou hast done [this];  
For Thou hast created the righteous and the  
wicked . . .<sup>33</sup>

31. Cf. Ezek. 7:17; 21:12 [English, 21:7], "All knees will flow with water [=urine]." In the Septuagint this is rendered: "All knees will be defiled with water." Under conditions of fright, one may lose bladder control.

32. The meaning "purge" is especially appropriate for כפר when it receives a direct object, as in Ps. 65:3; Ezek. 43:20, 26. Cf. Isa. 6:7. The verb is often rendered in the Septuagint by verbs meaning "to purify." See C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), pp. 82-95.

33. For the restorations, see Jacob Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1957), p. 97, and Mansoor, p. 131.

In this lengthy excerpt man is declared to be steeped "in iniquity from the womb; and unto old age, in guilty rebellion." This appalling diagnosis of man's condition reminds one of Ps. 51:5 (or 6):

Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity,  
and in sin did my mother conceive me.

This verse is an exceptional Old Testament statement and the grounds for its conviction are not explained. It appears, however, in the context of deep remorse and repentance, in which the Psalmist expresses his need for divine cleansing by acknowledging that his sin is congenital and permeates his whole being. He must therefore call upon God, who desires "truth in the inward being," to "create" in him "a clean heart" and to "put a new spirit within" him. The same sense of sin reinforced by this ancient penitential psalm of the Bible might be regarded as sufficient explanation for the words of the Qumran Hymn.

Some have seen in the Hymn Scroll a reference to man's guilt and sinful nature inherited from Adam and Eve. Even the technical expression "Original Sin" has been used by Meir Wallenstein and André Dupont-Sommer to translate פשע ראשון in 1QH ix, 13, whereas others translate "former transgression."<sup>34</sup> The passage reads:

For Thou hast established my spirit  
and knowest my intention.  
Thou hast comforted me in my anguish,  
and in pardon I delight,  
being comforted concerning former transgression.

Menahem Mansoor translates the final phrase as "the first transgression." Yet concerning this he comments: "It is doubtful whether the 'Original Sin' [i. e., the sin of Adam and Eve] as such is meant here but rather the fact that sin . . . has been cleaving unto mortal man since his creation."<sup>35</sup> In either case, "Original Sin" would be

34. Wallenstein is cited by Mansoor, p. 159. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, trans. Géza Vermès (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1962), p. 231, explains this as "the sin of the first parents in Eden, the cause of man's corruption." For the translation "former transgression," see Géza Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 180; cf. "former iniquities" in Ps. 79:8 (KJV) which means "the iniquities of our forefathers" (RSV).  
35. P. 159, n. 8.

the theological term used by modern theologians to describe this condition. If this is indeed an expression designating inherited sin, no matter how defined, it is quite remarkable; for, although in the writings of Paul there is a doctrine of Original Sin, there is no technical expression meaning this.<sup>36</sup>

What then is the source of man's inherited sinfulness according to the Hymn writer? At least three possibilities may be explored. The first is that man is made from such dishonorable materials that he is prone to sin. In the hymn just cited, one may note the following line (ix, 29):

What sort of flesh is this?  
and what creature of clay  
to extoll [such] wonders?

Other hymns stress the same theme. One of these is i, 13 ff., which in the translation of Géza Vermès runs:<sup>37</sup>

And yet I, a shape of clay  
kneaded in water,  
a ground of shame  
and a source of pollution,  
a melting-pot of wickedness  
and an edifice of sin,  
a straying and perverted spirit  
of no understanding,  
fearful of righteous judgments,  
what can I say that is not foreknown,  
what can I utter that is not foretold?

Such language strongly suggests an almost Gnostic notion of a taint of evil clinging to the material substance out of which man was made.<sup>38</sup>

36. Naturally, "the first transgression" as an expression would be as intelligible as "the first Adam," provided there were supporting context, which is not the case. The classical arguments for Paul's doctrine of original sin appear in the exegesis of Rom. 5:12-21 in Charles Hodge, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, new ed. (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1909), pp. 221-98. On recent disputation as to the presence of this doctrine in Paul, see Robin Scroggs, *The Last Adam* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 78 f., and the literature cited there in n. 8.

