

THE USE OF JEWISH SCRIPTURES
IN QUMRAN AND PAUL AS A MEANS
OF SELF-DEFINITION

by

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Abstract.

The aim of the thesis is to examine the use of Jewish scriptures in connection with the self-definition of the Qumran community and the early church. The working hypothesis is that self-definition and scriptural interpretation were reciprocally conditioning factors in both Qumran and the early church. That is, on the one hand, each group found itself described in the scriptures and justified its own practices and beliefs by citing them. On the other hand, the scriptures conditioned the way in which each group understood itself. Doctrines and practices were both justified by scripture and developed with dependence on it. While numerous aspects of doctrines and practices will be explored, the thesis will focus on the question of how each group's understanding of itself as the right, and the only right group was both defended by proof texts and modified by the texts cited.

There has been extensive research done on the relationship between Jewish scriptures, Qumran and the New Testament. However, very little of this work has been directed toward the study of self-definition in Qumran and the early church.

The thesis is of general significance for the broader study of religion in two ways: it addresses a significant topic in Judaism and Christianity and thus enables a fruitful comparison to be made; it bears on the question of how groups forge and modify their own self-definition.

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Abbreviations

ALUOS.	Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
ET	English Translation
EvQ	Evangelical Quarterly
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSS	The Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
McCQ	McCormick Quarterly
MT	Massoretic Texts
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
RB	Revue Biblique
RQ	Revue de Qumran
RSV	Revised Standard Version

Abbreviations

ST	Studia Theologica
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
VT	Vetus Testamentum
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZNTW	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine the use of Jewish scriptures as a means to self-definition in Qumran and the early church. By self-definition I mean the process and achievement of a 'lasting identity'. Specifically I am interested in how religious groups at the turn of the common era understood themselves as being 'right' - as opposed to others being 'wrong'.

Central to my thesis is the hypothesis¹ that at the turn of the common era there were a number of competing² groups offering a particular understanding of man's relationship to God. Among these groups could be found Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes and Christians. In discussing the first three of these groups Josephus treats them as philosophical schools.³ In some ways Josephus has sent us down the wrong path. It would appear that they were not so much philosophical schools as

¹This is the general view taken by most scholars and I will take it as a presupposition.

²See M. Smith, "The Dead Sea Sect in Relation to Ancient Judaism", NTS, 7, (1960-61), pp. 347-360. Smith (p. 350) makes the point that the religious history of Israel is made up of a long series of conflicts within a single people - between adherents of the same God who differed in the way He should be worshipped.

³Antiquities XIII.V.9; Jewish Wars II. 119-167.

'religious' communities offering what they thought to be proper access to God and presenting a particular life style. First century Jews⁴ who were interested in religious matters could look to them for guidance and answers to their religious questions. One factor that is common to both Qumran and early Christianity is their use of Jewish scriptures as an authority for their particular doctrines and practices. It would appear that both groups established their 'rightness' by using scripture to validate their claims. It is my contention that a thorough study of the use and interpretation of sacred texts will give significant insight into the definition of being 'right' and will also shed light on how such groups arrived at certain norms.

I shall limit my discussion of self-definition to those aspects on which the use of scripture has an immediate bearing: self-identity, right belief and correct practice. Both Qumran and Paul used scripture to claim that they were the legitimate inheritors of Biblical attitudes and practices. This allowed claims of exclusion (Qumran) and inclusion (Paul) with strong statements of right and wrong from both communities. Scripture supported belief and practice with more emphasis on the former and occasionally scripture allowed a writer to pick up and develop a new idea from his original use of the sacred text.

The first part of my thesis will address self-definition in Qumran. As we shall see, self-definition was not concerned with mere general exclusions but it had very precise formulations of how one came

⁴As well as Gentiles.

into the community⁵ and how one stayed 'in'.⁶

The second part of my thesis will study the claim to be 'right' in the early church. I shall deal specifically with the writings of Paul. The first Christians were Jews. They were convinced that they had the correct understanding of man's relationship to God. The early Christians had precise beliefs of how one became a Christian and how one 'stayed' a Christian.⁷ Because of their Jewish heritage the Jewish scriptures were an authority for them. I shall attempt to show the formulation of being 'right' in the writings of Paul and the role scripture played in that formulation.

The third and last part of my thesis will compare and contrast self-definition in Qumran and Paul and their use of scripture.⁸

⁵'Community' is a loose designation of those who would call themselves Essenes, Christians, etc. I will use this term throughout the thesis but I recognize that the Dead Sea Scrolls in particular may reflect different historical periods and possibly community locations in the desert area of the Dead Sea. The Pauline letters reflect a single writer but his audience differs with each letter. This will affect some appeals that he will make and the thrust of each letter will be directed toward his particular audience. It should be kept in mind that not all letters attributed to Paul were in fact written by him (see p. 182). Also, Paul is only one of many Christian authorities (see Galatians 1-3) in the first century of the common era.

⁶1QS 5.1b-4.

⁷Galatians 1:9.

⁸All translations of the scrolls are my own unless otherwise noted. The Hebrew text of the scrolls is from E. Lohse, Die Texte aus Qumran, Darmstadt, 1971, unless otherwise indicated. The Hebrew Bible edition is R. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica, Stuttgart, 1968. The Septuagint edition is A. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Stuttgart, 1935, and the English Bible references are taken from the Revised Standard Version. The Greek New Testament is that of K. Aland et al.

2 State of The Question

A great deal has been written on the textual support of the Hebrew Bible as a result of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, (cf. F.M. Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert", Harvard Theological Review, 57 (1964) pp. 281-299). The majority of this work has had secondary application to my thesis.

However, the conceptual influence of the Hebrew Bible on the Qumran community has had direct bearing on my topic. G. Vermes, "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in its Historical Setting", Annual Leeds University Oriental Society, 6, (1966-68), pp. 85-97, suggested that Qumran inherited an apocalyptic concept that prophecy was a mystery and new revelation was required for the proper understanding of prophetic writings. The history and teaching of the Qumran community were announced in the prophets and they could be properly understood only in light of the Qumran community. This theory of interpretation (peshet) had previously been proposed by F.F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, 1959. He asserted that Qumran re-interpreted prophecy to make it apply to the history of the community. The Law was a sealed book and its true meaning had escaped all but Qumran. The Teacher of Righteousness was the one who explained the hidden meaning of scripture and the community continued to seek further divine mysteries. W.H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectarians of the Dead Sea Scrolls", Biblical Archaeologist, 14, ('51), pp. 54-76 stated that Qumran viewed everything that the prophets had written as veiled and containing eschatological meaning that had specific reference to the Qumran community. S. Lowy,

"Some Aspects of Normative and Sectarian Interpretation of the Scriptures (the Contribution of the Judean Scrolls toward Systemization)", Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society, 6, ('66/68), pp. 98-163, outlines two different types of exegesis coexisting side by side in Qumran. One is concerned with the ordinances of the law and is literalist while the other type of exegesis is prophetic and a freer system. K. Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, Uppsala suggested that the type of midrashic interpretation in Matthew's gospel is similar to the midrash pesher of Qumran. The interpretation in pesher quotation is incorporated into the body of the text and thus determines the textual form. This method of textual formulation has an apocalyptic theme that views the prophetic passage as 'fulfilled' in the present time and found in contemporary situations.

The above scholarship has proven to be of invaluable assistance to my thesis, but self-definition has not been an extensive topic of discussion in Qumran studies. In particular, the use of the Hebrew Bible as a means to self-definition has not been explored in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

H.M. Shire, Finding the Old Testament in the New, has written an extensive study on the statistical citations of the Jewish scriptures in the New Testament. His decision to omit 'references' to the Old Testament and lack of reference to Qumran has made his book of limited value. C.H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, has had definite importance for my thesis. He objects to the theory that there existed a 'Testimony Book' behind all the scriptural references in the New Testament. Dodd theorizes that there existed a method of interpretation rather than a source book. Scriptural passages were used repetitively as testimonies or guides for

interpretation and this interpretation was based on the principle that the gospel was the fulfilment of scripture. The New Testament writers had recurring themes such as "New Israel" and "Servant of the Lord" and this thematic unity of topics meant that the writers went to a common understanding. However, it was a method of study rather than a source book.

E.E. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament and Prophecy and Hermeneutic, reflects directly on my topic. Ellis proposes that Paul did not quote scripture in isolation and agrees with Dodd that an interpretative method was applied to selected texts. He suggests that Paul's exegesis fits with a pattern of thought which views the Christian movement as the fulfilment of Jewish scripture.

Bruce, Dodd and Ellis have had definite influence on my thesis and the study of self-definition by the use of Jewish scripture is in some ways a continuation of the research done by these men. However, there has been little work on self-definition and in particular the comparative study of self-definition that uses the Jewish scriptures as the limiting condition. The absence of research done in this area in both Qumran and New Testament studies would indicate that my thesis will address a topic that requires attention.

QUMRAN

3 Community and Scripture

Manual of Discipline¹

The explicit use of scripture in IQS is not as obvious as is found in some of the other scrolls. However, self-definition is most active in IQS and for that reason I shall start my study of the Qumran community with an examination of this scroll. Scripture serves as an authoritative reference and where possible I shall attempt to show how scripture was determinative in the assertion that Qumran was 'right' in their understanding of the relationship that was required between God and Israel. The correct interpretation of the covenant² was understood to be demonstrated in the actions and deeds of the community.

It should be remembered that the historical situation of the

¹The scroll called the Manual of Discipline (in Hebrew, Serekh ha-Yahad) is also given the designation IQS. This shortened form indicates that the scroll comes from cave 1 of the Qumran discoveries. The period in which it was written probably dates around the beginning of the first century B.C.E. The original composition may have been sometime in the second century B.C.E. There are fragments of the same scroll in Caves 4 and 5. See W.H. Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline", BASOR Suppl. Studies, Nos. 10-12; A.R.C. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning; J. Pouilly, La Règle de la Communauté de Qumran; P. Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline.

²E.P. Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 240-257 has a concise formulation of the covenant understanding reflected at Qumran. It is abundantly clear that Qumran thought of their "relationship" with God in terms of covenant. However, as we shall see in an examination of IQS the covenant was subject to the special understanding of the community. On the subject of covenant see K. Baltzer, The Covenant Formulary; D.R. Hillers, Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea; G.E. Mendenhall, Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East. See J.G. Harris, "The Covenant Concept Among the Qumran Sectaries", EvQ, 39, (1967), pp. 86-92.

community is only hinted at in IQS.³ It is interesting to note that in some situations the scriptures are used to validate a concrete historical situation.⁴ Further, it would seem that there is a Temple consciousness on the part of the community.⁵ This may again explain in part the motivation behind a definite historical community⁶ that set up (a) structured situation(s) in the desert area of the Dead Sea.

The purpose of the scroll is to organize the life of the community as the true and faithful Israel. The community is the centre of discussion. Scripture is the means whereby the community is described and it is the authority that gives the community legitimate claims of truth. Proper interpretation and the study of scripture is the way in which the community stands in the correct relationship to God.

The basic mandate of the Qumran community is expressed in 1.1-3a

³See Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 4. Brownlee makes the point that IQS should not be thought of as historical data but rather as religious data. Also see A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of community in Qumran. Compare, G. Vermes, "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in its Historical Setting", Scripture and Tradition in Judaism, pp. 37-49.

⁴See p. 30.

⁵D. Patte, Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine, pp. 277-279; develops the idea that there is a Temple symbolism and a Sinaitic covenant symbolism in the consciousness of Qumran. This may be an appropriate estimation of the consciousness of Qumran. Scripture is used to validate this understanding and give support to a particular "sectarian" interpretation of Temple and covenant. Also see, B. Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament, pp. 16-30.

⁶See Dupont-Sommer, Jewish Sect, pp. 62-68.

For [] men⁷ to live⁸
 [according] to [the book of the rule⁹]
 of the chosen, to seek God [with a
 whole heart and soul to¹⁰] do what
 is good and right before Him as He
 commanded by the hand of Moses and by
 the hand of all His servants the Prophets.

The qualification of doing the "good and the right" is determined by the Law and the Prophets.¹¹ Because of the corruption of the text it is

⁷The first part of this column is fragmented. Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 6, n.2 has indicated that another column may have preceded this column. Cf. G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, p. 72, "[The Master shall teach the sa[nt]s to live...".

⁸See Dupont-Sommer, Jewish Sects, p. 64, & J. Maier, "Zum Begriff תנ"ך in den Texten von Qumran", Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, LXII, (1960), p. 148. On page 161 Maier makes an interesting observation that many of the scriptural references in Qumran are biblical criticisms of the Temple service which was understood not to give enough weight to the righteousness demanded by the law.

⁹The reconstruction of the corrupt text to "[rule] of the chosen..." is based on 4QSa. See Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰Cf. 4QSa and 4QSc.

¹¹Deuteronomy 6:18, "And you shall do what is right and good in the sight of the Lord, that it may be well with you, and that you may go in and take possession of the good land which the Lord swore to give to your fathers." The demand of doing "right and good" (הישר והטוב) is linked with the fulfilment of the covenantal promise made to Abraham in Genesis 15:7 which involves the promise of the land. Without pressing the scriptural reference too far it may be that this opening column reflects a consciousness that to do the "right and good" fulfils the covenantal demands and will mean (further down in column 1.8) that they are "joined to the council of God and live perfectly". See, Wm. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation Among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls", BA, 14, (1951), pp. 54-76; D.N. Freedman, "The Old Testament at Qumran", McCQ, 21, (1967-68), pp. 299-306; J. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament", NTS, 7, (1961), pp. 297-333.

impossible to say with certainty who will teach the "rule of the community."¹²

The lines that follow (1.3b-7) instruct the community to "love all that God chooses and hate all that he rejects".¹³ This would appear to refer to a definite categorization of the 'right' and the 'wrong'. They are to be far from all evil (לרחוק מכול רע) and practice truth (אמת), righteousness (צדקה) and justice (משפט).¹⁴ Those that were willing to practice the precepts of God (לעשות חוקי אל lit. "to do the laws of God") were allowed into the community and were deemed to be united or joined to the "council of God" (להוחד בעצת אל)¹⁵ and are counted as "walking perfectly before Him" (להתהלך לפניו תמים). This "walking" is further qualified by the belief that the "council of God" has received "all that

¹²Leaney, The Rule, p. 118 understands that the one teaching is the maskil, the one who is himself instructed and can therefore instruct others. F.F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, pp. 8, 67 makes the point that the mystery (raz) and the interpretation (peshar) both must be completed before the divine purpose can be understood.

¹³Isaiah 7:15; Amos 5:15.

¹⁴This mode of behaviour may speak of the practice that was believed to be demonstrated in the community and was in opposition to the behaviour seen elsewhere. Those that were not in the community did not practice truth, were unrighteous and unjust.

¹⁵1QS 1.7b-8a. לעצת אל "in the council of God" seems to imply that the community armed with the practice of truth, righteousness and justice and doing that which is good and right according to that commanded by Moses and the prophets are to be understood as the council of God. Cf. Judges 20:7; Isaiah 5:19; Jeremiah 18:23.

has been revealed at the times set for making them known".¹⁶

All those that enter the community are to bring all their knowledge (דעתם), powers (כוחם), wealth (הונם) in order that their knowledge might be purified "in the truth of God's precepts" (באמת חוקי אל) and their powers may be ordered according to "His ways of perfection" (כתם דרכיו).

The candidates wishing to join the community enter into a covenant with the sect ("all who enter the order of the community shall enter into a covenant", 1.6) and pledge their obedience that they will not abandon God during the "dominion of Belial" (בממשלת בליעל) because of "fear or terror or trial".¹⁷

After the individual had entered the community there was a recital by the Priests and Levites. Part of this ritual involved blessings and curses taken from Numbers 6:24-26 and Deuteronomy 29:18-19.

¹⁶1QS 1.8b-9a. This would suggest that certain interpretations came at divinely appointed times. See, W. Foerster, "Der Heilige Geist in Spätjudentum", NTS, 8, (1961-62), p. 124.

¹⁷1QS 1.17-18a. The noun מִזְרָף (smelt, refine, test) means the place or instrument of refining (lit., "a crucible"). See F. Brown, S.R. Driver, C.A. Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, p. 864. Cf. D. Flusser, "The Baptism of John and the Dead Sea Sect", Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls, C. Rabin and Y. Yadin, ed., p. 227. It would appear that the section 1.16-2.18 regards the entry into the community to be based on Deuteronomy 27-30. As in the scriptures, the members of Qumran will be blessed or they will receive curses depending on their conduct. Cf. Patte, Hermeneutic, pp. 275-277; G. von Rad, Deuteronomy, pp. 163-185. Also compare Daniel 11:35 and Malachi 3:2. On the topic of the "dominion of Belial" see J. Licht, "Time and Eschatology in Apocalyptic Literature and in Qumran", JJS, 16 (1967), pp. 177-182. H.W. Huppenbauer, "Belial in den Qumrantexten", TZ, 2, (1959), pp. 81-89.

The mood exhibited in the blessing and curses indicates an intention of evoking an acute awareness of sin on the part of the initiate and a sense of the mercy of God in being admitted into the covenant of the community. The initiate(s) recites the following:

We have committed iniquity, [We have transgressed] We [have sinned], We have done evil, ...but he has bestowed upon us mercies in his gracious acts from everlasting to everlasting.¹⁸

1.24c-2.1

Compare the following,

we have sinned, and have acted perversely
and wickedly;

I Kings 8:47b

Yet thou hast been just in all that has come upon us, for thou hast dealt faithfully and we have acted wickedly,

Nehemiah 9:33

Both we and our fathers have sinned; we have committed iniquity, we have done wickedly.

Psalms 106:6

The priests pronounce a blessing:

May He bless you with all good and preserve you from all evil. May He lighten your heart with life-giving wisdom and grant you eternal knowledge. May He raise His merciful face towards you for everlasting bliss.¹⁹

2.2b-4a

¹⁸Leaney, The Rule, p. 123. There are many parallels to this confession in the Hebrew scriptures.

¹⁹G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, p. 73. The recital made by the priests is almost an identical parallel with Numbers 6:24-26. However, "life-giving wisdom" and "eternal knowledge" are not found in the Biblical reference. These seem to be products of membership in the covenant community at Qumran. Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 9, n.4 points out that "life-giving wisdom" is more than "living wisdom" for it seems to have the sense of "tree of life" as found in Genesis 2:9 or possibly "the way that leads to life" in Psalm 16:11.

Numbers 6:24-26 parallels the Qumran blessings.

The Lord bless you and keep you:
The Lord makes his face to shine
upon you, and be gracious to you:
The Lord lift up his countenance
upon you, and give you peace.

Those of the "lot of Belial"- receive a vengeful curse that they would have no pardon even if they should see the err of their ways.

May God not heed when you call on
Him, nor pardon you by blotting
out your sin!²⁰

2.8b

The seriousness of the blessings and curses is demonstrated by the last set of curses outlined in column two. Any one entering the covenant of the community without a full commitment says 'amen' to a judgement that would bring the curses of the covenant upon him, and his lot would be among the cursed forever (2.11-18). It is interesting that one of the first duties of a member of Qumran is to understand the community's definition of being 'right' and that this definition is punctuated with clear reference to scripture.²¹ Whether the initiate understood or not those that formulated the doctrines and practices clearly understood

²⁰Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 73.

²¹The priests and Levites continue before the initiate that if he should enter the covenant of the community, "while walking among the idols of his heart, who sets up before himself his stumbling-block of sin so that he may backslide!" (Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 73), his spirit shall be subject to God's wrath without pardon. This subject finds scriptural support by referring to Deuteronomy 29:18-19. See specifically IQS 2.13b-14a. Compare Deuteronomy 27:14-15; Ezekiel 14:3. See O. Betz, "The Eschatological Interpretation of the Sinai-Tradition in Qumran and in the New Testament", RevQ, 6, (1967-69), pp. 89-107.

scripture as a necessary ingredient in the formulation of identity.²²

Column three concerns itself with expanding the idea that he that refuses to enter the covenant of the community shall not be reckoned among the perfect.²³

He will not be made guiltless by
atonement and he will not be
purified in waters for purification.²⁴
3.4b

It would appear that the idea of impurity and the need for this impurity to be removed by washing leads the writer to proclaim that one is unclean as long as he rejects God's laws, "so as not to be instructed by the community of His counsel (the Qumran Community)".²⁵ It is only by the true counsel of God that one can be cleansed of all his iniquities and thus his sins will be atoned through his submission to all God's ordinances.²⁶ The emphasis on cleanliness may reflect some of the community's ill-feelings toward the Temple practices at Jerusalem and

²²A renewal of the covenant was to be an annual occurrence, cf. 1QS 2.19-25a. No man was to be allowed into the community unless he entered into the covenant of the community, 1QS 2.25b-31. Note that there are three classes in the community according to this section. In the Damascus Document there is a fourth class (proselytes), CD 14.3-6.