37. Pp. 151 f.

38. See here Herbert Braun, *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1967), pp. 100-19.

Other passages, however, seem to indicate that man's physical nature is not so much a direct source of evil, as it is the ground of weakness which leaves him open to attack by evil spirits. This then is the second possible explanation of man's being steeped in iniquity from the womb. One passage supporting this idea is 1Q H xiii, 13-16:<sup>39</sup>

[But what is] the spirit of flesh  
that it should understand all this,  
and that it should comprehend  
the great [design of Thy wisdom]?  
What is he that is born of woman  
in the midst of all Thy terrible [works]?  
He is but an edifice of dust,  
and a thing kneaded with water  
whose beginning [is sinful iniquity],  
and shameful nakedness,  
[and a fount of uncleanness],  
and over whom a spirit of straying rules.

This "spirit of straying" may well be the "angel of darkness," or "spirit of perversity" mentioned in the Manual of Discipline. In any case, it is said to rule man's physical nature. The helplessness of the flesh in the presence of evil spirits comes out even more plainly in another passage (1Q H xvii, 23-25):<sup>40</sup>

Strengthen the [loins of Thy servant  
that he may] resist the spirits [of falsehood,  
that] he may walk in all that Thou lovest,  
and despise all that Thou loathest,  
[that he may do] that which is good in Thine eyes.  
[Destroy] their [domin]ion in my bowels,  
for [within] Thy servant is a spirit of fl[esh].

39. Translation that of Vermès, pp. 191 f. On the Pauline doctrine of the body, see John A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology*, Studies in Biblical Theology (Chicago: Alec R. Allenson, 1952); W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 2nd ed. (London: S.P.C.K., 1958), pp. 17-35; Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper, 1957), pp. 157-82; W. D. Stacey, *The Pauline View of Man in Relation to its Judaic and Hellenistic Background* (London: Macmillan, 1956).

40. Translation and text that of Vermès, p. 199.

If I understand this passage correctly, man's physical nature and even his very soul are unable to resist unaided the evil spirits which take up their abode in him. "Flesh" is not evil *per se*; but it is weak and dominated by evil spirits. The expression רוח בשר ("spirit of flesh") is not equivalent to the Pauline phrase τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός ("Mind of the flesh") in Rom. 8:6;<sup>41</sup> but it means rather "the spirit of frail humanity." According to this understanding, the last petition quoted above may be paraphrased:

Destroy *Thou* the reign of evil spirits in my body;  
for within Thy servant is only a frail human spirit  
which is unable to cope with them.

This understanding of the phrase "spirit of flesh" fits well also the earlier quotation, "But what is the spirit of flesh," i. e.:

What is the spirit of frail humanity  
that it should understand all this,  
and that it should comprehend  
the great design of Thy wisdom?

The "spirit of flesh" is finite and weak in the presence of the divine, and without God's help it is also impotent in the face of evil spirits.

There is still a third possible explanation of man's involvement in sin from birth. It is to be found in the first lengthy quotation from the Hymns, iv, 34:

For I remembered my own guilty deeds,  
together with the treachery of my fathers,  
When the wicked rose against Thy covenant,  
and the impious against Thy word.

Here man's guilt is declared to be twofold: "his own guilty deeds" and the "treachery" of his forefathers. The idea of being held accountable for the "sins of the fathers" is a very old Hebrew notion. It is imbedded even in the Ten Commandments (Exod. 20:5):

I, the LORD your God am a jealous [or zealous] God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation of those who hate Me.

41. Cf. also τοῦ νοῦς τῆς σαρκός αὐτοῦ (Col. 2: 18).

Despite Ezekiel's denial of the proposition that "the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge" (18:1 ff.), this doctrine held a prominent place in postexilic Judaism. Ezekiel, however, may be interpreted to mean simply that the force of paternal guilt is broken whenever a man repents, that repentance avails both for personal and for inherited sin. In fact, confessing the sins of the fathers received a prominent place in postexilic prayers of repentance.<sup>42</sup>

The annual ritual of entering the covenant at Qumran contained certain traditional elements, such as blessings and curses, preceded by the rehearsal of the saving acts of God (1Q S i, 16-ii, 18). In view of man's sinfulness, a new element is given prominence, the confession of sin. The ceremony began with a blessing of "the God of saving acts and all His deeds of faithfulness" recited by the priests and the Levites, with the people responding "Amen! Amen!" Next followed two rehearsals. First the priests give a traditional recital of God's righteousness, might, and gracious deeds toward Israel. Following this the Levites narrate Israel's sins. To this the people respond, confessing:

We have perverted ourselves! [We have transgressed, we have sinned], we have done wickedly—both we [and our fathers] before us—because we have walked [contrary to] true [ordinances]. And [God] is righte[ous who has executed] His justice upon us and upon [our] fathers; but the abundance of His grace He has [be]stowed upon us from everlasting to everlasting. (1Q S i, 25-26)

Note how the confession of sin leads to an acknowledgment of God's justice and then returns to the theme of God's graciousness. The confession is thus a response not merely to the Levitical rehearsal of Israel's sins but also a response to the priestly recounting of God's mighty and gracious deeds (1Q S i, 21-23). The covenant which one enters is not simply a promise of obedience as the covenant at Sinai, but it is a "covenant of repentance" whereby one

42. Cf. Ezra 9:7; Neh. 9:33 f.; Dan. 9:8; CDC xx, 29 (=9:51); also the "Words of the Heavenly Lights," Vermès, pp. 202-5, first published by M. Baillet, "Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân, Grotte 4: 'Les paroles des luminaires,'" *Revue Biblique* (1961), pp. 195-250.

turns from sin to the Law of Moses.<sup>43</sup> Associated with it were lustral rites and a stern warning that without sincere repentance one could not through these receive cleansing or forgiveness. This last appears to be an admonition, almost a sermon, on baptisms and repentance.<sup>44</sup> The occasion for this ceremony was the admission of new members and a renewal of the covenant each year on the part of the old members, at the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost).<sup>45</sup>

One would like to dwell on this passage and point out the importance of this and other material at Qumran for the account of Pentecost in the Acts of the Apostles;<sup>46</sup> but this would divert us

43. CDC xix, 16 (=9:15). Cf. 1Q S vi, 14 f.: "And if he grasps instructions, he shall bring him into the covenant to turn to the truth and to turn away from all perversity"; v, 8 f.: "Then he shall take a binding oath to return to the Torah of Moses according to all that he commanded, with wholeness of heart and wholeness of soul toward all that is revealed of it to the sons of Zadok." Cf. CDC xv, 11 f. (=19:11 f.). Cf. Herbert Braun, "Umkehr" in spät jüdisch-häretischer und in frühchristlicher Sicht," in Braun, pp. 70-85.

44. 1Q S ii, 25b-iii, 12. It may be that this belongs solely to the instruction concerning the significance of the covenant, for no speaker is specified. Although i, 1-iii, 12 does have imbedded within it a liturgy, it seems probable that in the present form of the material we have instruction given by the *maskil*, the instructor of the community. In any case, the prescriptions for the covenant terminate in warning, promise, and exhortation as to the real significance of the covenant. This may be compared with the function of the prophetic oracle in the covenant festival as shown by Ps. 50:5-23; 8:7-17 (=81:6-16). Note similarly in Deuteronomy that following the curses and blessings, Moses presents a sermon on the significance of the covenant (Deuteronomy 29-30). A form-critical study on the Society Manual will appear in the forthcoming dissertation of Eugene F. Roop.