²³1QS 3.3c-4a.

²⁴Leaney, *The Rule*, p. 137. See the obligations for purification in Numbers 19:9, 13, 20, 21.

²⁵1QS 3.5c-6a. In regard to washing in the community see J. Pryke, "The Sacraments of Holy Baptism and Holy Communion in the Light of the Ritual Washings and Sacred Meals at Qumran", *RevQ*, 5, (1966), pp. 543-552.

²⁶1QS 3.7-8.

the strong sense that the community's practices and ordinances replace the function of the Temple.²⁷ It would appear from the following text the council of the community has the ability of putting the individual in the correct relationship with God,

For it is through the spirit of true counsel concerning the ways of man that all his sins shall be expiated that he may contemplate the light of life.²⁸

3.6b-7a

Following this section in column three we find a definite concept of being 'right' and staying 'right'.

And he [the initiate] will direct his steps so as to walk perfectly in all God's ways, as He commanded for His appointed seasons, not turning right or left, nor transgressing a single one of all his provisions. Then will he procure pardon before God through agreeable atonements; and this will become for him a covenant of eternal communion.²⁹

3.9b-12

It is most interesting to note that the initiate was to behave in a particular manner "so as to walk perfectly, in all God's ways" and that the community would appear to know the ways that are perfect. These involve knowing God's appointed seasons (particular understanding of

²⁷1QS 9.3-6. Compare, S.T. Kimbrough, "The Ethic of the Qumran Community", RevQ, 6, (1967-69), pp. 484-485.

²⁸Leaney, The Rule, p. 137.

²⁹Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 12. The word "communion" is a translation of ṭnʿ which is usually translated as "community".

festivals and holy days) and not transgressing a single provision. Such behaviour on the part of the initiate will in fact bring pardon because he has offered the agreeable atonement by participation in the community.³⁰ The combination of walking perfectly and not transgressing serves as a covenant of eternal community.

The last part of column three concerns itself with the two divisions in humanity and the spirits that guide them. The beginning of column four continues this theme with a list of the ways in which the "Spirit of truth"³¹ is demonstrated. The "Spirit of truth" will enlighten the heart of man and make straight the ways of true righteousness.³² It will demonstrate itself in humility, slowness to anger, compassion and goodness and it gives understanding, insight and mighty wisdom.³³ Those

³⁰בכפוי נִיחוח, literally means "through pleasant atonement". It would appear that the initiate's participation in the community is that which is understood to be the "pleasant atonement". See Leaney, The Rule, p. 140 for a discussion of atonement rituals at Qumran.

³¹As opposed to the "spirit of perversion" in 3.18, 19. רוחות האמת והעול, literally means "spirits of truth and iniquity". See Brownlee, Manual of Discipline; p. 15, n.2 for discussion of line one in column four. Leaney, The Rule, pp. 34-37 has a discussion of spirit at Qumran. It is important to note that this spirit is a spirit of truth as opposed to a spirit of falsehood. This is not to be confused with the personal holy spirit of the New Testament. The possession of the spirit means a spirit of holiness known only to the community. Cf. IQS 4.20; IQH 16.12; IQM 7.5. See P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1QSerek III, 13-IV, 26)", RevQ, 3, (1961-62), pp. 413-441.

³²IQS 4.2.

³³IQS 4.3. As one might expect, the community had this "spirit of truth". It is interesting to note that the division of humanity into two groups (those who are 'in'/possessing the spirit of truth and those who are 'out'/possessing the spirit of falsehood) is determined by God. Cf. IQH 15.13-19. See Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 258-270.

that have the "spirit of truth" lean upon God's mercy and possess a spirit of knowledge³⁴ in every element of activity which demonstrates itself in zeal for "righteous laws" and love toward the sons of truth.³⁵ Column four continues with a list of the ways of the "spirit of perversion".³⁶ At line 18b the writer indicates that although he does not understand the mysteries and wisdom of God, God nevertheless has provided a period for the existence of wrongdoing. At this point one can distinguish quite sharply between the camp of those that are 'in' and the camp where they are 'out'. This would appear to mean that the Qumran community must distinguish themselves from those of the "spirit of perversion" until the end of the "period for the existence of wrongdoing". The end of this period will usher in the judgement.³⁷ This judgement will involve purging "by truth" and God shall refine for himself,

some of mankind in order to abolish every
evil spirit from the midst of his flesh
and to cleanse him through a Holy Spirit

³⁴1QS 4.4a, רוח דעה בכל מחשבת מעשה, literally means "a knowing (discerning) spirit in every design of work".

³⁵1QS 4.5. Compare this description of the activity of the spirit of truth that presumably is going on in the Qumran community with the eschatological expectation of Isaiah 11:1-2, "There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots. And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord".

³⁶1QS 4.9-13. This list includes such characteristics as greediness, pride, deceit, ways of pollution in the service of uncleanness, stiffness of neck and hardening the heart to walk in all ways of darkness and crafty thought.

³⁷1QS 4.20a. Compare Isaiah 10:23; 28:22; 42:3.

from all wicked practices, sprinkling upon him a Spirit of Truth as purifying water to cleanse from all untrue abominations...For God has chosen them for an eternal covenant so that theirs is all glory of Adam [or man]³⁸

1QS 4.20-23a

It is not totally clear whether the writer understood that man has competing spirits³⁹ or that humanity is divided into two groups (the good/light and bad/darkness). However, it would seem that the age in which the community lived was the age of the competing spirits and man was subject to the will of God in regard to which spirit he inherited.⁴⁰

I do not think column five is accidental in theme when we consider the thrust at the end of column four. One might ask at the end of column four, who possesses the spirit of truth and how may one join such a group? Column five might be entitled: "The community that possesses the spirit of truth". The opening line designates that the "men of the community"⁴¹ follow particular practices and this involves

³⁸Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 16. Compare Malachi 3:3 on the theme of purging and refining. The idea of sprinkling a spirit of truth is paralleled in Isaiah 44:3, "For I will pour water on the thirsty land and streams on the dry ground; I will pour my Spirit upon your descendants and my blessing on your offspring. Cf. Ezekiel 36:25,27.

³⁹As would seem to be indicated in the "spirits of truth and perversion" in 1QS 4.23c.

⁴⁰The text is somewhat corrupt at the end of column four (cf. Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 18, n.53) and it is difficult to follow the line of thought in regard to those that are chosen to have the spirit of truth. However, by implication the Qumran community would be understood to have the spirit of truth. For a discussion of the "sons of light" and the "sons of darkness" see J.J. Ems, "Origin of the Dualism Expressed by 'Sons of Light' and 'Sons of Darkness'", BR, 21, (1976), pp. 15-18.

⁴¹Cf. column 1.1.

turning from evil and holding onto that which God commanded. It is here that we find a most pronounced sense of those that are 'in' as opposed to those who are 'out'. This column states very clearly that those who join the community must separate⁴² from the "men of falsehood"⁴³ and join the community in law and property.⁴⁴ Those who join the community are under the authority⁴⁵ of the sons of Zadok⁴⁶, the priests who keep the covenant and the majority of the community.⁴⁷

⁴²Compare Nehemiah 10:29-30 for a similar determination to separate for the sake of keeping the law. See M. Smith, "The Dead Sea Sect in Relation to Ancient Judaism", NTS, 7, (1960-61), p. 347.

⁴³אנשי העול, literally means "men of iniquity (unrighteousness)". Compare Numbers 16:21, "separate yourselves from among this congregation, that I may consume them in a moment".

⁴⁴הון means both "property" and "wealth". M. Hengel, Die Zeloten, p. 255 suggests that renunciation of personal property was a common characteristic when one withdrew into a communal setting. Cf. Josephus, Jewish Wars, II.122; Acts 2:44. Also see U.W. Maurer, Christ in the Wilderness, pp. 15-58.

⁴⁵משיבים; משיבים על פי בני צדוק is a Hiphal participle, masculine, plural, (משיב) from שוב "to return". Thus the translation could be "answering before the sons of Zadok". Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 19, n. 6 (following E.L. Sukenik) suggests that the initiate might be interrogated on matters of Torah according to the decisions of the Zadokites. He makes the further point that these questions would arise from within the community as opposed to questions from the outside.

⁴⁶In CD 4.3 the "sons of Zadok" would seem to mean all the members of the community. However, here and in 1QS 5.9 it would appear to mean a special group, the priests. Cf. 1QSa 1.2, 24; 1QSB 3.22 where it would seem that the title meant the original members of the community. See Ezekiel 44:15 and 48:11 where the "sons of Zadok" are depicted as priests that did not go astray with the rest of the people of Israel. They are understood to represent the ideal priests who shall properly carry out the requirements of the Temple. See J. Liver, "The 'Sons of Zadok the Priests' in the Dead Sea Sect", RevQ, 6, (1967-69) pp. 3-30.

⁴⁷In 1QS 5.3b-5a it is established that all decisions concerning doctrine, property and justice are to be determined by the priests and the majority. See Leaney, The Rule, pp. 165-166, regarding the relationship between the priests and the majority.

Columns 5.1-7.25 are a section of sectarian halakah. The first part of column five uses scriptural references or Biblical language as a point of departure to discuss the foundational and atoning characteristics of the community. The rest of this section appears to be halakah that is a result of interpretation of scripture even though there are statements to the effect that the laws discussed are a return to the law of Moses. The laws dealt with include such issues as obedience to superiors, promotion, eating arrangements, studying and reading Torah, examinations, etc. Most of this halakah is unrelated to Biblical law and no attempt is made to find a basis for the sectarian halakah in scripture.⁴⁸ However, self-definition is an important part of this sectarian halakah because it develops a strong sense of a structured community. The individual has a very definite knowledge of what is required of him when he joins the community.

⁴⁸For a discussion of halakah at Qumran see L.H. Schiffman, The Halakah at Qumran, especially pp. 22-76. Schiffman, pp. 75-76, makes the point that Qumran viewed the laws of the Bible as falling into two main categories. The first has to do with niglot (revealed) laws and they are obvious to any one. The second type are the "hidden" (nistarot) laws. The latter are the possession of the community and they are not revealed outside Qumran. They usually involve laws that are vague and need further explanation. See N. Wieder, The Judean Scrolls and Karaism, pp. 53-62. The halakah of column 5-7 appears to find some orientation in the nistarot laws. However, these sectarian laws do not find a basis in scripture.

1QS 5.4b-5 contains a number of references to scripture.⁴⁹

The Qumran text is as follows:

No man shall walk in the stubbornness of his heart so that he strays after his heart and eyes and evil inclination,⁵⁰ but he⁵¹ shall circumcise in the Community

⁴⁹The two lines have a number of references that make up the theme of the 1QS text. Compare, Psalm 81:12, "So I give them over to their stubborn hearts, to follow their own counsels." Jeremiah 7:24, "But they did not obey or incline their ear, but walked in their own counsels and the stubbornness of their evil hearts, and went backward and not forward." Jeremiah 11:8, "Yet they did not obey or incline their ear, but everyone walked in the stubbornness of his evil heart. Therefore I brought upon them all the words of this covenant, which I commanded them to do, but they did not." Deuteronomy 10:16, "Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no longer stubborn." (Compare Deuteronomy 30:6) Jeremiah 4:4a, "Circumcise yourselves to the Lord, remove the foreskin of your hearts, O' Men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem,..." Jeremiah 6:10b, "Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, they cannot listen; ...". Jeremiah 9:26b, "...; for all these nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel is uncircumcised in heart." Isaiah 28:16a, "therefore thus says the Lord God, 'Behold, I am laying in Zion a foundation a stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, of a sure foundation...".

⁵⁰Literally means "his eyes and his fashioning design". יצרו is a Kal participle from יצר and it is somewhat difficult to arrive at a smooth translation. Herford in Pirke Avot II.16 (R.T. Herford, The Ethics of the Talmud: Sayings of the Fathers, p. 16) translates it as "evil principle" (יצר הרע). Cf. Isaiah 27:11; Jeremiah 4:4; Deuteronomy 10:16. Also compare Leaney, The Rule, p. 167 for a discussion of "evil inclination".

⁵¹וּאָמַם. Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 19, n.18 suggests that the script reflects a conjunction waw and a surrogate of Adonai.

the foreskin of evil inclination and of stiffness of neck that they may lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the Community of the everlasting Covenant.⁵²

This passage would suggest that the community in the desert was established to provide a foundation⁵³ and a corner-stone⁵⁴ of religious purity that would someday triumph over the "men of the lot of Satan". These verses do not only indicate the provision of a foundation of religious purity but they are followed by lines that establish the principle that those who constitute this foundation will also atone for the members of the community.

They shall atone for all those in Aaron who have freely pledged themselves to holiness and for those in Israel⁵⁵ who have freely pledged themselves to the House of Truth and for those who join them to live in community...⁵⁶

1QS 5.6

It would appear that the author has combined a basic principle of the community with texts from the Hebrew scriptures. The scriptural references verify his position that the community will indeed establish

⁵²Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 78.

⁵³See B. Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁴1QS 8.7, Gärtner, Temple, p. 27, n.1.

⁵⁵The designation of Aaron and Israel probably represents the priests and laymen respectively. Cf. CD 1.7; 20.1.

⁵⁶Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 79.

the "foundation of truth for Israel". In using the original ideas of foundation and corner-stone with the scriptural texts we see the development of a second principle. The atonement for the community is a result of those who establish the foundation of truth. It is difficult to know if the Biblical texts initiated the principle or vice versa. However, it is most clear that the scriptural texts are an important link between the principle of atonement and the foundational aspect of the community.⁵⁷ It may be possible to suggest that the author started with a principle and went to scripture to validate his idea (he may have been reading scripture and arrived at his principle). In using the scripture as a point of contact for his principle of foundation and atonement he is led to the second idea. Thus we may have a formulation something like the following. Why does this community exist? Because it is a "foundation of truth for Israel". What is the consequence of the community as a foundation of truth? The community atones for all of those who join it (5.6). There is abundant danger in attempting to reconstruct the thought formulations of an author but it is clear that scripture is an influence on the determination of who is 'right' and how this state of being 'right' is expressed.

The authority of the hierarchy of Qumran is established in IQS 5.7b-9,

He shall undertake by a binding oath to

⁵⁷The community would appear to represent sacrificial and Temple significance. Cf. IQS 9.4-6; Cf. Gärtner, Temple, pp. 24-25. See p. 14.

return with all his heart and soul to every commandment of the Law of Moses in accordance with all that has been revealed of it to the Sons of Zadok, the Keepers of the Covenant and Seekers of His will, and to the multitude of the men of their covenant...⁵⁸

The authority of the community is very much a first principle in the doctrines and practices of Qumran. Those who established the foundation of truth and atoned for the community were to abide by a renewal of the Mosaic covenant and the dedication to new revelations.

Those understood to be outside the covenant are there because they do not seek God to know "hidden things"⁵⁹ which have caused them to err and stray.⁶⁰ The community takes very deliberate steps to be separated from these people in matters such as meals, work or property. The support for such behaviour is found in Exodus 23:7⁶¹ and Isaiah 2:22.⁶² Thus one finds the designation of 'right' and 'wrong' has scripture as an integral part of the distinction.

⁵⁸Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 79. The oath has two elements. One is a renewal of the Mosaic covenant and the other is a pledge to accept that which was revealed to the sons of Zadok and the men of the community.

⁵⁹הנסתרות; Cf. Psalms 19:12. CD 1.14; 5.1 understands that these "hidden things" are errors in Sabbath and festival observances. See Schiffman, The Halakah at Qumran, pp. 75-76.

⁶⁰IQS 5.11b-13a. Those outside the community will be subject to eternal destruction "without remnant".

⁶¹"Keep away from all that is false". The original context of Exodus 23:7 is disregarded in 5.15b since the Biblical reference is exhorting the reader to keep away from false charges. The scroll obligation is to stay away in every matter.

⁶²"Keep away from the man in whose nostrils is breath, for wherein is he counted".

Further in column five it is stated that when an initiate enters the community he is examined on his willingness to abide by the interpretation and authority of the Sons of Aaron.⁶³

...they shall examine his spirit in the Community between a man and his fellow with respect to his understanding and his deeds to Torah, in accordance with the views of the Sons of Aaron who are dedicated unitedly to establish His covenant and to administer all His ordinances which he commanded [them] to do, and in accordance with the views of the majority of Israel who are dedicated to turn unitedly to His Covenant.⁶⁴

5.21-22

Torah is the standard for behaviour but the understanding and interpretation of the Torah is subject to those in authority at Qumran. Once the individual had committed himself to the covenant of the community he was involved in an ongoing effort to study the scriptures.

And where the ten⁶⁵ are, there shall never lack a man among them who shall

⁶³שכלו ומעשיר, literally, "intelligence and his deeds". Cf. I Chronicles 22:12, "...may the Lord grant you discretion [נשכל] and understanding [נובילנה] that when he gives you charge over Israel you may keep the law of the Lord your God." The Sons of Aaron are probably a variant of the Sons of Zadok.

⁶⁴Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, pp. 21-22. This type of examination was an annual affair and the examination of spirit and deeds would appear to determine where one was positioned in the structure of the community. IQS.5.24-6.2b. See Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, Appendix G, p. 53.

⁶⁵"Ten men", probably refers to 10 judges of the congregation. Cf. CD 10.4-6. It may also refer to "at least 10" required for an organization of the sect mentioned in CD 13.1. See Leaney, The Rule, pp. 181-182.

study the Law continually, day and night, concerning the right conduct of a man with his companion. And the Congregation shall watch in community for a third of every night of the year, to read the Book⁶⁶ and to study Law⁶⁷ and to pray together.⁶⁸

6.6b-8a

Note that the study of the Law was to be applied to right conduct. The initiate was kept on probation for a year⁶⁹ and at the end of that period he was again examined "concerning his affairs with reference to his understanding and his deeds in the Torah."⁷⁰ If he had successfully passed this examination his goods were put "in trust" and he entered a second year of probation. At the end of this second year he was re-examined and "if it is decided under God to admit him⁷¹", he was given full membership in the community. The rest of column six concerns the disciplinary measures taken against such offenses as lies and quick tempers. This theme is carried on into column seven and occupies the entire column. The first line of column seven contains one of the

⁶⁶בספר.

⁶⁷לדרוש משפט, literally means, "to seek justice". Cf. 8.24.

⁶⁸Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 81. This would appear to mean that the community studied scripture a third of each night. This practice may be based on a practice of fulfilling Psalm 1:2, "but his delight [the man who walks not in the counsel of the wicked, etc.] is in the law of the Lord and on his law he meditates day and night", and Joshua 1:8a, "This book of the law shall not depart out of your mouth, but you shall meditate on it day and night, that you may be careful to do according to all that is written in it...".

⁶⁹6.16b-17.

⁷⁰6.18b, Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 26.

⁷¹6.22a.

Levitical laws concerning curses. The Qumran text would have a member put out of the community if he should curse God while reading the Book or praying.

And if he who reads aloud from the Book or blesses has blasphemed either through being frightened by persecution or through any reason he may have, he shall be excluded so as to return no more to the Council of the Community;⁷²

7.1-2a

This is a variant of Leviticus 24:15-16⁷³ where the one who blasphemes⁷⁴ shall be put to death. In the list of commandments and punishments of column seven this first commandment is one of the few crimes that corresponds to Biblical law.⁷⁵ Note that the sectarian halakah modifies the scriptural law.

The atoning theme of column five is again discussed in column eight. The writer points out that there are twelve laymen and three priests

who are perfect in all that is revealed

⁷²Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 28.
 וְאִם קָלַל אֹר לְהַבֵּעַ מִצְרָה אֹר לְכוֹל
 either through terror, or distress, or anything".

⁷³"And say to the people of Israel, 'Whoever curses his God shall bear his sin: He who blasphemes the name of the Lord shall be put to death; all the congregation shall stone him; the sojourner as well as the native, when he blasphemes the Name, shall be put to death'."

⁷⁴נקב.

⁷⁵Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 285.

of the whole Torah, through practicing truth and righteousness and justice and loving devotion and walking humbly each with his fellow.⁷⁶

-8.1b-3

These individuals maintain faithfulness in the land and expiate⁷⁷ iniquity by practicing justice. By their actions they establish truth and the writer of IQS lists the characteristics of the council of the community as an "everlasting plantation,⁷⁸ a house of holiness for Israel and an assembly of supreme holiness for Aaron". They shall atone⁷⁹ for the land and judge the wicked.

It⁸⁰ shall be that tried wall, that precious corner-stone whose foundations shall neither rock nor sway in their place
8.7b-8b

Lines 7b-8b reflect Isaiah 28:16⁸¹ and it would appear that this

⁷⁶Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 30. Cf. 5.9.

⁷⁷8.3b.

⁷⁸8.5b-6a. See G. Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism, p. 32.

⁷⁹לכפר בעד הארץ, "atone for the land". Cf. IQS 2.8, 5.6. See Leviticus 18:27; Numbers 35:33-34, for references to the land being polluted. Compare Genesis 8:21 and Leviticus 1:9 for similar sacrificial language.

⁸⁰Presumably the council. See O. Betz, Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte, p. 158 and Leaney, The Rule, pp. 215-217.

⁸¹"Behold, I am laying in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tested stone, a precious corner-stone, of a sure foundation: 'He who believes will not be in haste'." See B. Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament, p. 27, n.1, and J. De Waard, A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament, pp. 54-60. See Zechariah 10:4 for a reference to the corner-stone being the thrust of renewal.

scriptural reference defines the understanding of the function and role of the council of the community. As the corner-stone and foundation the council will serve as a house of perfection and truth and they will establish an eternal covenant.⁸² Not only will they atone for the land and judge the wicked but after two years in their position of responsibility they shall separate themselves⁸³ within the community and act as a source of information concerning the things hidden from Israel but now available to the community.⁸⁴

The sense of purpose on behalf of the communal society at Qumran is formulated in the next lines of column eight. Those that wish to join the Qumran community

shall separate from the habitation of ungodly men and shall go into the wilderness to prepare the way of Him⁸⁵; as it is written, Prepare in the wilderness the way of...⁸⁶ make straight in the desert a path for our God.⁸⁷

8.13b-14

⁸²8.9b-10a.

⁸³See Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 33, n.25 for the variation of line 11.

⁸⁴See Leaney, The Rule, pp. 220-221. Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 85, understands that a special individual called "the Interpreter" is not to conceal the hidden things from the council. IQS 9.17 forbids the community to reveal these things to non-members.

⁸⁵A surrogate for Adonai. See Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 33, n.29.

⁸⁶Four dots are used for the Tetragrammation of Adonai.

⁸⁷The translation is from Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 86. The underlined portion reflects Isaiah 40:3. For a discussion of the use of Isaiah 40:3 in IQS and the New Testament see De-Waard, Comparative Study, pp. 48-53.

The self-understanding of Qumran starts with the mandate to separate from perverse men. Given the setting of the historical Qumran community this may well mean separation from Jerusalem Judaism. Betz⁸⁸ understands that a "road" must be built in the wilderness and this road was the study and observance of the law. In other words the wilderness is the place where God establishes the way. This understanding certainly agrees with lines 15 and 16a of column eight.

That⁸⁹ [means] studying the Torah [which] He commanded through Moses, so as to do according to all that was revealed time after time and according to that which the prophets revealed through His Holy Spirit.⁹⁰

The community is to study Torah and to do what had been revealed "from age to age". The first principle is to make clear that the mandate of the community is to separate from Jerusalem. The historical situation is set and then a proof text gives a support to the idea that was possibly motivated by a discontentment with institutional Judaism in Jerusalem. The scriptural text is the key that makes the historical situation understandable. By separating from Jerusalem and going into the wilderness⁹¹ the community prepares the path for God. The interpretation of Isaiah 40:3 by Qumran may suggest that part of the discontentment with Jerusalem may have been a disagreement with the interpretation of

⁸⁸Betz, Offenbarung und Schriftforschung, p. 155.

⁸⁹"That" referring to Isaiah 40:3.

⁹⁰Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 32.

⁹¹Note that we are now in the language of the scriptural text. See Jn. V. Chamberlain, "Toward a Qumran Soteriology". NovT, 3, (1959), pp. 305-313.

the law. The scriptural text gives a point of reference for Qumran and a sense of destiny in regard to why they are in the desert area of Qumran and why they are engaged in the study of the law. This study will prepare the path for God. The eschatological expectation is heightened for the community when it is noted that revelation comes to the community in its study of the law. It is apparent that the definition of the community involved separation from those who were considered "ungodly" and the Isaiah text served as a very important authority that compels the sectarians to withdraw into the desert. Those who do not separate are counted among the "ungodly" and therefore are understood as 'wrong'.⁹²

Column nine contains a theme that is common to both Qumran and the early church. What is the status of the community in relation to the Temple at Jerusalem? Line three and following attempt to answer this question.

When these exist in Israel according to all these plans for founding a spirit of holiness⁹³ in eternal truth to atone for the guilt of transgression and the treachery of sin and for favour for the

⁹²Column eight concludes by giving more laws of the community. Lines 22 and 23 state that anyone who deliberately or through negligence transgresses a word of the law of Moses on any point shall be expelled forever from the community. However, if his transgression comes through inadvertence he is put on a two year probation, (8.24-27).

⁹³רוח קודש. See J. Pryke, "'Spirit' and 'Flesh' in the Qumran Documents and Some New Testament Texts", RevQ, 5, (1964-66), pp. 345-360.

land more than by flesh of burnt-offerings or by the fat of sacrifice⁹⁴; and the offering of the lips according to precept is like a sweet-savoured offering of righteousness and perfection of way like a freewill offering for favour, at that time the men of the community shall separate⁹⁵ themselves as a house of holiness for Aaron and to be united as a holy of holies and as a house of holiness for Israel who walk in perfection⁹⁶

9.3-6

The sense of the passage would suggest that the Temple sacrificial system has been replaced by the activities of the community.⁹⁷ The offerings of the lips and the spirit of holiness in the community are better than the sacrifices offered at Jerusalem. The community is understood to parallel (and possibly take the place of) the Temple and in doing so represents the "house of holiness" as the place for laymen and the "holy of holies" for the priests. The sacrificial functions of the Jerusalem Temple have been superseded by the prayers "rightly offered" and the "perfection of the way".

⁹⁴ Cf. I Samuel 15:22, "And Samuel said, 'Has the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold to obey is better than sacrifice and to hearken than the fat of rams'."

⁹⁵ Brownlee, Manual of Discipline, p. 34 translates as "shall be set apart". For further discussion by Brownlee, see p. 35, n.9 of Manual of Discipline.

⁹⁶ The translation is from Leaney, The Rule, p. 210. Cf. J. Carmignac, "L'utilité ou l'inutilité des sacrifices sanglants", RB 63, (1956), p. 524.

⁹⁷ The references to scripture are quite numerous on this account. Cf. Isaiah 6:7; Hosea 14:2; Psalm 119:171; Hosea 6:6, "For I desire steadfast love and not sacrifice, the knowledge of God, rather than burnt-offerings". See p. 8, n. 5.

Summary:

The study of self-definition in IQS has indicated that Qumran had a very definite understanding of the 'good and the right'. Such individuals belonged to their community, and the standard for entrance to it was to do what God commanded in the Law and the Prophets. Those who belonged to the 'good and right' were to set themselves apart from those who did not meet their standards and form a separate society by bringing all their knowledge, powers and wealth with them. The very fact of not belonging to the Qumran community meant that one was 'wrong'.

Those who joined Qumran were subject to the blessings and curses of Numbers and Deuteronomy. Initiation into the community meant one had an immediate consciousness of scripture and its consequence on one's life. It is important to note that much of the language of IQS reflects biblical language.

The demand for separation as the primary measure of self-definition was influenced by a number of scriptural references. These texts seem to serve as inspiration and authority that separation (from those who are not 'good and right') will mean the establishment of a "foundation of truth for Israel". Such a foundation will represent an everlasting covenant and those who belong to this covenant will atone for all those "in Aaron", (i.e. the community).

The scroll has indicated there existed a hierarchy among those who defined themselves as being 'right'. Those who entered the community were subject to the Sons of Zadok ("the Keepers of the Covenant and the Seekers of His Will") and they were called a "precious cornerstone" in

the house of perfection. The language of definition reflects Isaiah 28: 16. Their authority was increased by the belief that they knew the "things" that were hidden from Israel. Those 'outside' the community were there because they did not join those who had separated and they did not seek after the "hidden things" which had caused them to err and stray.

Study of scripture was an important activity in Qumran. It was understood to be reflected by the members' conduct. They were examined in regard to their understanding of scripture and the co-relationship of one's deeds.

The mandate for a separated community finds validation in Isaiah 40:3. This text would appear to give Qumran a point of reference. They existed in the desert because they were "preparing the way of the Lord". The practical application of "preparing the way of the Lord" was to study Torah (in this separated context) so that they could do all that was to be revealed "time after time" in the community. Scripture served as the authority and point of reference that compelled them to withdraw. The interpretation of scripture gave them direction.

Damascus Document⁹⁸

The Damascus document opens with a call to those who know
righteousness,

And now, hearken all ye that know

⁹⁸The title "Damascus Document" or "Zadokite Document" refers to Jewish texts that were discovered at the Cairo Geniza in 1896-97 (S. Zeitlin, The Zadokite Fragments,). This literature (plus a Hebrew-Aramaic text of the Books of Commandments by 'Anan) may have come from a medieval Karaite group who rejected the Talmud and held pre-rabbinic material in high regard. For a discussion of the Karaites and Qumran see N. Weider, "The Doctrine of the Two Messiahs Among the Karaites", JJS, (1955), pp. 14-25 and N. Weider, "The Qumran Sectaries and the Karaites", JQR, 67, (1956), pp. 97-113 and 269-292.

S. Schechter, Documents of Jewish Sectaries, edited these fragments and called them "Fragments of a Zadokite Work". The community that used this document understood that they were establishing a "new covenant in the land of Damascus" (6.19; 8.21; 20.12). Thus the shortened form is called CD. Zadok refers to the high priest under David and Solomon (II Samuel 15:24-37; I Kings 1:22-39; 2:25). Ezekiel 44:15 and 48:11 indicate that the sons of Zadok are the priests for the perfect and final worship at the Temple. Compare this belief with CD 3.21-4.5; 5.2-5. The fragments at Cairo are divided into two texts. Text A has eight pages with script on both sides and is usually dated around the 10th century C.E. Text B is one page with writing on both sides. It is dated about the 11th century C.E.

Fragments of the Damascus document were discovered at the caves of Qumran (4QD^{a-e}; 5QD; 6QD) and although there are some differences from the Cairo fragments it is generally accepted that it is the same text. See J.T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea; C. Rabin, The Zadokite Documents; L. Rost, Die Damaskusschrift; H.H. Rowley, The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls; S. Schechter, Documents of Jewish Sectaries, pp. 11-37; G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran in Perspective, pp. 48-51. The Jewish scriptures are used extensively in the Damascus document. J. De Waard A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and in the New Testament, p. 30, states that there are 96 quotations. There are 34 quotations from Torah, 45 from Nebi'im and 17 from Ketubim.

righteousness and consider the works
of God;⁹⁹

1.1

Immediately one is met with a strong sense of being 'in' and 'out' as the following lines state that God has a dispute with all flesh and He will execute judgement upon all "who despise Him".¹⁰⁰ He has done this in the past and those who despised Him were given to the sword. However, God remembered His covenant with the forefathers and He "caused a remnant to remain in Israel".¹⁰¹ Page one continues with a description of the early history of Israel which includes an account of the exile wherein God continued His faithfulness,

and he caused a plant root¹⁰² to spring
from Israel and Aaron to inherit His
Land and to prosper on the good things
of His earth.¹⁰³

1.7-8a

Although this remnant was like "blind men groping for a way"¹⁰⁴ God

⁹⁹C. Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, p. 3. Compare Isaiah 51:7; "Hearken unto me, you who know righteousness, the people in whose heart is my law".

¹⁰⁰מנאצין - despise, reject him. Compare Jeremiah 25:31, "The clamour will resound to the ends of the earth, for the Lord has an indictment against the nations; he is entering into judgement with all flesh and the wicked he will put to the sword, says the Lord".

¹⁰¹CD 1.4b-5a, השאיר שארית לישראל.

¹⁰²שורש מטעה; Compare Isaiah 60:21, "Your people shall all be righteous; they shall possess the land forever, the shoot of my planting, the work of my hands...", (note נצר מטעו). See Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. 63, n. 10.

¹⁰³Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 97.

¹⁰⁴Isaiah 59:10a, "We grope for the wall like the blind, we grope like those who have no eyes;".

considered the nature of their deeds for they sought Him with a whole heart and He raised a teacher of righteousness,¹⁰⁵

to lead them in the way of His heart
and to make known to the last
generations that which He would do
to the last generation, the (congregation
of the faithless.¹⁰⁶

1.11-12

Those who are outside the remnant (the faithless) are identified as those that "backslide from the way".¹⁰⁷ This designation is supported by a scriptural proof text from Hosea 4:16,¹⁰⁸

Like a stubborn heifer thus was Israel
stubborn.

The section that follows the Biblical reference has a terse description of the scoffer¹⁰⁹ who caused the unfaithful to wander in a pathless wilderness and to abolish the ways of righteousness.¹¹⁰ They

¹⁰⁵ מורה צדק - literally, "authority of righteousness, right or right teacher". This would seem to refer to a founder of the community. It has proven impossible to place this individual during a particular time period or to identify a person with this title. See A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran, pp. 358-368; Wm. LaSor, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, pp. 106-130; G.W. Buchanan, "The Office of Teacher of Righteousness", RevQ, 9, (1977); pp. 241-243.

¹⁰⁶Rabin, Zadokite Documents, pp. 2 and 4.

¹⁰⁷ סרי דרך - literally, "those who depart from the way".

¹⁰⁸Hosea 4:16, "Like a stubborn heifer, Israel is stubborn; can the Lord now feed them like a lamb in a broad pasture?".

¹⁰⁹ איש הלצון, "the man of scoffing" CD 1.14b. Compare Isaiah 28:14.

¹¹⁰Waters of falsehood and in a wilderness without way, CD 1.15a.

are not among the faithful because they have turned from the pathways of righteousness and they have removed ¹¹¹ the landmark which the forefathers had set as their inheritance. The actions of the unfaithful will bring about the curses of God's covenant,¹¹²

thus delivering them to the sword that shall execute the vengeance of the covenant.¹¹³

1.17b

There follows a section of pesher¹¹⁴ quotation that combines scripture, the interpretation of scripture and a commentary on the events that surround the community.

For they sought smooth things and preferred illusions and they watched for breaks¹¹⁵ and chose the fair

¹¹¹CD 1.16a, ולסיע גרול "remove the bound, limit, territory". Deuteronomy 19:14, "In the inheritance which you will hold in the land that the Lord your God gives you to possess, you shall not remove your neighbour's landmark which the men of old have set", לא תסיג גבול.

¹¹²Compare Deuteronomy 29:21; Leviticus 26:25.

¹¹³Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 4.

¹¹⁴Pesher is interpretation of a special sort. It presupposes that there is a mystery in the text that escapes ordinary understanding. Thus, there is required a unique wisdom that is only possessed by certain individuals. In this case it is the community at Qumran. See F.F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, pp. 7-17. See pages 128-130.

¹¹⁵CD 1.18b-19a, ויבחרו במהתלות ויצפו לפרצות, "they sought slippery things (hypocrisy) and they chose delusions and they watched for breaks". Compare Isaiah 30:10, "who say to the seers, 'See not'; and to the prophets, 'Prophesy not to us what is right; speak to us smooth things, prophesy illusions' ", and Isaiah 30:13, "therefore this iniquity shall be to you like a break in a high wall, bulging out, and about to collapse".

neck;¹¹⁶ and they justified the wicked and condemned the just¹¹⁷ and they transgressed¹¹⁸ the covenant and violated the Precept. They banded together against the life of the righteous¹¹⁹ and loathed all who walked in perfection; they pursued them with the sword and exalted in the strife of the people. And the anger of God was kindled against their congregation so that He ravaged all their multitude; and their deeds were defilement before Him.¹²⁰

1.18-2.1

From the Biblical references the author finds definition for those 'outside' the faithful. Those 'outside' not only transgressed but they caused others to break the covenant.

This section may be addressing a group that has left the community and either caused others to leave or at least to transgress certain 'ordinances' of the community. The final assessment of the situation is that God was angry against these "rebels" and He executed judgement on them. Scripture would appear to be determinative in giving understanding and description to those outside the faithful community.

¹¹⁶Compare Hosea 10:11.

¹¹⁷Proverbs 17:15, "He who justifies the wicked and he who condemns the righteous are both alike an abomination to the Lord.

¹¹⁸CD 1.20a, ויעבירו ברית, "they caused others to transgress the covenant". See Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 4.

¹¹⁹Psalms 94:21, "They band together against the life of the righteous and condemn the innocent to death".

¹²⁰Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 98.

After the author has given an account of those 'outside' the community he calls to those 'in' the community,

And now hearken unto me, all ye that are in the covenant and I shall uncover your ear concerning the ways of the wicked.¹²¹

2.2-3a

There follows a list of characteristics¹²² that God loves, and it would seem that the writer believes that these characteristics are evident in the community. However, the concern of the writer once again turns to the unfaithful and he predicts that great wrath with "flames of fire"¹²³ will be the lot of those that depart from the way. There will be no survivors from this group. From the beginning they were predestined not to be among the chosen because God knew their works. He knew "the years of their existence" down to the exact duration of their time.¹²⁴ However, God chose to raise a remnant, "men called by name",¹²⁵ made known by those anointed with His holy spirit¹²⁶ and "the seers of truth".¹²⁷ He set their names with exactness. And those whom He hated He let go astray. Thus, those who are 'in' are there because

¹²¹Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 6.

¹²²CD 2.2-4, discernment, wisdom, prudence, long suffering.

¹²³CD 2.5b.

¹²⁴CD/2.9-10.

¹²⁵CD 2.11a.

¹²⁶This may refer to the prophets. Compare IQS 8.16, "as the prophets revealed by his holy spirit".

¹²⁷CD/2.12c-13a.

God predestined it to be so¹²⁸ and the writer is convinced that their numbers were selected with exactness. Those who are not 'in' the community or those who have left it were predestined to do so. In the last part of page two there is a reference to a choice between the way that will please God and a way that he hates.

And now, children, hearken unto me, that I may uncover your eyes to see and to consider the works of God; to choose him in whom (or: that in which) He delights and to reject him whom He hates; to walk uprightly in all His ways and 'not' to seek after thoughts of guilty inclination and eyes of whoredom'.¹²⁹

2.14-16a

Those who are presented as choosing the way that He hates are likened to the "watchers of heaven"¹³⁰ who did not keep the commandments of God. All flesh on dry land perished (a possible reference to the flood narrative) because they did their own will and did not keep the commandments of their maker.¹³¹

¹²⁸CD 2.13b.

¹²⁹Compare 1QS 8.16.

¹³⁰CD 2.18. Because of their physical description (tallness of cedars and corpses like mountains) this may be referring to the "sons of God" in Genesis 6:4 who came down and had children by earthly women. Compare Enoch 1.5; 7.2; Jubilees 4.16.

¹³¹CD 2.20-21.

In 1.4-10 the writer presents a pre-sect history of Israel, showing the patterns of the faithful and unfaithful and citing the appropriate proof-texts. He then begins the history of the sect; where the same pattern is marked. The raising of the Teacher of Righteousness fits the role of the faithful. The 'faithless' who are contemporary with the Teacher of Righteousness fit the pattern of the unfaithful during the pre-sect era. Further appropriate proof-texts are cited (1.13).

The "seers of truth" and "men called by name" continue the tradition (and the pattern of the writer) of those who are 'in' while those who "backslide from the way" continue the pattern of those who are 'out'. The combination of 'in' and 'out' is a constant and continuous pattern of discussion.