45. See Brownlee, "Light on the Manual of Discipline (DSD) from the Book of Jubilees," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 123 (Oct., 1951), 32. Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: The Viking Press, 1965), p. 236; J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea*, trans. John Strugnell, *Studies in Biblical Theology*, no. 26 (Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, 1959), pp. 116 f.; Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), p. 494. The rival view that the covenant renewal was on the Day of Atonement is presented by Manfred Weisse, *Kultzeiten und kultischer Bundeschluss in der "Ordensregel" vom Toten Meer*, *Studia Post-Biblica*, vol. 3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), pp. 79 f.

46. The similarities may be briefly outlined as follows: (1) "They were all together in one place" (Acts 2:1). Cf. Kenneth Carroll cited in Appendix C of *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, p. 53. (2) Theophany, as in Yahweh's manifestation at Sinai (Exod. 19:16-19; Deut. 5:2-5; Psalm 50; Jub. 1:1). The manifestations of the Holy Spirit through Moses is referred to in Neh. 9:20; Isa. 63:10 f. Cf. 1Q 34 ii, 6 f.: "And Thou wilt renew [or, didst renew] Thy covenant with them with a manifestation of glory and words of Thy Holy Spirit." Yahweh's "Holy Spirit" is interpreted in the Targum of Jonathan (Isa. 63:10 f.) as "the word of His holy prophets." Hence note the next point. (3) Peter's sermon is an example of prophetic preaching. Note that in Deut. 5:4 f., the Ten Commandments were mediated through Moses (Deut. 5:4 f.). 1Q 34 ii, 8 refers to Moses (or the new Moses) as "the faithful shepherd." Note the place of the prophetic oracle in the covenant psalms (Psalms 50 and 81). (4) The

from our present thrust, confession of the sins of the fathers. Nothing in these annual covenantal rites suggests that Adam is included among the "fathers" whose sins are confessed. Nor is anything said which would suggest that the sway of evil spirits over man's flesh is a consequence of the guilt of the fathers. In other words, these varied explanations of man's involvement in sin from birth are neither correlated with each other nor in any way connected with the rebellion of Adam and Eve. The idea of the Fall at Qumran, as for most Jews at that time, was probably more connected with fallen angels mentioned in Gen. 6:1-4, than with the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.<sup>47</sup> It was because Paul saw in Jesus Christ the New Adam that antithetically he developed so fully his doctrine of the First Adam. The old humanity weighed down with sin finds its representative in Adam and must now give way to the new humanity which is Christ.

#### PERSONAL SALVATION IS THROUGH DIVINE ELECTION

In so far as creation plays a role in explaining human wickedness, it is not concerned simply with the first human pair but with God's continuing creation of each new person. The lengthy excerpt from 1Q H iv already quoted above concludes with the words: "For Thou hast created the righteous and the wicked. . . ." This refers to a doctrine of determinism, whereby some are predestined to righteousness and others are foredoomed to wickedness. Those who are "chosen for righteousness" (1Q H i, 13) become righteous only through the gift of grace bestowed by God. This doctrine is correctly discussed by Menahem Mansoor under the title "Salvation through Election."<sup>48</sup> The break in the text at iv, 38 does not shed any light on how, or for what reason, God "created the righteous

specification of the terms of covenant in Acts 2:38 as consisting of (a) repentance, (b) baptism, (c) forgiveness of sins, and (d) the gift of the Holy Spirit—all of which motifs stand related to the exhortation of 1Q S ii, 25b-iii, 12. Cf. Julian Morgenstern, *Some Significant Antecedents of Christianity* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), p. 25, n. 1.

47. This is the emphasis of Jubilees 5 or I Enoch 6-10, both of which works were held in honor at Qumran. See also 4Q 180, fragment 1, 4Q 181, frag. 2, appearing in John M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4 I (4Q 158-4Q 186)*, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), pp. 78, 80. See the significant application of this material by J. A. Sanders, "Dissenting Deities and Philippians 2:1-11," *JBL*, 88 (1969), 279-90.