In later sections the writer switches back and forth from Biblical history to the sect. In all cases, of course, the history is cited for the sake of the immediate point about the righteousness of the sect, which appropriates the pious of old as its model.

In 2.23a all those who are called to 'listen to the writer are to learn from the examples of the pre-sect era. From these examples they will see and understand the works of God and choose that which pleases God.¹³²

On page three the other side of the ledger is described. Again the examples come from scripture. Abraham did not walk in the "thoughts

¹³²CD 2.14-15.

of guilty inclination and eyes of whoredom" (2.16). Because of this he was considered a "friend of God"¹³³ in that he kept the commandments of God and he did not choose his own will. The keeping of the commandments is the standard for being designated as a "friend of God".

Thus far we have a number of characteristics that would contrast those who are 'right' from those who are 'wrong'. Those who are 'right' walk perfectly in God's ways and they do not follow after thought of "guilty inclination" or "eyes of lust". Those who do follow such inclinations will be like the "heavenly watchers" who went astray because they did not keep the commandments. It is interesting that the condemning factor with these individuals is that they did not keep the commandments rather than accusations of immoral acts.¹³⁴ Similarly, the sons of Noah went astray and they were cut off because they did not keep the commandments.¹³⁵ One who is different from these examples and keeps the commandments will be counted as a "friend of God" (just like Abraham). The choosing of God's will¹³⁶ (as opposed to one's own will) and the keeping of the commandments is understood to put one on the side of the 'right'. The writer attempts to verify his position by citing

¹³³CD 3.2b. Compare Isaiah 41:8, "But you, Israel, my servant, Jacob, whom I have chosen, the offspring of Abraham, my friend;"

¹³⁴Which may call into question the identification with the "sons of God" of Genesis 6:4. The community may have believed that the real problem with the "sons of God" of Genesis was that they did not keep the commandments.

¹³⁵CD 3.1.

¹³⁶CD 3.2c.

Biblical examples. The commandments were handed down to Isaac and Jacob and they kept the commandments and were "recorded as friends of God and possessors of the covenant forever".¹³⁷

The children of Jacob are depicted as straying from keeping the commandments and they were punished in accordance with their error.¹³⁸ The grandsons of Jacob sinned while in Egypt by conspiring against the commandments,¹³⁹ doing that which seemed right in their own eyes and eating blood.¹⁴⁰ Thus, God punished them in their wilderness wanderings. Note that the accounts of the patriarchs in scripture center around the keeping of the commandments plus some particularized and distinctive issue such as not doing that which seemed right in their own eyes. It would appear that the writer is setting a stage for the continuation of a scriptural pattern. The faithful that will keep the commandments and observe some extra requirement of faithfulness fit that pattern.

The next event that is described in the text is the attempted entrance into Canaan by the exodus congregation.

[And he spoke] to them at Kadesh: Go up and possess [the land and join together

¹³⁷CD 3.3c-4a, ויכתבו אוהבים לאל ובעלי ברית לעולם, "and they were written as friends of God and possessors of the covenant forever."

¹³⁸CD 3.4b-5a.

¹³⁹CD 3.5b-6a, Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. 66, "to take counsel against the commandments of God..."

¹⁴⁰Compare Jubilees 4.6 and 6.18-19.

in acceptance of their spirit¹⁴¹ but they
 did not listen to the voice of their Maker
 - the commandments he taught them.¹⁴²
 3.7b-8a

The disobedience of the sons of Jacob meant that they perished and their kings were cut off, their mighty heroes perished and their land was ravaged.¹⁴³ It would seem that the writer has interpreted the refusal of the Biblical congregation to enter the promise land as the event that brought about the 'low points' in the subsequent history of Israel. It also may serve as a pattern and commentary for the contemporary historical situation. We shall see later (page 62) that the community believed that they were to go into the "land of Damascus". The Biblical precedent of the exodus congregation's refusal to go to the appointed land brought about the 'low points' in Israel's subsequent history. The Qumran community understood themselves as keeping the commandments and doing the will of God and thus they were different from the exodus congregation. This contrast with the former congregation may have given a heightened sense of geographic importance to going to "the land" (Damascus) in order to avoid 'low points' and in fact to usher in subsequent 'high points'. Again it is emphasized that the reason for

¹⁴¹The Hebrew text is quite corrupt at this point. I have attempted to follow Lohse's reconstruction. Compare Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 10, "...<the land, but they chose the desire of> their own spirit...". See Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. 66, n. 11.

¹⁴²Compare Deuteronomy 9:23, "And when the Lord sent you from Kadesh-barnea saying, 'Go up and take possession of the land which I have given you' then you rebelled against the commandment of the Lord your God, and did not believe him or obey his voice".

¹⁴³CD 3.9-10a.

the punishment is that Israel forsook the covenant by choosing their own will,

By it were guilty the first that entered into the covenant and they were delivered unto the sword. Because they forsook the covenant of God and chose their own will and sought after the stubbornness of their heart, every man doing according to his pleasure.¹⁴⁴

3.10b-12a

However, there remained a "remnant"¹⁴⁵ which was characterized by holding fast to the commandments.¹⁴⁶ It would seem that God established His covenant forever as a consequence of the faithfulness of this group.¹⁴⁷ Rather than say that it was a 'new covenant'¹⁴⁸ it would seem more appropriate to say that the community was carrying on the covenant (the keeping of the commandments) in the tradition of those who were called "friends of God". Once this covenant had been established God deepened his relationship with the community,

¹⁴⁴Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. 66.

¹⁴⁵See R.W. Huebsch, The Understanding and Significance of the 'Remnant' in Qumran Literature: With Special Reference to the Use of this Concept in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, unpublished thesis. McMaster University.

¹⁴⁶Compare Isaiah 56:4,5a, "For thus says the Lord: 'To the eunuchs who keep the sabbaths, who choose the things that please me and hold fast my covenant, I will give my house'..."

¹⁴⁷Rabin, Zadokite Documents, pp. 10-12, "But with them that held fast to the commandments of God who were left over of them God established His covenant with Israel even until eternity..."

¹⁴⁸New covenant is a term used in CD. See 8.21b and text B 20. 12b.

by revealing to them hidden things¹⁴⁹
 concerning which all Israel had gone
 astray. His holy sabbaths¹⁵⁰ and His
 glorious appointed times,¹⁵¹ His
 righteous testimonies and His true ways
 and the requirements of His desire.¹⁵²
 3.13c-15b

The faithful community was characterized as holding fast to the commandments and as a consequence they received the "hidden things". These "hidden things" may have qualifying elements that allowed for the term new covenant. The faithfulness and unfaithfulness of certain individuals or groups in the Jewish scriptures served as a model and source of definition for the Qumran community. The community's faithfulness was rewarded by knowing the things that had made Israel go astray.¹⁵³

By observing (correctly) "His holy sabbaths and His glorious appointed times"¹⁵⁴ they would live. These actions of obedience were compared to digging a well, and those who despised the water (the correct acts of obedience) would not live because they "wallowed in the transgression of man and in the ways of the unclean woman".¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹Deuteronomy 29:29 (Hebrew 29:28), "The secret things belong to the Lord our God; but the things that are revealed belong to us and to our children forever, that we may do all the words of this law".

¹⁵⁰See p. 70, n. 260.

¹⁵¹Jubilees 1.14; 6.34.

¹⁵²Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 12.

¹⁵³CD 3.14a.

¹⁵⁴CD 3.14b.

¹⁵⁵CD 3.17b; Schachter, Jewish Sectaries, p. 66.

The last section on page three claims that God had built

...a sure house' in Israel, the like of which has not stood from ancient times even until now. They that hold fast to it are destined for eternal life and all glory of man is theirs.¹⁵⁶

3.19b-20

A reference text from Ezekiel 44:15 follows:

The priests, the Levites and the sons of Zadok who kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed from me, they shall offer me fat and blood.¹⁵⁷

3.21b-4.2a

An interpretation of this scriptural reference follows. The priests were the converts¹⁵⁸ of Israel who departed from the land of Judah and the Levites were those who joined them. The sons of Zadok were understood to be the elect of Israel, men called by name,¹⁵⁹ who shall arise at the end of days.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 12.

¹⁵⁷Ezekiel 44:15, "But the Levitical priests, the sons of Zadok, who kept the charge of my sanctuary when the people of Israel went astray from me, shall come near to me to minister to me; and they shall attend on me to offer me the fat and blood, says the Lord God;"

¹⁵⁸Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. 67, n.1., translates שבי as שבי, captivity. He concedes that it may be read as שבי, repentant. Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 12, translates it as "they that turned (from impiety)".

¹⁵⁹See p. 19.

¹⁶⁰CD 4.3-4b. A corrupt text keeps us from knowing the exact list of their names. Compare, Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 14, "Behold the exact statement of their names according to their genealogies, the epoch of their existence, the number (or: set times) of their troubles, the years of their sojourning in exile, and the exact statement of their works <.....> the first <men of perfect> holiness...", CD 4.4c-6b.

It appears that the community found self-definition in this passage from Ezekiel to form their desert existence. The priests, Levites and sons of Zadok were prominent groups within the community and their importance found a touchstone in Ezekiel. Their significance was strengthened in the following section where those who joined the community would appear to be subject to the authority of these central figures.

And all those that came after them¹⁶¹
 [the first <men of perfect holiness>]
 to do according to the clear statement
 of the Law which was accepted as teaching
 by the forefathers, until the [completion]
 of the epoch according to the number of
 these years.¹⁶¹

4.7b-9a

When the age is completed no others shall join the "house of Judah". Before the age is completed Belial shall be unleashed against Israel as prophesied in Isaiah 24:17, "Terror and the pit and the snare are upon you, O inhabitant of the land". The writer sets about to interpret this verse. However, he qualifies the interpretation by stating that Levi, son of Jacob, made these three nets of Satan appear as three kinds of righteousness:¹⁶² fornication, riches and profaning the cleanliness

¹⁶¹Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, p. 31, makes the point that priests, Levites and sons of Zadok are not understood to be one group of people (as in the Ezekiel text) but they are divided into three groups, and each is given its own interpretation. "Thus the community as a whole could apparently be called the sons of Zadok, whose survival meant that in the latter days there would be a worthy and legitimate body of men ready to resume the service of God, which had fallen into such incompetent hands during the epoch of wickedness".

¹⁶²See Testament of Levi 14.5-8; 9.9 for a loose parallel. Also Jubilees 7.21 where three things are characterized as bringing the flood-fornication, uncleanness and iniquity.

of the Temple. A second Biblical verse attempts to give force to the previous verse and interpretation by stating that whoever escapes the first net is caught in the third.¹⁶³

The paragraph that ends page four and begins page five lists some examples of nets and how they were used in scripture.

The builders of the wall¹⁶⁴ who have followed after 'Precept' - 'Precept' was a spouter of whom it is written, they shall surely sprout¹⁶⁵ - shall be caught in fornication twice by taking a second wife while the first is alive¹⁶⁶, whereas the principle

¹⁶³Isaiah 24:18, He who flees at the sound of the terror shall fall into the pit; and he who climbs out of the pit shall be caught in the snare. For the windows of heaven are opened and the foundations of the earth tremble. Compare Jeremiah 48:44.

¹⁶⁴Compare Ezekiel 13:10, "Because, yea, because they have misled my people, saying, 'Peace', when there is no peace; and because, when the people build a wall, these prophets daub it with whitewash;". See Lamentations 2:14; Testament of Levi 14.4.

¹⁶⁵Micah 2:6, "'Do not preach' - thus they preach - 'one should not preach of such things; disgrace will not overtake us'".

¹⁶⁶Fornication is defined as taking a second wife while the first one is still alive. CD 4.20c-21a, "are caught in two respects in whoredom: (a) by marrying two women 'in their (masc.) lifetime',...", Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 16. There is a great deal of discussion of this passage in regard to לקחת שתי נשים בחייהם, "to take two wives in their lifetime". The possessive suffix is masculine and it raises the question whether the writer wished to prohibit polygamy, divorce or divorce and remarriage. Basing his view on the royal sections of the Temple scroll (Y. Yadin, "L'attitude essenienne envers la polygamie et le divorce", RB, 79, (1972), p. 99) Rabin argues for the first option. G. Vermes, "Sectarian Matrimonial Halakah in the Damascus Rule", Scripture and Tradition in Judaism, pp. 50-56, argues decisively for a similar view on the basis of the two passages from Genesis and Deuteronomy 17:17. See A. Dupont-Sommer, Les écrits Esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte, p. 173 and Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 17, n.21 for further discussion of divorce in the Qumran community. See De Waard, Comparative Study, pp. 34-37, for a comparative discussion of divorce in Qumran and Christianity.

of creation is male and female created
He them.¹⁶⁷

4.19c-21

The writer started this section by discussing the snares that would be unleashed by Belial. The use of the Isaiah text plus the qualification in regard to Levi has allowed the writer to move to an entirely different topic - the issue of divorce. His orientation started with the Isaiah passage and his discussion of divorce will be supported by scriptural proof texts. In regard to the thesis topic of self-definition and the use of scripture it would appear that in this section the writer was influenced by scripture but his use of it and the arrangement of proof texts was open to his perception of the topic of divorce. There follows a reference to the flood story that those who entered the ark went in two by two.¹⁶⁸ There is also an appeal to Deuteronomy 17:17 concerning the stipulation that a king shall not multiply wives to himself.¹⁶⁹ David is given some sort of reprieve as the writer excused him by saying David had not read the sealed book of the law which was in the ark of the covenant. Apparently it had not been opened in Israel from the death of Eleazar and Joshua and it (the

¹⁶⁷Genesis 1:27. The translation is from Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 101. See Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, pp. 28-30. De Warrd, Comparative Study, pp. 30-34, compares the use of Genesis 1:27 in CD and in the New Testament.

¹⁶⁸CD 5.1; compare Genesis 7:9.

¹⁶⁹In regard to the king, Deuteronomy 17:17 says, "And he shall not multiply wives for himself, lest his heart turn away; nor shall he greatly multiply for himself silver and gold." See E.F. Sutcliffe, "The translation of CDC 5.5-6", VT, 11, (1961), pp. 91-94.

law) was hidden and not revealed until the coming of Zadok.

From this last section of page four and the beginning of page five it would seem that the net of fornication is defined by combining a number of scriptural references in order to formulate a particular stand. Those who marry two women in a lifetime¹⁷⁰ were defined as being 'wrong' and they were subject to the "unleashed" forces of Belial. The scriptural proof for such a condemnation came from Genesis 1:27, 7:7-9 and Deuteronomy 17:17, and those who condoned such actions were counted among the builders of the wall ("the people build the wall and these prophets daub it with whitewash", Ezekiel 13:10).

The explanation of the third net (profaning the Temple) concerned men who did not distinguish between clean and unclean. They were with a woman during her menstrual period.¹⁷¹ This prohibition compared with scriptural precedent. Also included as an explanation of the third net was the practice (of those not among the faithful) of men marrying their nieces and nephews marrying aunts.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰See A. Dupont-Sommer, Les écrits Esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte, p. 173 and Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 17, n. 21, for further discussion on divorce in the Qumran community. See De Waard, Comparative Study, pp. 34-37 for a comparison between Qumran and Christianity.

¹⁷¹See Leviticus 15:24, 26-27.

¹⁷²A charge of incest was made against the Hasmonean priesthood in Psalms of Solomon 8.9-14. But it concerned a mother and son, father and daughter and not an extension of the Biblical law.

His brother and the daughter of his sister, though Moses said: 'Thou shalt not approach to thy mother's sister; she is thy mother's kin', and the rules of incest are written with references to males and apply equally to women (lit.: and the women the same as they); hence if the brother's daughter uncover the nakedness of her father's brother.¹⁷³

5.7b-10

The Damascus document went beyond the Biblical precept with its ruling on women. This would appear to be a type of kal-vohmer¹⁷⁴ argument that what holds true for the aunt-nephew relationship is also to be applied to a possible uncle-niece marriage. This type of command is consistent with what we have read earlier in the text. Those who are 'in' are the faithful followers of the law plus that which was of a special nature (that which was "hidden"). The special 'commandments' often are tied to scriptural references and they would seem in fact to come from scriptural orientation.

Those outside the community are characterized as "kindlers of fire", "lighters of brands",¹⁷⁵ whose webs are "spiders' webs" and whose eggs are "vipers' eggs".¹⁷⁶ Those that associate with these people will be punished and the greater the association the greater the punish-

¹⁷³Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 18. The text is somewhat corrupt at this point and it is difficult to follow. See Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. 69, n. 17.

¹⁷⁴See J.Z. Lauterbach, Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, p. 4., n. 3. Kal vahomer is the argument "a minore ad majus" or "a majore ad minus".

¹⁷⁵Compare Isaiah 50:11.

¹⁷⁶CD 5.13-14a. Compare Isaiah 59:5.

ment.¹⁷⁷ In antiquity God's wrath came because people did not perform the correct deeds.

For (already) in ancient times
 God visited their deeds and His anger
 was kindled against their works; for
it is a people of no discernment,¹⁷⁸
it is a nation void of counsel
inasmuch as there is no discernment
in them.¹⁷⁹

5.16-17a

The definition for those who are 'outside' the elect finds precedent in the actions of the "unfaithful" in the previous history of Israel. The condemnation in scripture would seem to be double-edged. On the one hand it addresses the failure in the past to be 'right', and on the other hand it serves the immediate situation of accounting for those that are not 'in' the Qumran community. Like the people of old they are without discernment and void of counsel. This parallel between time eras is continued in the following lines where the "ancient times" of Moses and Aaron are contrasted with the legendary figures of Jannes and his brother.¹⁸⁰ The former came into prominence by "the hand of the Prince

¹⁷⁷CD 5.14-15b.

¹⁷⁸Isaiah 27:11b, "...For this is a people without discernment; therefore he who made them will not have compassion on them,...".

¹⁷⁹Deuteronomy 32:28, "For they are a nation void of counsel, and there is no understanding in them". The translation is from Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 102.

¹⁸⁰Jannes and his brother refers to two legendary Egyptian sorcerers (Jannes and Jambres) who opposed Moses and Aaron (see Exodus 7: 11, 12, 22). They are mentioned at the turn of the common era in Jewish and Christian literature as opponents of the truth. See Louis Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, vol. 6, p. 144.

of Lights"¹⁸¹ while the latter was raised by the evil devices of Belial. The community of Qumran understood themselves as the sons of light who were in opposition to the sons of darkness.¹⁸²

Continuing to parallel the Biblical past with the present the writer appears to be picking up on the present by referring to a period of the "desolation of the land" when

there arose the 'removers of the boundary'¹⁸³ 'and they lead Israel astray',¹⁸⁴ 'And the land became desolate'¹⁸⁵ for they 'spoke rebellion' against the commandments of God given by the hand of Moses and also [by the hand of] [those anointed with the holy spirit]¹⁸⁶ and prophesied falsehood so as to cause Israel to turn away from God.¹⁸⁷

5.20b-6.2a

¹⁸¹בִּיד שֵׁר הָאוּרִיִּים, CD 5.18a. Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 20, n.18.2 and p. 75, n.5.1 has pointed out that prince is sometimes interchanged with "angel".

¹⁸²See Leaney, The Rule, p. 120.

¹⁸³Hosea 5:10, "The princes of Judah have become like those who removed the landmark; upon them I will pour out my wrath like water". The rulers are compared to those who change the boundaries of the fields. According to Deuteronomy 27:17, anyone removing his neighbour's landmark is cursed. See H.W. Wolff, Hosea, p. 114.

¹⁸⁴Jeremiah 23:13, "In the prophets of Samaria I saw an unsavoury thing: they prophesied by Baal and led my people Israel astray".

¹⁸⁵Compare Ezekiel 19:7.

¹⁸⁶הַקֹּדֶשׁ, noun, masc., singular of קֹדֶשׁ, "that which is holy, holiness, something most holy". This probably refers to the prophets of antiquity.

¹⁸⁷Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 20.

The land would appear to represent symbolically the 'good' or 'bad' condition of Israel. In this case the land became "desolate" because there arose "removers of the bound" who were defined as those who rebelled against the commandments of Moses and his anointed ones.¹⁸⁸ By rebelling against the commandments these "removers of the bound" caused Israel to go astray. Thus the commandments of Moses became a central issue in the definition of who is 'in' or 'out'.

In spite of the waywardness of Israel God remembered his covenant with the forefathers and He raised men of discernment¹⁸⁹ from the line of Aaron¹⁹⁰ and men of wisdom from the line of Israel.¹⁹¹ The symbolism of the "well"¹⁹² reappears in the Zadokite document. The men of Aaron and Israel are defined in reference to Numbers 21:16b-18 where the exodus congregation was given water in the wilderness wanderings.

...the Lord said to Moses, "Gather the people together, and I will give them

¹⁸⁸The members of the community.

¹⁸⁹Compare Deuteronomy 1:13.

¹⁹⁰See T. Meek, "Aaronites and Zadokites", American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, 45, (1929) pp. 149-166.

¹⁹¹For a discussion of Aaron and Israel in Qumran see Wm. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament", NTS, 3, (1956-57), pp. 12-30 and pp. 195-210; Wm. LaSor, "The Messiahs of Aaron and Israel", VI, 6, (1956), pp. 425-429; J.T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery, pp. 123-128; C.F. Pfeiffer, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible, pp. 130-134 and p. 19 of this thesis.

¹⁹²Compare 3.16. God's actions are motivated by his remembrance of the "covenant with the first-ones" and the community's obedient response to the commandments. See J. Murphy-O'Connor, "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document VI, 2-VIII, 3", RB 78, (1971), especially pp. 228-232 on the "well midrash".

water." Then Israel sang this song:
 "Spring up, O well! - Sing to it! -
 the well which the princes dug, which
 the nobles of the people delved, with
 the sceptre and with their staves."
 And from the wilderness they went on
 to Mattanah.

Part of the Biblical text is given in the Damascus document.

The well which the princes dug, which
 the nobles of the people dug with the
 staff.

6.3b-4a

The interpretation of the Biblical text follows. The well was interpreted as the Law and those who dug it (did not rebel against it, 5.21) were the converts of Israel who went out of the land of Judah to sojourn in the land of Damascus.¹⁹³ This would appear to refer to the sectarians. They were called princes because they sought God and their reputation was not disputed. The staff¹⁹⁴ was understood to be the searcher (interpreter) of the Law. The nobles of people are defined as those who dug the "well" (studied the Law) with the staffs which the staff had ordained. From the Numbers passage the writer finds definition for the community and the activities of the community. It would seem

¹⁹³This possibly refers to the withdrawal of the community from mainstream Judaism. See Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, p. 33; M. Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 219-227; and I. Rabinowitz, "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and '390 Years' in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokite') Fragments", JBL, 73, (1954), pp. 33-35.

¹⁹⁴המחוקק, "staff, instrument for levelling grain". See Genesis 49:10. In reference to the Genesis passage J. Skinner, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis, I.C.C., pp. 519-520, suggests that מחוקק might be used personally to mean 'prescriber [of laws]'. See Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, p. 32.

that the lines that follow indicate that without the digging of the well with the staves there would not be much hope for those living in this age of wickedness: without the studying of the Law there would not be hope in the age of wickedness. The staves seem to refer to the particularized study of the Law that would yield the "hidden things".

As the 'nobles of the people', these are the men that come, in every era of wickedness, to delve the well, using as their staves [Heb. me-hoq-eq] the statutes [Heb. hug-im] which the Law giver prescribed [Heb. haqag ha-mehôqeq] for them to walk in. Without such 'implements' they would, indeed, never achieve their goal until such time as the true Exposition arises at the end of days.¹⁹⁵

6.8b-11a

The section that follows instructed the members of the community not to enter the sanctuary¹⁹⁶ for they would be lighting the altar in vain. There follows a reference from Malachi 1:10a,¹⁹⁷

Who among you will bar its door? And you shall not light my altar in vain.

6.13b-14a

Rather than be involved with Temple worship the community was instructed to act according to the exact interpretation of the Law. They were not to rob the poor, or make widows their prey or the fatherless their

¹⁹⁵T.H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures, p. 78.

¹⁹⁶מקדוֹשׁ, "holy place, sanctuary" possibly refers to the Temple at Jerusalem. See Leaney, The Rule, pp. 94-95 and J. Maier, Die Texte vom Toten Meer, vol. 1, p. 69 and vol. 2, pp. 10-11.

¹⁹⁷Malachi 1:10a, "Oh, that there were one among you who would shut the doors, that you might not kindle fire upon my altar in vain!"

victims.¹⁹⁸ They must distinguish between the clean and the unclean,¹⁹⁹ the holy and the profane.²⁰⁰ They were to keep the Sabbath²⁰¹ according to its exact interpretation and the feasts and the days of fastings²⁰² according to the findings of the members of the covenant.²⁰³ They were to 'love their brothers as themselves' and they were to seek the well-being of each man. They were to rebuke their brothers and keep away from uncleanness according to the commandments. Those that kept these precepts (in perfect holiness) according to the teaching of God - that is the covenant of God²⁰⁴ - would live for "thousands of generations". There follows a proof text²⁰⁵ to support this claim:

¹⁹⁸Compare Isaiah 10:2.

¹⁹⁹Compare Leviticus 11:47; 20:25. CD 6.15b suggests such unclean things as wealth acquired through wickedness. CD 5.7 considers lying with a woman during her menstruation as unclean.

²⁰⁰CD 6.17b-18a.

²⁰¹See p. 70, n. 260.

²⁰²CD 6.18b-19, יום התענית, "day of fasts".

²⁰³The writer designates the community as "the members of the new covenant in the land of Damascus", CD 6.19b. See Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, pp. 35-36; Gaster, Dead Sea Scriptures, pp. 4-6; Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 240-242.

²⁰⁴The text divides into two manuscripts at this point. See Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, pp. XXXIX-XLVI and Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 26. I am following Rabin, Schechter and Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, by putting text B between 7.5 and 9.1 of text A.

²⁰⁵Deuteronomy 7:9, "Know therefore that the Lord your God is God, the faithful God who keeps covenant and steadfast love with those who love him and keep his commandments, to a thousand generations."

Keeping the Covenant and grace with those who love me and keep my commandments, to a thousand generations.²⁰⁶

7.6b

Those that despised the commandments and the statutes²⁰⁷ would receive the wrath of God when He visited the earth. The writer believes that this judgement would fulfil a prophecy in Isaiah 7:17,²⁰⁸

He will bring upon you and your people and upon your father's house such as have not come since the day that Ephraim²⁰⁹ departed from Judah.²¹⁰

7.11-12a

That which was a part of the history of Israel (-the split in Solomon's kingdoms and eventual exile) serves as a model for what would happen in the history that is contemporary with the Qumran community. In the past, all those who departed (from God)²¹¹ were given the sword

²⁰⁶Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 103.

²⁰⁷Supplied from text B. line 6.

²⁰⁸Text B also includes a reference from Zechariah 13:7, "O sword awake, against my shepherd and against the man that is my fellow, says God, smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered and I will turn mine hand upon the little ones", Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. XL. "The humble of the flock" are understood to be those who watch for him. They shall be delivered at the time of visitation whereas the others shall be delivered to the sword when the anointed of Aaron and Israel shall come.

²⁰⁹Ephraim refers to the youngest sons of Joseph (Genesis 41:52; 46:20) and it was also a later designation for the northern kingdom of Israel. See Hosea 4:17; 5:3,5,11; 6:10; 8:9; Isaiah 7:17; 9:9; 11:13; 17:3. See Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, p. 33.

²¹⁰Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 104.

²¹¹הַנְּסוּגִים, "those who backslide, depart".

but those who held fast escaped to the north.²¹² The author understood that the community was in a similar situation and he looked to the past events as giving direction for the community. He used a text from Amos 5:26²¹³ to give expression to his understanding of the community.

I have exiled the [Sukkath]²¹⁴ shrine
of your king and Kaiwan²¹⁵ your idols
from my tent to Damascus.

7.14b-15b

The shrine was interpreted to be the Books of the Law and this interpretation was supported by another Biblical reference,

I will raise up the tabernacle of David
which is fallen.²¹⁶

7.16b

²¹²Zechariah 6:8, "Then he cried to me, 'Behold, those who go toward the north country have set my spirit at rest in the north country'."

²¹³Amos 5:26, "You shall take up Sukkah your king and Kaiwan your star-god, your images which you make for yourselves; therefore I will take you into exile beyond Damascus,". See De Waard, Comparative Study, pp. 41-47, for the use of Amos 5:26 in Acts 7:43.

²¹⁴סוכת, "shrine, tabernacle". In the Amos 5:25-27 context the prophet is predicting that Israel would carry their idols "on their backs" into exile. We must keep in mind that part of the prophetic understanding of the exile was the unfaithfulness of Israel and Judah to the worship of Adonai. The word used in the Biblical text is סכות which may mean "shrine" or the god Saturn a deity in Assyrian and Babylonian worship (Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, pp. 696-697).

²¹⁵כיוון, probably refers to the worship of the god Saturn.

²¹⁶Amos 9:11, "In that day I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen and repair its breaches, and raise up its ruins, and rebuild it as in the days of old;". Note that the author has made a play on words between the "sikkuth" (booth of David) and "sukkath" (shrine) of the king.

The king was understood to represent the congregation²¹⁷ and the Kaiwan idols²¹⁸ were interpreted as the Book of the prophets "whose sayings Israel has despised".²¹⁹ The community was to take the scriptures and go to Damascus. It is important to note that from the history of Israel and the scripture that addresses that history the author has arrived at a definition and understanding of the Qumran community. However, in the Biblical context the passage serves as condemnation against Israel. Because of their unfaithfulness they will be sent into exile - beyond Damascus. In the Qumran context the thrust of the passage is reversed and the passage serves as a model for the community to go to Damascus. In order to understand the true meaning of the passage it needs to be interpreted by the community.

The writer finds a fourth element of interpretation in the star²²⁰ which was interpreted as the searcher of the Law²²¹ who shall come to

²¹⁷The text is somewhat defective at this point. See T.H. Gaster, Dead Sea Scriptures, p. 114, n. 28, for some suggestions on interpretations.

²¹⁸Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 104, translates כִּיּוֹן as the "bases of your statutes". Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 30 translates it as the "Pedestals (KENE) of the Images (and the Kiyyum of the Images)". He bases this on וְכִיּוֹן from L. Ginsberg, Eine unbekante jüdische Sekte, I, p. 47. Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. XL, has a similar translation.

²¹⁹Compare Testament of Levi 16.2.

²²⁰Amos 5:26 includes, "...Kaiwan your star-god, your images,".

²²¹דוֹרֵשׁ הַתּוֹרָה, "the one searching, seeking the Torah". The designation of this title would indicate the importance of knowing scripture in order to have an understanding of the community in its present and future status. N. Wieder, "The 'Law Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses", JJS, 4, (1953), pp. 158-175, sees a 'Moses-type messiah' figure in this Law-Interpreter. He would seem to be accurate in his assessment.

Damascus. A scriptural reference from Numbers 24:17 was added to give support to this understanding,

A star shall come forth out of Jacob
and a sceptre shall rise out of
Israel.

7.19b-20a

The sceptre was interpreted as the prince²²² of the whole congregation. By using this last proof text the author is led away from his original idea of defining the Damascus community as the second part of Numbers 24:17 continues,

he [the sceptre out of Israel] shall smite
all the children of Seth.²²³

7.20b

The author proceeds to discuss the fate of the apostates and the members of the covenant who were not faithful.²²⁴ The topic of discussion changes from the original intent of describing the Damascus

²²²This individual is probably the mighty warrior that will defeat the sons of darkness at the eschaton. See IQM 11.4-6; 12.10-13. He may be understood by the writer to be coming at some future point in history. It would appear that the leader of the community is contemporary with the writer as he is called the "searcher of the law". W. Meeks, The Prophet-King. Moses Tradition and the Johannine Christology, pp. 164-175, discusses the possibility that the expression "prince of the congregation" was used rather than "king" (found in Amos 5:26) because of anti-Hasmonean sentiment. Also, the Amos passage has been allegorized to apply to the whole congregation.

²²³Numbers 24:17, "I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh: a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel; it shall crush the forehead of Moab, and break down all the sons of Sheth." Compare Testament of Levi 17.3.

²²⁴Text B, 19.10-11a, "These shall escape at the end of the visitation, and they that remain will be delivered to the sword, when there will come the Anointed from Aaron, and Israel," Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. XL.

community to a detailed account of the doom of the apostates. It would appear that the author started with an idea and sought a proof text to support his point. However, in choosing the text and interpreting it he was influenced by the proof text to move on to another idea or a variant of the original. It may be possible to suggest that scripture was determinative in the formulation of concepts and in particular the definition of who is 'right'.

All those who were not faithful would be delivered to the sword,²²⁵

This is the day when God shall visit²²⁶
the princes of Judah²²⁷ have become
[like them that remove the landmark]²²⁸
over whom the wrath shall be poured
out²²⁹

8.3

Among some of the characteristics of these rebels is that every man has done what seemed right in his eyes, preferring the stubbornness of his own heart and

did not withdraw from the people <of
the land> and their sin²³⁰

8.8b

²²⁵Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 30, includes the Zechariah reference from text B found on p. 60, n. 208 at this point.

²²⁶For a variant see Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. XLI, n. 25.

²²⁷See J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Critique of the Princes of Judah", RB, 78, (1971), pp. 200-216.

²²⁸Text B, page 19, line 15b, Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. XLI.

²²⁹Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 32. See p. 60, n. 208.

²³⁰Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 34, "and their sin" is taken from text B. Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. XLII, n. 38, agrees with this addition.

The author referred to Deuteronomy 32:33 as scriptural proof for their actions,

Their wine is the venom [חמת] of
serpents and the cruel poison
[ראש] of asps.

8.9b-10a

The serpents were interpreted as the kings of the people and their wine referred to their ways. The poison of asps was the "chief of the kings of Greece²³¹ who came to wreak vengeance upon them".²³² They were like "builders of the wall²³³ and those who daub it with plaster".²³⁴

An interesting Biblical reference follows that puts the 'election' of the Qumran community in a light showing the grace of God toward the community. It was not just an understanding of 'works' (Sabbaths, appointed times, true ways) that was the main ingredient for those that

²³¹Literally, "the kings of Javan". יון also means Greece or Ionians. Javan is a son of Japheth, Genesis 10:2,4. Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. XLII, n. 40 understands it to refer to either Alexander or Antiochus. See Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, pp. 35-36. Note again, the play on words of (ראש) "poison of the asps" and (ראש) "chief of the kings of Greece".

²³²CD 8.11b-12a.

²³³Reading חוץ, "wall" instead of חוץ, "open place", see Lohse, Die Texte aus Qumran, p. 82. See Schechter, Jewish Sectaries, p. XLII, n. 41.

²³⁴CD 8.12b. Ezekiel 13:10, "Because, yea, because they have misled my people, saying, 'Peace', when there is no peace; and because, when the people build a wall, these prophets daub it with whitewash; say to those who daub it with whitewash that it shall fall!". A reconstruction from text A 8.12b-13 and text B 25-27a continues that the builders and daubers have not understood because a follower of the wind and one who lies has preached to them. Compare, Micah 2:11, "If a man should go about and utter wind and lies, saying, 'I will preach to you of wine and strong drink', he would be the preacher for this people!".

would be 'right', but rather the initiative came from God. The author combined Deuteronomy 9:5 with Deuteronomy 7:8,

You enter to possess these nations not because of your righteousness or the uprightness of your hearts²³⁵ but because God loved your fathers and kept the oath.²³⁶

8.14-15

As with those who were faithful in the past (Abraham, etc.)²³⁷ so God would love those who come after them "for the covenant of the father is theirs",²³⁸

Those who do not continue in the ways of the community will not be counted among "those that have entered the 'new covenant'²³⁹ in the land

²³⁵Deuteronomy 9:5, "Not because of your righteousness or the uprightness of your heart are you going in to possess their land; but because of the wickedness of these nations the Lord your God is driving them out from before you, and that he may confirm the word which the Lord swore to your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob."

²³⁶Deuteronomy 7:8, "but it is because the Lord loves you, and is keeping the oath which he swore to your fathers, that the Lord has brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you from the house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt." The CD translation is from Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 105.

²³⁷See p. 42.

²³⁸CD 8.17c-18a. The text in line 18b continues, "But God hates and abhors the builders of the wall and his wrath is kindled against them and against all those that walk after them". Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 36. This is a reconstruction from text A and B.

²³⁹CD 8.21b and text B, 19.35. Those not among the community are distinguishable because they have despised and abandoned the commandments and have turned to the stubbornness of their hearts, 8.19. See J. Murphy-O'Connor, "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document XIX,33-XX,34", RB, 79, (1972), pp. 544-564.

of Damascus" or be inscribed in the community's book.²⁴⁰ There is a reference to 40 years being the time from the "gathering in" of the Teacher of the community until the end of all when the "man of falsehood"²⁴¹ would return.²⁴² During that age the wrath of God would be kindled against Israel,

There shall be no king, no prince,
no judge, no man to rebuke with
justice.²⁴³

20.16b-17a
(text B)

All those members of the covenant who have "broken out of the boundary of the Law"²⁴⁴ will be cut off from the "midst of the camp".²⁴⁵ However, those who observe the following precepts "shall see God's salvation".²⁴⁶

²⁴⁰The writing regarding the men of the covenant in a book would appear to be started with the gathering in by the Teacher of the community and it will end with the coming of the Messiah out of Aaron and Israel, text B 34-35 and 20.1. Compare, text B 20.19b-21 where a 'book of remembrance' (ספר זכרון) was to be written down until the accomplishment of salvation and righteousness for those who feared God. On the topic of messiah in Qumran see R.E. Brown, "The Messianism of Qumran", *CBQ*, 19, (1957), pp. 53-82; K.G. Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel", *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, pp. 54-64; R.B. Laurin, "The Problem of Two Messiahs in the Qumran Scrolls", *RevQ*, 4, (1963-64), pp. 39-52; M. Smith, "What is Implied by the Variety of Messianic Figures?" *JBL*, 78, (1959), pp. 66-72.

²⁴¹CD 20.15a (text B), איש הכזב, "man of falsehood".

²⁴²CD 20.14-15b (text B).

²⁴³Vermees, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 107. Compare, Hosea 3:4, "For the children of Israel shall dwell many days without king or prince, without sacrifice or pillar, without ephod or teraphim."

²⁴⁴CD 20.25 (text B)

²⁴⁵CD 20.26 (text B), compare Deuteronomy 2:14.

²⁴⁶CD 20.27b-34 (text B).

They "go in and out" (referring to their communal activities) according to the Law, they listen to the voice of the Teacher [of Righteousness] and confess before God,

Indeed, we have acted wickedly, both we and our fathers, by walking contrariwise against the ordinances of the covenant, righteousness and truth are thy judgements upon us.²⁴⁷

20.28d-30a
(text B)

They do not lift their hands against his holy ordinances, righteous judgements and his true testimonies. They have learned from God's former judgements and they listen to the Teacher of Righteousness.²⁴⁸

The remaining eight pages of the text concern an elaboration of the laws of 'going in and out'.²⁴⁹ For example the first part of chapter nine concerns vows and vengeance.

As for every case of [devoting], namely that a man be devoted so that he ceases to be a living man, he is to be put to death by ordinances of the gentiles.²⁵⁰
9.1

The text continues,

You shall not take vengeance nor bear bitterness against the children of

²⁴⁷Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 42.

²⁴⁸Text A continues from here.

²⁴⁹See p. 70.

²⁵⁰Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 44. For a discussion of Jewish authorities and the death penalty see P. Winter, "Zadokite Fragments IX,I", RevQ, 21, (1967), pp. 131-136, and I. Rabinowitz, "The Meaning and Date of 'Damascus' Document IX,I", RevQ, 23, (1963), pp. 433-435.

your people.

9.2a

The individual is understood to be taking vengeance and bearing bitterness if he accuses a member of the community without first rebuking him before witnesses.²⁵¹ The act of vengeance is further qualified if one denounces another member in the heat of anger or reports him to the elders to make him look contemptible.²⁵² There follows a proof text from Nahum 1:2b,

He takes vengeance upon His adversaries
and bears rancour against His enemies.²⁵³
9.5b

The individual is guilty of a capital sin if he holds his peace from one day to another and then speaks 'in the heat of anger'²⁵⁴ because he has not kept the commandment,

You shall rebuke your neighbour and not
be burdened with sin because of him.²⁵⁵
9.7c-8a

The laws of going 'in and out' are concerned with the every day life of the community. The subjects dealt with are such issues as the finding

²⁵¹CD 9.3.