48. *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, pp. 62-65.

and the wicked"; but fortunately in column xv, we have a detailed discussion in which the righteous and the wicked receive separate treatment. Beginning at the close of the fourteenth line we read of the righteous; then in line seventeen the discussion of the wicked begins. Note first of all what is said concerning the righteous:

- xv, 14-15 Thou alone hast [created] / the righteous;  
 and from the womb hast ordained him  
 for the time of divine favor,  
 That he may give heed to Thy covenant  
 and walk [in it] wholly,  
 And that Thou mayest be sparing toward him /  
 16 through Thy abundant mercy  
 And relieve his soul from all that constricts it  
 opening up eternal salvation  
 and perpetual well-being with nothing lacking,  
 17 as Thou exaltest / his glory over flesh.

One notes that as truly as man is elsewhere described as steeped "in iniquity from the womb," it is here asserted of the righteous that "from the womb" he is ordained to heed God's covenant and to be the recipient of His mercy and salvation. One line is translated freely, since this more clearly conveys the sense of the Hebrew. Mansoor gives a literal translation: "And to open all the straitness of his soul unto an everlasting salvation." "Straitness" is seldom used today and is readily confused with "straightness." Here it renders the Hebrew noun *šarah*, which refers to that which presses in upon and oppresses the human spirit, restricting life to narrow limits. The etymological meaning of "salvation" (ישועה), in contrast, refers to spaciousness, an idea which belongs to the present passage. When one is delivered by God, the restrictive pressures upon his soul are lifted and he has room to move about freely and to achieve fullness of life. hence one translates:

- And relieve [Thou] his soul from all that constricts it,  
 opening up eternal salvation  
 and perpetual well-being with nothing lacking.

In an age which stresses self-fulfillment, we need to help people to see that true release and true self-fulfillment are only through God's deliverance from all that would impress our lives into some

evil and unworthy mold. This way of interpreting salvation may seem indebted to contemporary psychology, but it really goes back to the Old Testament itself.<sup>49</sup> Here, however, the oppressive element may well be thought of as the body, for the concluding clause reads "as Thou exaltest his glory over flesh." This refers to the spiritual triumph of the righteous over his sin-ridden flesh, "his glory" meaning "his soul."<sup>50</sup> It is even possible that the reference here is to eternal life in the world beyond, in which the human spirit comes into fullness of life unhampered by the body. If so, this is a hellenistic element unlike the prevalent view of the New Testament which regards man's salvation and immortality as incomplete without the resurrection of the body.<sup>51</sup>

In the same hymn, one turns now to a discussion of the reprobate:<sup>52</sup>

- xv, 17 But the wicked hast Thou created  
 [for the time of] Thy [wra]th,  
 and from the womb hast consigned them  
 to the day of slaughter,  
 18 BECAUSE they have walked in the way not good  
 and have rejected [Thy] co[venant],  
 and their soul has abhorred Thy [Law],  
 19 And they have not delighted in all/Thou commandest,  
 but have chosen that which Thou hatest.

49. Cf. Ps. 4:2 (=4:1): "Thou hast given me room when I was pressed in," and Ps. 18:18 f. (=18:19 f. and II Sam. 22:19 f.): "They constricted me, on my day of repression. . . . He brought me forth into a broad place. . . ."

50. Note the parallelism of נפשי with כבודי (Gen. 49:6), of נפשי וחי with כבודי in Ps. 7:6 (=7:5), of לבי with כבודי in Ps. 16:9 and 108:2 (=108:1).