²⁵²CD 9.4a.

²⁵³Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 110.

²⁵⁴CD 9.6-7.

²⁵⁵Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 110. Compare Leviticus 19:17, "You shall not hate your brother in your heart, but you shall reason with your neighbor, lest you bear sin because of him".

of lost property,²⁵⁶ witnessing,²⁵⁷ judges of the congregation,²⁵⁸ purification with water,²⁵⁹ the Sabbath,²⁶⁰ and clean and unclean.²⁶¹

On page twelve²⁶² there is a reference to the way that the community is to walk until the coming of the messiahs of Aaron and Israel. The community is to be divided into groups of a minimum of ten and these groups are to be instructed either by a priest or Levite,²⁶³

to go out and to go in according to his word.

12.4b

Near the end of the text the essence of the covenant of the community is given a number of times.

the covenant to [return to] the Law of Moses with all one's heart [and with all] one's soul.²⁶⁴

15.9a-10a

²⁵⁶CD 9.10b-16a.

²⁵⁷CD 9.16b-10.3.

²⁵⁸CD 10.4-10a.

²⁵⁹CD 10.10b-13.

²⁶⁰CD 10.14-11.18a. See S.T. Kimbrough, "The Concept of Sabbath at Qumran", RevQ, 5, (1964-66), pp. 483-502; J. Rosenthal, "The Sabbath Laws of the Qumranites or the Damascus Covenanters", Biblical Research, 6, (1961), pp. 10-17.

²⁶¹CD 12.19-22a. See J.M. Baumgarten, "The Essene Avoidance of Oil and Laws of Purity", RevQ, 6, (1967-69), pp. 183-192 and S.B. Hoenig, "Qumran Rules of Impurities", RevQ, 6, (1967-69), pp. 559-567.

²⁶²CD 12.23.

²⁶³The whole congregation is instructed by one called the overseer, (לְשֹׁכֵל, "the one instructing, making wise"), 13.7-10. See 14.8b-11.

²⁶⁴Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p. 64. Compare 15.12; 16.1b-2a.

Summary:

The examination of the Damascus document has indicated that there is a strong sense of identity reflected in the text. God is represented as having a "dispute" with all flesh. However, He "remembered His Covenant with the forefathers". This remembrance would appear to be demonstrated by the establishment of the Qumran community. The essential source of definition for this community comes from their sense of carrying out that which was previously established with the forefathers. Thus the writer of CD understands that the history of Israel (recorded in scripture) will give sense to the community and to the contemporary history that surrounds the community. He admonishes his readership to learn from his accounts of the history of the forefathers and his interpretation of that history. The definition for those who are 'in' or 'out' finds precedent in the history demonstrated by those who did not keep the commandments. They are described as people of "no discernment", "void of counsel" (re: the commandments) who preferred the "stubbornness of their own hearts". The positive part of the history (those who are defined as being 'right') is represented by individuals such as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. They are called "friends of God" because they have kept the commandments. The keeping of the commandments and the choosing of God's will results in the community's knowing the "hidden things concerning which all Israel had gone astray" (3.13-14). The second place of knowing "hidden things" is conditional upon the first factor of keeping the commandments. The "hidden things" were Sabbaths, appointed times and the "requirements of

His desireⁿ.

Knowing and keeping scripture was the first principle in defining who was 'right'. Once one accomplished that requirement a new status of being 'right' was made available. That involved knowing things that had been "hidden" until the coming of the Qumran community. The advent of the community as the "friends of God" was consistent with what had preceded in scriptural examples. However, it would appear that the writer of CD believed that the commandments and the choosing of God's will were being kept to such a great degree that "hidden things" were known. It may be possible to suggest that the degree of 'rightness' on the part of the community exceeded that which was found in scriptural precedent. This may explain why, in the discussion of divorce, certain things were hidden until the coming of the sons of Zadok.

The interpretation of Numbers 21.16b-18 demonstrates the use of scripture as a means of self-definition for Qumran. The Numbers passage is understood to require the sect to withdraw "into the land of Damascus". Thus the communal-type of existence that was a norm for Qumran finds its orientation in Numbers. However, the reading of Numbers did not stop at a simple withdrawal to a communal life-style. The community understood that they were to pursue certain activities "in the land of Damascus". They found the source for the definition of the activities from the reading of the Numbers passage. They were to be led by a searcher (interpreter) of the Law. By searching the Law, "in the land of Damascus", the community was able to keep the commandments and also know the "hidden things". A similar orientation comes from Amos 5:26. It is most interesting to note that the Amos passage in its Biblical context would

appear to be a condemnation against those who are 'out'. However, the writer of CD applied the scriptural text to give meaning and understanding to those who are 'in'.

Scripture is not only important in giving orientation to the 'right' but it would seem to be operative in the development of thought. I recognize the difficulty of putting too much weight in attempting to follow the line of thought of any writer. However, in 7.19b-20a there is a reference to a star from Jacob and a sceptre from Israel. It would appear that the writer in his use of the Numbers passage is led away from a discussion of those who are 'in' to those who are 'out'. It is a natural and familiar transition in CD. However, scripture would appear to have immediate influence on the development of thought.

Thanksgiving Hymns²⁶⁵

The first column of the Thanksgiving hymns introduces the belief that man is dependent upon God and must look to God for direction.

By Thy wisdom [all things exist from]
eternity, and before creating them
Thou knewest their works for ever and
ever. [Nothing] is done [without Thee]
and nothing is known unless Thou desire
it.²⁶⁶

1.7-8

²⁶⁵The scroll of the Hodayot or Thanksgiving hymns was discovered in cave 1. The shortened designation for this scroll is 1QH. E.L. Sukenik, The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University, gave the title "thanksgiving hymns" to this scroll because of the number of hymns that began, "I thank thee, O'Lord" (see 2.20,31; 3.3,19,37). The scrolls consist of 18 columns plus a large number of fragments. Hymns, psalms and poems make up the literary style of this scroll. G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls Qumran in Perspective, p. 56, estimates that there are between 25 and 40 poems in 1QH. The hymns would appear to come from around the turn of the common era. Some fragments were found in cave 4 but they would appear not to shed greater light on the understanding of the hymns of Qumran. M. Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 409, suggests that the fragments other than those in cave 1 may not belong to the original collection. The composition of 1QH resembles Biblical psalms. See M. Delcor, Les Hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot); A. Dupont-Sommer, Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la Mer Morte; M. Mansoor, The Thanksgiving Hymns; G. Morawe, Aufbau und abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumran; S. Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, Psalms from Qumran; C.F. Pfeiffer, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible, pp. 84-85.

²⁶⁶Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 150. The first two lines of column one are missing and the next two lines are only partially preserved. The first words of the column would seem to indicate that the present text is in the middle of a psalm. The end of column one is fragmented and it is possible that a missing section originally joined columns one and two.

Lines 16-18 maintain that God has established the generations, "for age after age", and the afflictions that these generations experienced were predestined before their creation. The psalmist knows this because God has revealed secrets to him.²⁶⁷

This I know on the basis of Thine
insight, for thou hast opened mine
ears unto wonderful mysteries.²⁶⁸

1.21a

This sets the tone for everything that follows in the hymns. The writer takes it as a presupposition that he and his community are 'right' and part of the verification for this status is their possession of "mysteries" and "secrets".²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷There is much debate whether these hymns reflect a single author or composite authorship. The first person pronoun is used throughout the scroll which suggests the possibility of the first option. Some would suggest that the Teacher of Righteousness might be responsible for the hodayot. See H. Bardtke, "Considérations sur les Cantiques de Qumran", RB, 63, (1956), pp. 220-233; J.P. Hyatt, "The View of Man in the Qumran 'Hodayot'", NTS, 2, (1956), pp. 276-284; S. Mowinckel, "Some Remarks on Hodayot 39.5-20", JBL, 75, (1956), pp. 268-276. G. Jeremais, Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit and J. Becker, Das Heil Gottes. Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament, have both shown by source criticism there are hymns that can be attributed to an individual (Teacher of Righteousness?) and there are also community hymns that use a collective "I". The general consensus is that the hymns do not reflect a single authorship and that there are individual and community hymns in the hodayot. See Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 321-323 for a discussion of the authorship and sitz in leben of the hodayot.

²⁶⁸Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, p. 18.

²⁶⁹See pp. 10-11.

The latter part of column one contrasts man's limited capabilities with the unlimited nature of God.²⁷⁰ Man is exhorted to recognize his simple mindedness and he is encouraged to increase in prudence. This is only possible by the mercy and blessing of God that is extended to man.²⁷¹ The writer has a very clear designation for those who are 'right',²⁷² but they have this status because of God's mercy.

Thou guidest my steps within the border of ungodliness. And I am become a snare for sinners, but a cure for all who turn from sin.²⁷³

2.8-9a

The passage above would indicate that there was a very precise understanding of that which separated the "godly" from the "ungodly". The writer and his community serve as a "cure"²⁷⁴ for those who turn from sin.

He is thankful that he is among the "foundation of truth and insight for the righteous of way".²⁷⁵ Because of this favoured position, the "band of the wicked"²⁷⁶ rage against him. The status of being 'right'

²⁷⁰1.26-27.

²⁷¹1.31-35.

²⁷²They are called righteous (1.36), wise (1.35) and they possess insight (1.31).

²⁷³Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, p. 31.

²⁷⁴מרפא, "cure", "healing".

²⁷⁵2.10b.

²⁷⁶2.12a.

carries with it the consequence of persecution. This tension between those who are 'in' and the opposition of those who are 'out' is a theme that is carried throughout the hymns. However, the responsibility of the persecutions by the "ungodly" puts the godly in a particular position.

But Thou hast made me a banner to the
 chosen of righteousness, and an
 interpreter of knowledge by wondrous
 secrets, to test [the men of] truth
 and to try the lovers of correction.²⁷⁷
 2.13b-14a,

Note that the status of being 'right' includes possessing "knowledge by wondrous secrets". The writer's definite sense of being 'in' is contrasted with his opponents who are given such designations as "the unrighteousness of the ungodly"²⁷⁸, "interpreters of error"²⁷⁹, "seekers of [smooth things]"²⁸⁰ and "men of deceit"²⁸¹.

The psalmist is thankful for his salvation that is fully realized in the community of the "lovers of correction".²⁸²

²⁷⁷Monsoor, Thanksgiving Hymns, p. 106.

²⁷⁸2.11a.

• ²⁷⁹2.14b.

²⁸⁰2.15b. Lohse, Die Texte, p. 116 inserts חלנקות at the end of line 15.

²⁸¹2.16a.

²⁸²The section in 2.13-14 would suggest that the writer is already a "banner to the chosen" and an "interpreter of knowledge". This column is a mosaic of Biblical expressions that depicts the enemy as "lovers of rebuke" (Proverbs 12:1), "quarrelsome man" (Proverbs 26:21) and "seekers of smooth things" (Isaiah 30:10). Compare line 20 with I Samuel 25:20, line 23 with Psalm 37:23, Proverbs 20:24, line 25 with Psalm 27:3, 94:21, line 26 with Psalm 29:6 and line 29a with Psalm 9:16, 35:8.

And as for me, when my heart is melted like water, (then) my soul is fortified by Thy covenant. But as for them, the net they have spread for me, shall catch their own feet; and (in) the snares which they have hid for my life, they themselves fell therein. But my foot standeth in uprightness (In) the assemblies I bless Thy name.²⁸³

2.28b-30

The end of column two would seem to indicate that the writer has had close contact with those outside the community.

I praise Thee, O Lord for Thou [setteth] Thine eye over my soul and Thou didst rescue me from the envy of the spokesmen of lies. And from the congregation of those that seek smooth things Thou didst redeem the soul of the needy whose blood they had sought to destroy.²⁸⁴

2.31-32

The discussion continues on the topic of those 'outside' the community with a number of parallels²⁸⁵ from scripture. However, it is most difficult to demonstrate a conscious use of scripture on the part of the writer.

Column three has a most pointed use of scripture in attempting to give expression to the state of the writer and/or the community. The psalmist compares the distress of his persecution to a woman giving birth,

And I am in distress, as a woman giving birth for the first time, when [her] pangs come upon her; and a shooting

²⁸³Monsoor, Thanksgiving Hymns, pp. 109-110.

²⁸⁴Monsoor, Thanksgiving Hymns, pp. 110.

²⁸⁵Compare lines 32-33 with Psalm 79:10, line 35 to Jeremiah 15:21, Job 6:23 and line 36 to Proverbs 10:3.

pain in her birth canal, to give
birth to the first-born of her
pregnancy.²⁸⁶

3.7b-8

An examination of this column with its reference to birth pangs would suggest that the writer drew on Biblical terms and ideas to give expression to his condition. We have seen that he understood himself to be 'right' and among the "foundation of truth and insight for the righteous of way".²⁸⁷ Those who persecuted him (or the community) were designated as the "seekers of smooth things".²⁸⁸ It would appear that the writer is attempting to give original poetic expression to his condition and the conditions that surrounded him. Because of the importance of the scripture in the overall picture of the community at Qumran, it would only be natural that he would use scriptural language. However, I do not think that the author(s) of the hodayot used scripture as an authority. The main concern is to give thanksgiving to God for being 'right' (godly as opposed to ungodly). Scripture is part of the means of this expression but it does not seem to serve as a collection of proof-texts in the way it does in other scrolls. There is a mosaic

²⁸⁶Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, P.51. The identification of woes to child labour is a common scriptural comparison. See Jeremiah 4:31,13:21b for line 7, Isaiah 13:8, 26:17, 37:3 for line 10 and Jeremiah 22:23 for line 12. There is some question whether or not this is a description of messianic birth. See G. Hinson, "Hodayoth, III, 6-18: In What Sense Messianic?", RevQ, 6, (1960), pp. 183-204. Also, see S. Brown, "Deliverance from the Crucible: Some Further Reflexions on 1QH III.1-18", NTS, 14, (1967-68), pp. 247-259 and L.H. Silberman, "Language and Structure in the Hodayot (1QH3)", JBL, 75, (1956), pp. 96-106.

²⁸⁷2.10b.

²⁸⁸2.32.

of scriptural words and phrases that appear to be part of the writer's vocabulary.

In the last section of column four the writer once again addresses those who are not among the 'right'.

For [they heed Thee] not, neither lend ears unto Thy words; but they say of the sight of knowledge, It is not right, and of the way of Thine heart, It is not that. But Thou, O God, shalt answer them by judging them in Thy power according to their idolatry and the multitude of their sins, that they be caught in their own plans, who are estranged from Thy covenant.²⁸⁹

4.17b-19

The condition of being 'wrong' would seem to be a result of not hearing and heeding the words of God and of being estranged from the covenant. Such a status means that one is considered among "men of deceit" and "seers of error".²⁹⁰ However in 4.24 the writer maintains that whoever inquires of him²⁹¹ and unites with him for God's covenant will be considered as walking in the way of God's heart.²⁹² In line 26 of column four those who are "cut off in judgment"²⁹³ are treated as such

²⁸⁹Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, p. 77. Compare Ezekiel 14:1-11.

²⁹⁰4.20.

²⁹¹Compare Isaiah 65:1, "I was ready to be sought by those who did not ask for me; I was ready to be found by those who did not seek me. I said, 'Here am I, here am I,' to a nation that did not call on my name." Compare Ezekiel 14:3, 20:3. This may refer to the yearly examination at Qumran. Compare, Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, p. 84, n. 54. It may suggest also that this hymn reflects a very prominent individual in the community such as the Teacher of Righteousness.

²⁹²4.24.

²⁹³להכרית נמשפט, "to cut off in judgment", 4.26.

because they have transgressed God's word. The writer²⁹⁴ has not only kept the commandments but,

through me Thou hast illumined the face of the Congregation and has shown Thine infinite power. For Thou hast given me knowledge through Thy marvellous mysteries, and hast shown Thyself mighty within me in the midst of Thy marvellous Council. Thou hast done wonders before the Congregation for the sake of Thy glory, that they may make known Thy mighty deeds to all the living.²⁹⁵

4.27b-29a

Obedience to the commandments is the prerequisite to belonging to the 'right'. Once that has been accomplished the writer and/or the community provided "mysteries" and "wonders" for the congregation.

In column five a further designation of the 'right' is addressed,

And there for judgment hast Thou established me and a counsel of truth Thou hast fortified in my heart. And (verily) from this (there is) a covenant for those who seek it.²⁹⁶

5.9

Those who are 'in' do not play a passive role for they understand that they will be a 'counsel of truth'. Those who join the writer form

²⁹⁴And possibly the community.

²⁹⁵Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 163.

²⁹⁶Monsoor, Thanksgiving Hymns, pp. 132-133. The lines that follow compare the enemy to lions. It is reminiscent of Daniel 6:17-24. It is interesting to note the ongoing dualistic themes in the hymns. On the one hand the writer gives thanksgiving for being brought into salvation through the mercy of God. On the other hand, he laments that he is surrounded by evil powers and hostile enemies. It is possible that the "me" passages of 5.9 and 7.13,25 are community hymns with the collective "I". See n. 267 and Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 321-322.

a covenant of those who seek God.²⁹⁷

In column seven, line twelve there is an interesting designation of the role of the psalmist.

For all who attack me Thou declarest guilty in judgment so that in me Thou mayest divide between the righteous and the ungodly.²⁹⁸

The writer and possibly the community are engaged in determining who are included among the righteous and who are to be counted among the "ungodly". The validation of such a role does not have scripture proof text but it is established by the mercies of God.

Thou knowest the impulse of every act, and discernest the purpose of every speech, yet, by Thy guidance and truth Thou hast directed my heart,²⁹⁹

7.13.

For Thou art unto me as a light eternal keeping my feet upon [the way]. I give [thanks unto Thee, O Lord,] for Thou hast given me insight into Thy truth and knowledge of Thy wondrous secrets.³⁰⁰

7.25-27a

In column eight there is an account of a garden paradise that would appear to reflect the psalmist's understanding of the community.

²⁹⁷Compare 5.36, where those who join the writer are a "bone of contention to my kinsfolk, jealousy and resentment [come from the outsiders] against those who entered into the covenant with me". See Jeremiah.15:10.

²⁹⁸Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, p. 129

²⁹⁹Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures, p. 164.

³⁰⁰Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures, p. 165. For a discussion of these lines see E. P. Sanders, "Chiasmus and the Translation of 1Q^{Hodayot} VII, 26-27", RevQ, 23, (1968) pp. 427-431.

Although they do not stretch out their roots toward the stream.³⁰¹ But the shoot of holiness groweth up into a planting of truth, by hiding and sealing up its secret,³⁰² so that it is not known or recognized. But [Thou, O God], Thou protectest its fruit with the mystery of strong warriors.³⁰³

The "shoot of holiness" would appear to be the community that eventually becomes the "planting of truth" because it hides the secrets that have been revealed.³⁰⁴

In column fourteen the psalmist indicates that he has taken an oath not to do evil.³⁰⁵

But I have insight through the abundance of Thy goodness, and through the oath whereby I have bound myself upon my life; not to sin against thee [and] not to do any of all that which is evil in Thine eyes. And thus I was brought into the congregation of all men of my counsel.³⁰⁶

14.17-18

Because of his oath and the mercies of God the psalmist was brought into the community. His status in the community allows him "insight"³⁰⁷ and

³⁰¹ Compare Jeremiah 17:8a.

³⁰² Compare Isaiah 8:16.

³⁰³ Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, p. 142. Compare Psalm 80 where Israel is understood to be a vine. See Isaiah 44:3, 49:10, 41:18.

³⁰⁴ Columns eight and nine contain numerous citations from Isaiah and the Psalms.

³⁰⁵ This may reflect the oath to the covenant that we read in IQS.

³⁰⁶ Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, p. 129.

³⁰⁷ ידעתי, "I have knowledge, discernment, insight".

he does not do evil in God's eyes.

In column fifteen there is a contrast between those who are predestined to be 'in' and those who are characterized as being 'out'.