51. Josephus seems to attribute to the Essenes belief in immortality of the soul alone (*Jewish Antiquities*, XVIII, i, 3, 5); but his description of their attitude under martyrdom may imply resurrection (*Jewish Wars*, II, viii, 10, §153): "Smiling in their agonies and mildly deriding their tormentors, they cheerfully resigned their souls, confident that they would receive them back again." Avoidance of resurrection in any explicit way may be accounted for by Josephus' accommodation to Greek ideas. Hippolytus, *Heresies*, xxvii, states: "The Doctrine of Resurrection, however, is very firm among them, for they teach both that the flesh will rise again, and that it will become immortal in the same manner as the soul is already immortal." On Hippolytus, cf. Matthew Black, "The Account of the Essenes in Hippolytus and Josephus," in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), pp. 172-75. On the belief of the people of Qumran in the resurrection, see Mansoor, pp. 54, 84, 87-90, and n. 5 on p. 147. The resurrection of the wicked for judgment is referred to in 1Q p Hab x, 4 f.

52. For the restorations, see Mansoor, p. 184.

*Yet*, in Thy [mysterious wisdom], Thou hast ordained  
 them,  
 in order to wreak great judgments upon them /  
 20 in the sight of all Thy creatures,  
 That they may become a sign  
 and a por[tent for] perpetual [generations],  
 That all may know Thy glory  
 21 and Thy strength / so great.

That God should create the wicked in order to make his justice known in their final punishment sounds like a rather harsh and severe determinism. Yet careful exegesis must be given the first word כִּי of line 18. It is "BECAUSE" these people "have walked in the way not good / and have rejected" God's "covenant," that they are consigned at birth "to the day of slaughter." What this means, I believe, is that God has foreseen that they would behave in this way and has therefore foreordained them for punishment. This doctrine of reprobation is predestination based upon foreknowledge. One cannot have foreknowledge without determinism, not simply because God's control of history is necessary to his foreknowledge, but rather for the opposite reason. If God foresees that certain people will turn out wicked and yet he proceeds to create them, he is thereby foreordaining their wicked lives. That is the meaning of the conjunction כִּי ("because") at line 18. It is also the significance of the next occurrence of the same word in line 19, which contextually in this case means "yet." God has foreseen the evil deeds of the wicked, and *yet* he has ordained them.<sup>53</sup> Thus the Hebrew particle *ki* is doubly the *key* to the theological interpretation of predestination of the wicked. God has foredoomed them to punishment *because* he has foreseen their wickedness, and *yet* he has foreordained their existence.

This doctrine of predestination finds a remarkable parallel in Paul's Epistle to the Romans (9:21 f.):

Has not the potter no right over the clay, to make out of the  
 same lump one vessel for beauty and another for menial use?  
 What if God, desiring to show His wrath and to make known  
 His power, has endured with much patience the vessels of wrath

53. For כִּי in the sense of כִּי אֵל, see my discussion of 11Q Pss<sup>a</sup> xxviii, 4 in *Revue de Qumran*, p. 383, n. 6. See also the Hebrew lexicons.

made for destruction, in order to make known the riches of  
 His glory for the vessels of mercy, which He has prepared  
 beforehand for glory. . . . (RSV)

This passage in Paul shares with the Qumran hymn the idea of double predestination. Some people God has foreordained as recipients of his mercy, and others as recipients of his wrath. Both authors relieve God of direct responsibility for the wickedness of the wicked. Paul expresses this by saying that God "has endured with much patience the vessels of wrath made for destruction." His endurance of them *with patience* indicates that God is displeased with their wickedness and is giving them an opportunity to repent.<sup>54</sup> Still the fact that they are described as "vessels of wrath made for destruction" indicates that in foreordaining their existence God has also foreseen their unrepentance and has foredoomed them to be recipients of his wrath, precisely as in this Qumran hymn. Neither in this letter of Paul, nor in this Qumran hymn, is there any special word for foreknowledge; but this is implied in both passages by the logic and the sequence of thought.

Although some have attributed the determinism of Qumran to Zoroastrian influence, it may well owe far more to predictive prophecy with its implication that God knows and foreordains the future. In apocalyptic literature of postexilic times we find examples of long-range prediction, such as Daniel's prediction of three empires which will succeed in turn the Babylonian Empire under which he was living, with all these to be succeeded in turn by the kingdom of the saints of the most high, seventy weeks of years after the Babylonian Exile. Such formally scheduled history, foretold hundreds of years in advance, receives as its natural corollary a doctrine of determinism.