Thou alone [hast created] the righteous, and from the womb Thou hast prepared him for the appointed time of grace; to give heed to Thy covenant and to walk (uprightly) in all things.³⁰⁸

Those who are 'wrong' are characterized as the following,

And Thou didst create the wicked into [the periods of] Thy [wra]th and from (the) womb Thou didst set them apart for the day of slaughter.³⁰⁹ For they walk in the way that is not good and they despise [Thy] co- [venant] and their sons abhorreth Thy [law]³¹⁰ and they take no pleasure in all Thou hast commanded and they choose all that which Thou hatest.³¹¹

15.17b-19a

Those that are not among the righteous are destined for the "day of slaughter" because they despised the covenant.³¹² and they "abhor" the law.

³⁰⁸Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, p. 227. Compare Isaiah 49:1, "Listen to me, O coastlands, and hearken, you peoples from afar. The Lord called me from the womb, from the body of my mother, he named my name" and Isaiah 49:8, "Thus says the Lord: 'In a time of favour I have answered you, in a day of salvation I have helped you; I have kept you and given you as a covenant to the people, to establish the land, to apportion the desolate heritages';".

³⁰⁹Jeremiah 12:3b, "Pull them out like sheep for the slaughter, and set them apart for the day of slaughter".

³¹⁰Isaiah 65:2b, "...a rebellious people who walk in a way that is not good, following their own devices;".

³¹¹Monsoor, Thanksgiving Hymns, p. 184.

³¹²The covenant of the community

SUMMARY:

The themes of the hodayot emphasize the dependence of man upon the mercies of God. There follows the logical progression that those who are among the 'right' express thankfulness for their position among the "godly" and despite the persecutions and tensions with the "ungodly" (a recurring theme) he is secure in his belief that God will sustain and protect him. He is so convinced of his status that he declares that he is a "cure" for those who turn from sin, an "interpreter of knowledge by wondrous secrets", as well as a tester for those "who love correction". The hodayot demonstrate a very clear understanding of the 'right' and 'wrong'.

The use of scripture in the hymns has been described as a mosaic of scriptural texts.³¹³ The wording and phrases have many Biblical parallels. However, there is great difficulty in determining the conscious use of scripture in the characterization of either the 'right' or the 'wrong'. It would appear that the psalmist was not interested in using scripture as proof texts for his own position and those who were around him.³¹⁴ Rather, he was attempting to express his condition in original poetic language. The community's use of scripture meant that Bible was a natural means of expression. One must be very cautious in formulating theories of the conscious use of scripture in the hodayot.

Obedience to the commandments is an essential element for those who would be considered as being 'right' and this obedience brings the revelation of mysteries and secrets. Contrasting this situation are those

³¹³Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, p. 301.

³¹⁴Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, pp. 301-309.

who are counted among the "ungodly". They are destined for judgement because they have rejected the commandments and they have despised the covenant (of the community) and possibly the authority of the leader.

The War Scroll³¹⁵

Column one opens with the exhortation,

The first engagement³¹⁶ of the Sons of Light shall be to attack the lot of the Sons of Darkness,³¹⁷

1.1a

This scroll is not really a manual of military strategy as much as a

³¹⁵The War Scroll that was found in cave 1 is made up of 19 columns plus small fragments. The first line is a self-designation that the scroll is a book of war and hence the title. The Hebrew word used in the first line is *המלחמה* which is translated as "war" or "battle". Thus, the scroll is given the shortened designation of 1QM. The dating of the scroll is usually a result of the understanding of the military equipment and field strategy. The range of dating is from the Maccabean era (160 B.C.E.) down to the first century C.E. See K.M.T. Atkinson, "The Historical Setting of the 'War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness'", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, (1957-58), pp. 272-297; C. Roth, "The Jewish Revolt Against the Romans (66-73) in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls", Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 90, (1958), pp. 104-121; M.H. Segal, "The Qumran War Scroll and the Date of its Composition", Scripta Theologica, 4, pp. 138-143; M. Treves, "The Date of the 'War of the Sons of Light'", VI, 8, (1958), pp. 419-424; G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 123. There were fragments of a war scroll found in cave 4, 4QM. C.-H. Hunzinger, "Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches *Milhamā* aus Höhle 4 von Qumrān", ZAW, 69, (1957), pp. 131-151. See J. Carmignac, La Règle de la guerre des fils de lumière contre les fils de ténèbres; P.R. Davies, 1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Règlement de la guerre des fils de lumière: traduction et notes", Revue de l'histoire des Religions, 148, June, (1958), pp. 25-43, 141-180. B. Jongeling, Le Rouleau de la guerre des manuscrits de Qumran, J. van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la guerre; G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in Perspective, pp. 51-54; Y. Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness.

³¹⁶Literally, "putting forth the hand". Compare Daniel 11:42, Isaiah 11:14.

³¹⁷Yadin, The Scroll of the War, p. 256.

theological treatise on the struggle between good and evil. Good is represented by the Sons of Light and evil is represented by the Sons of Darkness. In the terminology of this dissertation the Sons of Light are the 'right'.

The Sons of Darkness are described as "the army of Belial", "the troop of Edom and Moab",³¹⁸ "the sons of Ammon",³¹⁹ "the army of Philistia"³²⁰ and the "troops of the Kittim of Ashur".³²¹ The Sons of Light are called the sons of Levi,³²² the sons of Judah and the sons of Benjamin.³²³ The Sons of Light are to engage in war against the Sons of

³¹⁸1.1-2a. Isaiah 11:14, "But they shall swoop down upon the shoulder of the Philistines in the west, and together they shall plunder the people of the east. They shall put forth their hand against Edom and Moab and the Ammonites shall obey him."

³¹⁹Daniel 11:41 indicates that at the end of time Israel will destroy "Edom and Moab and the main part of the Ammonites". Compare II Samuel 8:12; Psalm 83:7-9.

³²⁰Philistia is the territory of the Philistines. They were a people of Aegean origin who occupied the coastal area of Palestine and were traditionally the enemies of ancient Israel.

³²¹See p. 98, n. 361.

³²²See Yadin, The Scrolls of the War, p. 212.

³²³The sons of Levi, Judah and Benjamin play important roles in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. The salvation of Israel will come about because of these sons. From the descendants of Levi a new priesthood will arise, from the sons of Judah a king will be born and the sons of Benjamin are a favoured group because of Benjamin's innocence and remorse in light of Joseph's slavery. These three tribes are the three remaining tribes in IQM that will be responsible for the reassembling of the 12 tribes (1.2; 5.1).

Darkness after the former returns from the "wilderness of the nations."³²⁴ They are to encamp in the wilderness of Jerusalem and at an appointed time the Sons of Light are to fight against those of the Kittim³²⁵ in Egypt. It would appear that God (acting through the Sons of Light) will fight against the kings of the north.³²⁶

The writer³²⁷ makes a very definite statement concerning those who are 'right',

and that will be a time of deliverance for the people of God and an appointed time of dominion for all men of His lot, and an eternal destruction for all the lot of Belial

1.5b

so that wickedness will be brought down without a remnant and none shall escape from [all the Sons] of Darkness³²⁸

1.6b-7

³²⁴1.3b, בשוב גולה בני אור ממדבר העמים לחנות במדבר ירושלים, "when the captives of the sons of light return from the wilderness of nations to encamp in the wilderness of Jerusalem". Compare Ezekiel 20:35, "And I will bring you into the wilderness of the peoples, and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face." The scroll reference may be to the community's withdrawal into the desert and the expectation of re-establishment in Jerusalem.

³²⁵1.4a. The text is corrupt at the beginning of line four. Yadin has reconstructed it as, ענכ כול גדוויים הכתיים במצרים "against [all the troops of] the Kittim in Egypt".

³²⁶1.4b.

³²⁷Most scholars have abandoned the position of a unity of authorship for 1QM. See P.R. Philips, 1QM, the War Scroll, pp. 11-23. I will use the term 'writer' without wishing to imply that the scroll is the work of one author. However, we do have a complete unit that would appear to be the product of a redactor or a school of redaction.

³²⁸There may be a section missing from line 7.

The results of the battle between the forces of good and the forces of evil mean that justice, peace and long life are the rewards for the Sons of Light.³²⁹ However, before this end is accomplished, it would appear that the Sons of Light are victorious for three years but then lose ground to the Sons of Darkness for three years. The intervention of God allows for the final victory over the evil ones.³³⁰

Column two begins with the discussion of the rules of battle. The first part of this column would appear to be giving a description of the Temple service and the role of the priests in the Temple service.³³¹ It may be that the writer is giving a description of the Temple service after the final destruction of the Sons of Darkness.

Their function [the officials of the service] shall be to attend to the burnt offerings and the sacrifices, to set out the incense of 'pleasant savor' for God's acceptance, to perform rites of atonement on behalf of all His congregation, and

³²⁹1.8-9a. See A.M. Gazov-Ginzberg, "The Structure of the Army of the Sons of Light", RevQ, 18, (1965), pp. 163-176.

³³⁰1.12c-17. The end of column one is corrupt and it is difficult to know the full understanding of this final victory. Column one would seem to be a summary of the struggle between the sons of light and the sons of darkness. The rest of the scroll may be an elaboration of column one. See van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la guerre, pp. 11-22 for further discussion of this idea.

³³¹The various offices of the Temple staff have scriptural reference. Compare "fathers of the congregation" to Numbers 31:26, "chiefs of the priests" to Nehemiah 12:7; "chiefs of the Levites" to Nehemiah 12:24. The language of their duties is a mosaic of Biblical references. For 2.1-4 compare Numbers 23:3, Ezekiel 44:1, 45:7 and I Chronicles 23:31. See Yadin, The Scroll of the War, pp. 198-228.

constantly to clear away the fat ashes
which lie before Him on the 'table of
glory'.³³²

2.5-62

The triumph over the evil ones will allow the priests of the community to offer proper sacrifices for "atonement for all His congregation". This is possible only after God assists the Sons of Light in their fight against the Sons of Darkness. The priestly offerings are to be made in the seventh year of the full forty year war that will eventually pit the community against the Gentiles.³³³ During this span of forty years the conflict will stop every seventh year.

But in the sabbatical year³³⁴ they shall
not send men to go to serve for a sab-
bath of rest that is for Israel

2.8b-9a

It would appear that after the initial six years of the war the "whole congregation" is separated into divisions and each division is given a specific opponent.³³⁵

Some of the battle gear includes trumpets³³⁶ for calling the

³³²Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures, p. 302.

³³³2.6b, "all these they offered at the time of the sabbatical year."

³³⁴Literally the year of release.

³³⁵Such as the sons of Lud, the sons of Asshur and Persia, etc.
2.9c-14.

³³⁶The inclusion of trumpets as part of the battle gear apparently comes from Numbers 10:2-11. Verse 2, "Make two silver trumpets; of hammered work you shall make them; and you shall use them for summoning the congregation, and for breaking camp." There are procedures for the use of the trumpets and the proper response. In the Numbers account all the signals were given on the same trumpets with different tones and varying degree in the number of trumpets to be used. In 1QM there were different trumpets for each call for action. See 3.1-2. See Davies, 1QM, the War Scroll, pp. 29-32 and Yadin, The Scroll of the War, pp. 87-113.

congregation. The inscriptions to be put on the trumpets include "those called by God", "princes of God", "Serekh [rule] of God". The writer of 1QM seems to take the 'correctness' of the community as a presupposition. He is so convinced of his 'right' status that he instructs his readership to put the following inscriptions on other trumpets, "those raised by God as council of holiness", "peace of God in the camps of the persecuted", "God's mighty deeds to scatter the enemy and to put to flight all opponents of justice", "God's warriors for His wrath against all the Sons of Darkness", "the hand of God in battle".³³⁷

The banners³³⁸ of the Sons of Light are to have inscriptions such as "people of God" as well as the names of Israel, Aaron and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. The banners of the armies are to have inscriptions of "anger of God in wrath against Belial and all the men of his lot without remnant",³³⁹ "truth of God", "justice of God", "right

³³⁷3.4b-8b.

³³⁸Numbers 1:52, "The people of Israel shall pitch their tents by their companies, every man by his own camp and every man by his own standard", לדגל, his standard, banner. In 1QM אור "mark, banner" is used. See Yadin, The Scroll of the War, pp. 38-64.

³³⁹4.1b-2a. There is mention of a banner of Merari with "heave-offering in God" inscribed on it. Merari is a son of Levi whose descendants were called Maraites. See Numbers 3:33-37. According to the Numbers passage they were to be appointed in charge of the frames of the tabernacle which included the bars, pillars, bases and all the accessories. A. Dupont-Sommer, "Règlement de la guerre des fils de lumière: traduction et notes", Revue de l'histoire des Religions, 1955, p. 41, rejects "Merari" as a translation. He holds that Levitical banners are not discussed in the scroll passage.

hand of God".³⁴⁰

Upon the shield of the prince of the whole congregation³⁴¹ is to be written Israel, Levi, Aaron and all the names of the twelve tribes of Israel.³⁴²

Columns five and six describe more of the battle gear and the strategy that is to be used against the enemy.³⁴³ Lines five and six of column six indicate the reason for fighting,

To slay through the judgment of God
and to vanquish the line of the enemy
by God's might, to exact retribution
for their wickedness³⁴⁴ upon all nations
of vanity, and the kingdom shall be of
the God of Israel, and He shall do valiant
deeds through the Saints of the people.³⁴⁵
6.5-6

The armies of the Sons of Light are to be instrumental in setting up the kingdom of God and exacting the punishment that is due the wicked.

³⁴⁰4.6-7a. Compare Habakkuk 2:16. In lines 9-14 there are further designations for the banner that indicate the consciousness of being on the side of the 'right'. The banners included such titles as "encampments of God", "those summoned by God", "vengeance for God", "retaliation of God" and "annihilation by God of all nations of vanity".

³⁴¹See p. 88, n. 323.

³⁴²There were names of the twelve commanders of the tribes as well.

³⁴³See Davies, 1QM, the War Scroll, pp. 48-58 for a discussion of the army in columns two through nine.

³⁴⁴לשלם גמול רעתם, "to repay recompense for their wickedness".

³⁴⁵Yadin, The Scroll of the War, p. 286. There is a parallel in Jeremiah 51:56b, "...for the Lord is a God of recompense [גמלות], he will surely requite [שלם ישלם]. Compare Isaiah 66:6.

At the beginning of column ten³⁴⁶ the armies of Sons of Light are warned against every evil. There follows a quotation from Deuteronomy 20:2-4,³⁴⁷

When you draw near to battle, the Priest shall rise and speak to the people saying "Hear O Israel! You draw near to battle this day against your enemies. Do not be [terrified], and have no fear! For your God goes with you to fight for you against your enemies that He may deliver you."³⁴⁸

10.2b-5a

This exhortation from Deuteronomy is immediately followed by a text from Numbers 10:9 that encourages the congregation to hold fast for victory.

When you go to war in your land against the oppressor who oppresses you, [you] shall blow the trumpets, and you shall be remembered before your God and shall be saved from your enemies.³⁴⁹

10.6b-8a

³⁴⁶Columns six through ten include instructions of battle strategy, equipment and the mobilization of the men.

³⁴⁷See Yadin, The Scroll of the War, p. 304, n. 2 for the variation from the MT. Columns ten through twelve may be understood as a collection of proof texts. See Davies, 1QM, the War Scroll, pp. 92-104.

³⁴⁸Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 136. Compare Deuteronomy 20:2-4, "and when you draw near to the battle, the priest shall come forward and, speak to the people, and shall say to them, 'Hear, O Israel, you draw near this day to battle against your enemies: let not your heart faint; do not fear, or tremble or be in dread of them; for the Lord your God is he that goes with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to give you the victory'."

³⁴⁹Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 136. See Yadin, The Scroll of the War, p. 305, n. 12 for a comparison of 1QM and the MT. Numbers 10:9, "And when you go to war in the land against the adversary who oppresses you then you shall sound an alarm with the trumpets, that you may be remembered before the Lord your God, and you shall be saved from your enemies".

The Biblical references give the impression that the writer has transferred the holy war of Israel against Canaan and other Gentile opponents (11.8, "the seven nations of vanity") to the final struggle between light and darkness. The Biblical texts appear to give a point of reference. During Israel's past God required that they fight for a particular cause. The war eventually meant that the wandering congregation of the wilderness became a nation with the subsequent glories of David and Solomon. The Qumran community now would appear to have transferred that mandate to a much more final stage. The winners of this latter battle shall establish "the kingdom of the God of Israel".³⁵⁰

The next section of column ten praises God for His might and power.³⁵¹ This is followed by a praise of the people of Israel.³⁵² They are characterized as being chosen from all the nations of the earth, a nation [made] holy by the covenant,³⁵³ taught in the laws and made wise in understanding.³⁵⁴ One cannot help but think that just as the writer has made the transfer of the conquests of ancient Israel to Qumran so he is identifying the side of the 'right', the community, with the election of ancient Israel. The Hebrews were chosen by God and He established a

³⁵⁰6.6b.

³⁵¹10.8b, "Who is like Thee, O God of Israel, in heaven and earth, that he can do according to Thy great works and Thy powerful might;", Yadin, The Scroll of the War, p. 304. There are a number of close parallels in scripture. See Psalm 35:10, 71:19, 113:5-6, Exodus 15:11, Deuteronomy 3:24.

³⁵²10.9b, כעמכה ישראל, "who is like your people Israel".

³⁵³10.10a, עם קדושי ברית.

³⁵⁴10.9b-12a. Compare Deuteronomy 14:2, "For you are a people holy to the Lord your God, and the Lord has chosen you to be a people for his own possession, out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth".

covenant with them. Part of the covenant (with Abraham) was the promise of the land. The writer of 1QM is aware that Israel had to fight to gain that "promised land". In his immediate situation he understands that his forces must fight against the Sons of Darkness. He may feel justified in his military self-definition because of the military pattern that he finds in scripture. Thus the fighting of ancient Israel is transferred to his circumstances and the particularized status of ancient Israel is identified with the Sons of Light. The latter part of column ten is quite broken but it would appear that the writer had moved from talking of Israel in the third person to speaking of his circumstances in the first person.³⁵⁵

Column eleven continues the theme of the Hebrew Bible narrative being transferred to the War Scroll. Just as Goliath was given into the hands of David and David was successful against the Philistines, so

Thou didst deliver us many times by the
hand of our kings for Thy mercy's sake,
not for our deeds, in that we have done
wickedly, nor for our sinful actions,
Thine is the battle, and from with Thee
is the might, not ours.³⁵⁶

11.3b-5a

This expression of dependency on God for victories is followed by a reference from Numbers 24:17-19,

A Star shall come out of Jacob and a

³⁵⁵10.16b, ידענו מבינתכה, "we know [you] from your wisdom.

³⁵⁶Yadin, The Scroll of the War, p. 310.

sceptre shall rise out of Israel. He shall smite the temples of Moab and destroy all the Children of Sheth. He shall rule out of Jacob and shall cause the survivors of the city to perish. The enemy shall be his possession and Israel shall accomplish mighty deeds.³⁵⁷
11.6b-7a

The Biblical reference³⁵⁸ is to ancient Israel's conquest of Canaan. Israel had defeated the Amorites and they were on the border of Moab. Balak, the king of Moab, wanted Balaam to pronounce a curse on Israel before engaging in war with these invaders. Balaam, by the direction of God, could only pronounce blessings to celebrate the immediate and future successes of the Israelite military. The writer of the War scroll would appear to understand that the war that he is describing (between the Sons of Light and Darkness) is a continuation of that which was begun in the Numbers passage. He immediately follows the Biblical reference with

By the hand of Thine anointed ones, the seers of things ordained, Thou hast foretold us the epochs of the wars of Thy hands, that Thou mayest be honoured upon our enemies, by felling the troops of Belial.³⁵⁹

11.7b-8a

³⁵⁷Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 138. Compare Numbers 24:17-19. "I see him, but not now; I behold him, but now nigh: a star shall come forth out of Jacob; and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel; it shall crush the forehead [פֶּמֶץ, literally, "edge, border"] of Moab, and breakdown all the sons of Sheth. Edom shall be dispossessed, while Israel does valiantly. By Jacob shall dominion be exercised, and the survivors of cities be destroyed!"

³⁵⁸Numbers 22-24.

³⁵⁹Yadin, The Scroll of the War, p. 310.