#### THE FINAL SALVATION WILL BE ACHIEVED THROUGH JUDGMENT

Salvation in Qumran thought is not simply of the individual, but of the people of God as a community on earth. The messianic

54. See Charles Hodge, pp. 502 f.; Franz J. Leenhardt, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Co., 1961), p. 258. See also David Flusser, "The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* (Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1958), 4: 215-66, who discusses Paul's predestination beliefs in relation to Qumran thought on pp. 220-22.

age will be established through the definitive struggle between the forces of good and evil, in which the latter will be forever banished from the earth. The Military Manual (1Q M) can portray this as a war between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, in which the holy and elect angels under the command of Michael defeat the evil angels under the authority of Belial. Before this triumph is achieved, God himself appears in a luminous theophany of judgment. The house of Israel is then illumined with joy, for the authority of Michael is established over the gods and the dominion of Israel over all flesh.<sup>55</sup>

A commentary (or *peshet*) upon an assorted group of biblical passages was found in the eleventh Qumran cave which gives a prominent place to Melchizedek as commander of the heavenly forces which will defeat the hordes of Belial. When this victory is achieved, the "anointed of the Spirit" will proclaim the "good news" that "your God [or, god] has become king."<sup>56</sup>

The Society Manual can present the struggle between good and evil as an internal struggle within the heart of man. In keeping with this internalization of the conflict, the final eschatological judgment can be thought of as beginning with the suffering and purgation of the righteous, during which God will refine by his truth one man more than other sons of men. From this man's flesh every evil spirit will be purged away; and, through the sprinkling of the Spirit of Truth, he will be purified in order to become a fit instrument to make known to God's elect sons of the covenant the undefiled truth and knowledge of the sons of heaven. All evil will then be destroyed and the righteous will be endued with all the glory of Adam. This new age is anticipated as "the time of the decree and the making of the new," with apparent allusion to the New Heavens and the New Earth.<sup>57</sup>

55. See Brownlee, "Jesus and Qumran," in *Jesus and the Historian*, ed. F. Thomas Trotter (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968), p. 68; also *Meaning*, pp. 124 f.

56. See my discussion in Trotter, pp. 64-70 (the reference in note 34 of p. 79 requiring correction to "*New Testament Studies*, Vol. III, p. 205"). See also Merrill P. Miller, "The Function of Isa. 61:1-2 in 11 Q Melchizedek," *JBL*, 88 (1969), 467-69. On the rabbinic understanding of Isa. 52:7 (which along with Isa. 61:1 was interpreted messianically at Qumran) see Joseph Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, trans. W. F. Stinespring (New York: Macmillan, 1955), p. 468.

57. 1Q S iv, 15-26, noting the revised translation in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 135, pp. 35-38; *Meaning*, pp. 261-70 and discussion on

The Book of Mysteries (1Q 27) speaks of those enthralled with the "mysteries of iniquity" but who "do not know the Mystery to come, nor understand former things, nor understand what it is which will come upon them, and so they do not deliver their soul from the mystery to come." This "mystery to come" is apparently the last judgment overtaking the wicked; but it is portrayed as light banishing darkness.<sup>58</sup>

And this will be the sign to you when it comes. When the offspring of perversity are imprisoned, wickedness will be banished before righteousness, as darkness is banished before light. As smoke vanishes and is no more, so will wickedness vanish for ever. Then will righteousness be revealed like the sun to govern the world and all who support the bewitching mysteries will be no more for ever, but knowledge will fill the world and no folly will be there for ever.

This imprisonment of "the offspring of perversity" apparently refers to the confinement of the wicked to Hell,<sup>59</sup> but there is no hint here as to how this will be achieved. In the Habakkuk *peshet* the universal knowledge of the Lord will be preceded by a theophany of judgment.<sup>60</sup> The revelation of this knowledge, according to the Testament of Levi 18, will be the work of the messianic priest.<sup>61</sup>

"The Man" in *Jesus and the Historian*, pp. 59-64. According to Numbers Rabbah xiii, 12, the radiance of Adam's face is to be regained in the messianic age.

58. In the citation below, the expression "bewitching mysteries" translates רוי פלא of i, 7 as read by J. T. Milik in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 1955, 1: 103. G. Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 210, translates "the mysteries of sin," reading רוי פלא as at i, 2. On this passage, see also Brownlee, "Jesus and Qumran," p. 69.

59. See Dupont-Sommer, p. 327, n. 2.

60. Note that "the knowledge" is discussed separately at 1Q p Hab xi, 1 after the destruction of "[the man (or prophet) of] lies." It is evident that the text of the missing lines of x, 16 f. should be reconstructed from CDC xx, 10 f., 14 ff., 25 f. (=9:36, 39 f., 49) somewhat as follows: "When they turn aside [with the Man of Lies, the wrath of Go]d [will be kindled against them; for His glory will shine out to Israel and all those who turned aside with the Man of] Lies [will be cut off]. Then afterward, the knowledge will be revealed. . . ." That the "glory" of Hab. 2:14 really does refer to a theophany of judgment is indicated by form-critical considerations, for in each pronouncement of woe, the word כִּי introduces the reason for the impending judgment (as at vv. 8, 11, 17). At v. 18b it introduces the reason for the futility in turning to an idol in order to avert the woe.

61. Unpublished fragments of the Testament of Levi from 4Q may or may not contain this chapter. The concern for a priestly messiah in chap. 18 correlates well

What all these passages have in common is the belief that messianic salvation must come from above, through God himself, his angels, the Spirit of Truth, or somehow mysteriously through Truth itself banishing all evil and error. It is not enough that God by elective love redeem individuals for a life which transcends this world; but God must redeem this world itself by defeating evil here. All this has much in common both with Jewish apocalyptic literature generally and with fulfillment and expectation in the New Testament. To draw out the similarities and contrasts with primitive Christian thought would be a study too lengthy for the present chapter. It is enough here to point out that Christianity in keeping with its Jewish antecedents holds that the Kingdom of God must certainly come on earth, and that his will be realized here as it is in Heaven.<sup>62</sup> The most fundamental differences are the fulfillments by Jesus the Christ which validate the messianic expectation of Judaism and assure us of the final victory of the Kingdom.

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with Qumran expectation, so that this passage should in no case be attributed in its entirety to Christian composition, though it may in the form we know it have undergone Christian editing.

62. Matt. 6:10; 13:36-43; 28:16-20; Acts 1:6; 3:19-21; Rom. 8:18-21; 11:12; I Cor. 15:24-28; Phil. 2:9-11; Heb. 2:5-9; James 1:18; 5:1-11; II Pet. 1:19; 3:13; I John 2:8; Rev. 11:15. Although Christ's kingship is not from this world (John 18:36), his kingdom will prevail upon earth in the world to come. Cf. Ethelbert Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*, trans. John Marsh (New York: Macmillan, 1955), chaps. 58-59, pp. 225-31.

Moreover, the Jewish Scriptures are still the Scriptures of the church, so that God's saving purpose for all mankind and his goal of universal peace depicted there still remain authentically within the Christian hope. This seems not to be considered by Joseph Klausner in his contrast between "The Jewish and the Christian Messiah," pp. 519-31. Elsewhere he states: "So it was clear to the Jews that if all 'the seventy nations' of the pagans should accept the teaching of Paul, monotheism would be assimilated by polytheism, and not the reverse; a drop of wine cannot flavor a bucket of water." *From Jesus to Paul*, trans. W. F. Stinespring (New York: Macmillan, 1944), p. 534. To the contrary, the Kingdom of Heaven is like a handful of yeast, which leavens a whole tub full of dough (Matt. 13:33; Luke 13:30 f.). Already, despite manifestations of the demonic in human society, foregleams of the final victory of God's kingdom are to be seen in human history.