God will do to these followers of Belial what He did to the Pharaoh and the Egyptians at the exodus and the crossing of the Red Sea.³⁶⁰

From of old you have announced to us the time appointed for the mighty deed of your hand against the Kittim,³⁶¹ saying, then shall Asshur fall with the sword not of man and the sword, not of men, shall devour him,³⁶²

11.11b-12a

The Biblical narrative of God's involvement with the exodus congregation and the subsequent events in the history of Israel would appear to have immediate meaning for the writer of 1QM. He takes the Biblical narrative

³⁶⁰11.9b-10a. It seems quite clear that the military ability is quite secondary to the intervention of God into the victory.

³⁶¹בכתיים, Kittim is the Hebrew name for Cyprus, כתיים. It was a fortified centre for the Assyrians and it is generally thought of as the area beyond the seas. Kittim was a designation for the Greeks and Romans in Biblical and extra-Biblical literature. The term is used in 1QpHab to describe the Romans, (spelled כתיאים). In the War scroll the Kittim would seem to refer to those among the Sons of darkness, 1.6; 1.9-12; 11.11; 15.2 (the ruler of the Kittim); 16.2, 5, 7-8; 17.14; 18.2; 19.10. It would appear that the Kittim in 1QM refers also to the Romans. See J. Carmignac, "Les Kittim dans la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres", Nouvelle Revue Theologique, (1955), pp. 737-748; F.M. Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies, pp. 92-93; R. North, "'Kittim' War or 'Sectaries' Liturgy?", Biblica, (1958), pp. 84-93; Yadin, The Scroll of the War, pp. 21-24.

³⁶²Compare Isaiah 31:8, "And the Assyrian shall fall by a sword, not of man; and a sword not of man, shall devour him; and he shall flee from the sword, and his young men shall be put to forced labour". Davies, 1QM, the War Scroll, pp. 97-98, views this as an interpolation because of the break in the subject matter and the terminology.

and applies it as a precedent for what will happen between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. His situation is of more significance because the forces of good are in battle with the forces of evil. In the Qumran situation the opponents are the combined forces from all lands,

Into the hands of the needy hast Thou delivered the foemen in all lands, and into the hands of them that were bowed to the dust. So hast Thou humbled the mighty of the peoples; brought their deserts upon the wicked; vindicated among all men the truthfulness of Thy judgments.³⁶³

11.13-14a

The elect ones that will fight these opponents come from the community and their names are selected by God.

For the multitude of the Holy Ones [is with Thee] in heaven, and the host of the Angels is in Thy holy abode, praising Thy name. And Thou hast established in [a community] for Thyself the elect of Thy holy people. [The list] of the names of all their host is with Thee in the abode of Thy holiness; [the reckoning of the Saints] is in Thy glorious dwelling-place.³⁶⁴

12.1b-2.

Note that the discussion has moved from the Biblical narrative to the writer's account of the coming war between good and evil. What was applicable in the past (God's assistance with Israel's military triumphs) is now applied to his own conditions and the events that will happen in the future. Those who oppose God are not among the elect and they will be subject to God's judgement. These include not just the pagan enemies.

³⁶³Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures, p. 315.

³⁶⁴Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 139.



but also the wicked Israelites (1.2 "the offenders against the covenant").³⁶⁵ The "elect ones of heaven"³⁶⁶ are understood to receive the blessings of God. The congregation of the 'right' will offer scoffing to kings and mighty men.³⁶⁷ The writer is so convinced of the side of victory that he exhorts Israel to rejoice in their sure and triumphant end.

Zion, rejoice exceedingly, and shine forth
in songs of joy, O Jerusalem, and be joyful,
all ye cities of Judah. Open [thy] gates
forever, to let enter into thee the substance
of the nations, and their kings shall serve
thee. All they that afflicted thee shall bow
down to thee, and the dust [of thy feet they
shall lick.³⁶⁸

12.12b-14a

The writer lists the blessings of God and declares his thankfulness for the mercies of God.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁵Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 248, points out that the "offenders against the covenant" would appear to drop from consideration after 1.2 and at the eschaton they will no longer belong to Israel. The Sons of Light represent the entirety of Israel and their opponents are the Gentile nations.

³⁶⁶12.5b.

³⁶⁷12.6-9

³⁶⁸Yadin, The Scroll of the War, p. 318. Compare Zechariah 9:9a; Isaiah 12:6, 35:10, 52:9; Joel 2:23. The writer is using a mosaic of Biblical references for his exhortation. Those who are on the side of the 'right' solemnly declare a blessing of God for His holy plan and true deeds, 13.2b. This type of blessing has parallels in I Samuel 25:32. Davies, IQM, the War Scroll, p. 103, views the section 12.10-15 as an extended war-cry which may be based on Numbers 10:35 where Moses would call to God to scatter his enemies as the ark of the covenant was taken into battle. See J. Carmignac, La Règle de la Guerre, p. 181.

³⁶⁹13.7-8.

By your glory there has been remembrance
of you in our midst for assisting the
remnant and the survivors of your
covenant and to tell your true deeds
and the judgements of your wonderful and
mighty acts.

13.8b-9a

He declares that the "remnant and the survivors" have been redeemed as
an "eternal people" ³⁷⁰ and the Prince of Light³⁷¹ has been appointed
from of old to help those of the spirit of truth.

But let us, the company of Thy truth,
rejoice in Thy mighty hand and be glad
for Thy salvation, and exult because of
Thy succour and] peace. O God of
Israel, who can compare with Thee in
might? Thy mighty hand is with the poor.³⁷²

13.12b-14a

It is quite clear that the writer understands himself to be among the
'right'. Lines 14b, 15 and 16 are broken but it is clear that the
writer believes that the fight between the Sons of Light and the Sons of
Darkness was appointed in the past. Not only do we see the past brought
forward for definition of the present but the present is extended back
into the past. This tension between past and present would appear to give
rise to a particularized view of the past and present. It may be that
the writer understood his circumstances as a fulfilment of the past. In
this case the writer finds definition for his military efforts.

³⁷⁰13.9b.

³⁷¹See p. 54.

³⁷²Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 141.

What angel or prince is like unto the
 help of [thy face, for] from of old
 Thou hast appointed for Thyself a
 day of encounter [] []
 to [he]lp those of truth and to destroy
 those of guilt, to bring low darkness
 and to lend might to light, and to []
 [in the community of God] for eternal
 existence, for annihilation of all Sons
 of Darkness and joy to all [Sons of Light].³⁷³

Such a destiny for the Sons of Darkness is as sure as the wrath of God
 that came on the idols of Egypt.³⁷⁴

The identification of the past with the present is made very
 explicit in column fourteen.

But we, the remnant of your people shall
 bless your name, O God of mercies who has
 kept the covenant with our fathers, and to
 all generations you have given your mercies
 upon the remnant of your people during
 the dominion of Belial.³⁷⁵

14.8b-9a

Just as God kept the covenant with the forefathers by giving them the

³⁷³Yadin, The Scroll of the War, pp. 322. 324. Note the explicit
 reference to a final struggle between light and darkness.

³⁷⁴14.1.

³⁷⁵J.-H. Hunzinger, "Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches
 Milhana aus Höhle 4 Qumran", ZAW, (1957), pp. 131-151, claims that 4QMa
 is an earlier version of what is found in 1QM 14.4b-16. In the section
 under discussion 4QMa has, לעמו, "his people while 1QM 14.9 has,
 לשארניית עמכה, "to the remnant of your people". Hunzinger holds that the
 1QM scroll is later and it is more restrictive with those who will
 receive the blessings of God. However, the dependency of 4QMa as earlier
 than 1QM is generally questioned. See P. von der Osten-Sacken, "Gott und
 Belial", Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, 6, (1969), p. 101. He
 develops this in Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche
 Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran.

land so He will be merciful to the remnant during the reign of Belial. The Biblical account has been applied to the struggle of the community against their opponents. The victories that were witnessed in the past will be demonstrated again by those who are among the congregation of the 'right'. They will not be tricked into forsaking God's covenant.³⁷⁶ The Sons of Light will rise up against the Sons of Darkness and there will not be a remnant of the wicked, for none shall escape.³⁷⁷

J. van der Ploeg³⁷⁸ views the remaining columns (15-19) to be based on Daniel 11:40-12:3.³⁷⁹ He suggests that the writer combined this section with column one to describe the final war against the Kittim. At

³⁷⁶ 14.9b-10a.

³⁷⁷ 14.16-17. Note that the struggle is not over yet. It would seem that there is a dualism of good and evil and the evil is a result of the influence of Belial. This is similar to CD 2.14-6.1 where Israel's history is understood in light of the struggle between good and evil. For a discussion of the CD passage see J. Murphy-O'Connor, "An Essene Missionary Document? CD II, 14-VI, 1", RB 77, (1970), pp. 201-229.

³⁷⁸ Le Rouleau de la guerre, pp. 11-22.

³⁷⁹ This section of Daniel depicts a war between the north and south. It will be a "time of trouble, such as never has been since there was a nation till that time", (12:1b). But the angel Michael will guide Israel to victory. J.J. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic", VT, 25, (1975), pp. 596-612, attempts to find the source for the holy war in 1QM from Persian influences. He feels that the fight between light and dark is more familiar to Persia than to Israel. See P.R. Davies, "Dualism and Eschatology in the Qumran War Scroll", VT, 28, (1978), pp. 28-36 for a negative reply to Collins. Also see F.F. Bruce, "The Book of Daniel and the Qumran Community", in Neotestamentica et Semitica, Festschrift M. Black, pp. 221-235.

some point these two sections were combined with the rest of the scroll to give the forty year war against the Gentiles.

In column seventeen the writer would appear to be saying that even though Israel was chosen by God there would be some among their numbers (those outside the community) that would suffer a disastrous fate. He finds Biblical support for his claim by citing the examples of Nadab and Abihu³⁸⁰ and Eleazar and Ithamar.³⁸¹

But ye, remember ye the judgment [of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, through whose judgment God hallowed Himself in the sight [of all the people; but Eleazar] and Ithamar He preserved for Himself for a covenant [of the appointed times of et]ernity.³⁸²

17.2b-3

Just as in Daniel 12, the angel Michael will be sent to give the congregation dominion over all flesh.³⁸³

Column nineteen³⁸⁴ is a praise of God and an exhortation for Zion that the Sons of Light will triumph over the Kittim.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁰Nadab and Abihu were sons of Aaron who offered "unholy fire before the Lord" that was counter to what God had commanded. They died before the Lord. Leviticus 10:1-6.

³⁸¹Nadab and Abihu were replaced by Eleazar and Ithamar as priests, Leviticus 10:1-6 and Numbers 3:4.

³⁸²Yadin, The Scroll of the War, p. 338.

³⁸³17.6b-9. But you, sons of His covenant be strong in God's crucible until He lifts up His hand and completes His mysteries by His testings, 17.9a.

³⁸⁴Column nineteen is separate from the rest of the scroll. See Yadin, The Scroll of the War, pp. 347-348.

³⁸⁵Column nineteen would appear to be made up of portions from Isaiah and the Psalms. However, the portions are not explicit enough to reconstruct a conscious use of scripture.

Summary:

The War Scroll demonstrates a definite understanding of who is 'right'. The members of the community are called the "elect of your holy people", the "eternal people": The trumpets of the armies of the 'right' give the self-designation of "council of holiness", "God's warriors for His wrath against all the Sons of Darkness". Their banners include the titles "people of God", "truth of God". However, the designation of being right is not a trivial matter. Those who are among the right are on the side of good and they will be at war with the forces of evil. That is the reason for the writing of this scroll.

The use of scripture includes a large mosaic of scriptural phrases and words scattered throughout the text. But there is a more purposeful use of scripture. It would seem that the writer takes Israel's holy war against the Gentile nations as a precedent for the struggle between good and evil. He takes what happened in the Biblical past and applies it to his immediate circumstance. It may be that he believed that the struggle between good and evil (the Sons of Light versus the Sons of Darkness) is a continuation of what was initiated in the ancient Israelite attack on the Gentiles. As Israel fought in the past so the Sons of Light are engaged in military action in the present and immediate future. Scripture does not remain in its own setting but it is brought forward to the present conditions of the Qumran community. In particular, scripture is used to define the community (who constitutes the 'right') and its opponents. It is applied also to the coming future for the Dead sea congregation. The military self-understanding of 1QM is comfortable for the writer because he is convinced that evil exists

and it must be confronted. He finds a military precedent in scripture. This is not confined to just the conquest of Canaan narratives. The contest between David and Goliath and the death of the Egyptians at the Red Sea are further points of reference for IQM.

The struggle described in the War Scroll is not a confrontation between warring peoples, for the writer has raised the sense of the struggle to a final war between good and evil. This war is believed to have been appointed "from of old". This "day of encounter" between light and darkness is as sure as the wrath of God that came upon the idols of Egypt.

It would seem that all Israel (the entire twelve tribes) will be established under the sectarian leadership and presumably the halakah (1.2) of the sect and thus the sect will come to equal Israel. If this is correct then the entire Biblical history of Israel can be claimed by the sect which defines itself as God's people and therefore 'right'.

Messianic Anthology³⁸⁶

The text of 4QTest is made up of Biblical quotations from Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua. The arrangement of the scriptural references can be divided into four distinct groups. The reason for the collection and arrangement of these texts is to provide references for the understanding of the messiah at Qumran. How these references were actually used has been lost because of the limited length of the text.

The first group of scriptural references comes from Deuteronomy 5:28-29³⁸⁷ and Deuteronomy 18:18-19.³⁸⁸

And God spoke [] [to] Moses saying,
 you have heard the sound of the words of
 this people who have spoken to you. They
 have spoken well [in regard to] what they
 said. O that their hearts were like this
 always in order that it be well for them

³⁸⁶This scroll comes from cave 4 and it is concerned with presenting a testimonia or statement of messianic expectation. Its shortened designation is 4QTest. See J.M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature, *JBL*, 75, (1956), pp. 182-187; M. Treves, "On the Meaning of the Qumran Testimonia", *RevQ*, 8, (1960), pp. 569-571; Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran in Perspective*, pp. 80-81, R.E. Brown, "The Messianism of Qumran", *CBQ* 19, (1957), pp. 53-82.

³⁸⁷Deuteronomy 5:28-29, "And the Lord heard your words, when you spoke to me; and the Lord said to me, 'I have heard the words of this people, which they have spoken to you; they have rightly said all that they have spoken. Oh that they had such a mind as this always, to fear me and to keep all my commandments, that it might go well with them and with their children for ever!'"

³⁸⁸Deuteronomy 18:18-19, "I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their brethern; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I command him. And whoever will not give heed to my words which he shall speak in my name, I myself will require it of him".

and their children forever.

lines 1-4

The Biblical context is when the Hebrews decided that they wanted Moses to function as their official spokesman with God. Given the context of 4QTest it would seem that one of the expectations of a messiah was that he would be a 'spokesman' like figure similar to Moses. This is carried on with the next scriptural reference from Deuteronomy 18:18-19 where it seems to suggest that the Moses figure is understood as a prophet.³⁸⁹

I will raise up a prophet from the midst of their brothers like you and I will put my words in his mouth and he will say to them all that I command him. And [if] there is a man who does not listen to my words which the prophet shall speak in my name I will seek a reckoning.

lines 5-8

One of the messianic expectations of the community is that he will be a spokesman and prophet similar to Moses. It is interesting that in the Deuteronomy 5 passage the exhortation is the wish that the people would always speak as they have in this situation. If they were to do so things would go well for them. This may be understood in 4QTest as a reason for the failure of Israel in the past and the Biblical text is a means for direction for the Qumran congregation to ensure that things go well for them. By looking for a spokesman messiah they are acting in the "success pattern" of scripture.

The next Biblical reference is from Numbers 24:15-17.

And he lifted up his voice and said,
The oracle of Balaam the son of Boer

³⁸⁹Hosea 12:13 (12:14 in the Hebrew text) refers to Moses as a prophet. Compare Jeremiah 15:1. See E. W. Heaton, The Old Testament Prophets, p. 41.

and oracle of the man whose eye is open;³⁹⁰
 the oracle of one who hears the words of
 God and knows the knowledge of the Most
 High who sees the vision of the Almighty³⁹¹
 falling down, and having [his] eyes
 uncovered; I see him, but not now. I
 watch him but not near. A star shall
 come forth out of Jacob and a sceptre
 shall rise out of Israel; and he shall
 crush the corners³⁹² of Moab and he shall
 destory all the sons of Sheth

lines 9-13

We have seen this scriptural passage used a number of times in the scrolls. In this particular case it would seem that another messianic expectation believed that he would be a kingly messiah with military capabilities.

The next reference is from Deuteronomy 33:8-11 and it seems to indicate that there were priestly expectations of the messiah(s)

And of Levi he said, Give Thy Tummin to
 Levi, and Thy Urim to Thy pious one whom
 Thou didst test at Massah, and with whom
 Thou didst quarrel at the waters of Meribah;
 who said to his father and mother, 'I know
 you not', and who did not acknowledge his
 brother, or know his sons. For they³⁹³
 observed Thy word and kept Thy Covenant.
 They shall cause Thy precepts to shine
 before Jacob and Thy Law before Israel.
 They shall send up incense towards Thy
 nostrils and place a burnt offering
 upon Thine altar. Bless his power, O Lord,
 and delight in the work of his hands. Smite
 the loins of his adversaries and let his

³⁹⁰שהתם, MT has שתם.

³⁹¹שדי.

³⁹²פאתי. Allegro, "Further Messianic References", p. 184, translates this as heads. RSV has foreheads with the footnote corners (of the head).

³⁹³Line 17a, שתר, he kept.

enemies rise no more.³⁹⁴

lines 14-20

The Biblical context is Israel's petition to confirm Levi as the line of priesthood. Levi's fidelity had been tested in the wilderness and he had proven faithful.³⁹⁵ There is some question in the Biblical context whether the reference is to Levi as an individual or to the Levitic tribe collectively.³⁹⁶ It is possible that both designations are intended. Equally so, the Qumran understanding may have been that the messianic era would be constituted by a priestly messiah (an individual) and that he would be accompanied by a Levitic group. The Biblical narrative indicates that Levi and his clan severed all ties with their family because of their zeal for God. The Qumran congregation had broken ties at Jerusalem. They may have looked to a point of reference that would justify their decision to give up such family relationships. Like the Levites, the priestly messiah would be in charge of making judgements and maintaining the service of the altar.

The last section of 4QTest refers to Joshua 6:26. The narrative involves a curse by Joshua against anyone who would rebuild the city of Jericho.³⁹⁷ This is found in lines 21 through 23a. The remaining 7 lines

³⁹⁴Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 248.

³⁹⁵See Exodus 28:30, Leviticus 8:8, Numbers 27:21, I Samuel 14:41, 28:6, Ezra 2:63, Nehemiah 7:65.

³⁹⁶S.R. Driver, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy, pp. 339-401.

³⁹⁷Joshua 6:26, "Joshua laid an oath upon them at that time, saying, "Cursed before the Lord be the man that rises up and rebuilds this city, Jericho. At the cost of his first-born shall he lay its foundation, and at the cost of his youngest sons shall he set up its gates.".

of 4QTest seem to be an interpretation of the Joshua text.³⁹⁸ A man of Belial will arise to assure his people and bring destruction to all his neighbors. It may be that those who do not know or have rejected the messianic expectations will be subject to this agent of Belial who will rebuild a city that will be a pollution to the land and a refuge of wickedness.³⁹⁹

Summary:

It would appear that the collection of Biblical texts in 4QTest was arranged to express messianic expectation.

The first expectation is that of a (spokesman) prophet. The second part of Deuteronomy five praises the people for their choice of Moses as their spokesman. In the Qumran context this may reflect the belief that the messiah would be a spokesman. One can not help but wonder if the eschaton was not being compared to the wilderness experience of ancient Israel. Ancient Israel received revelations at Sinai by the spokesman Moses. Qumran believed that they received hidden revelations⁴⁰⁰ and thus their conception of a spokesman messiah would fit their understanding of themselves. The revelations of the community may indicate the closeness of the eschaton. The spokesman messiah is made explicit with the reference to Deuteronomy eighteen. The messianic figure (like

³⁹⁸Allegro, "Further Messianic References", pp. 186-187, suggests that 4QPs of Joshua is an apocryphal work in the community. The psalm was worked into the scriptural text of Joshua.

³⁹⁹Lines 24-30.

⁴⁰⁰See p. 47.

Moses) will receive the commands of God. Severe judgement will befall anyone who does not heed the words of this prophet-like messiah. Those outside the community would appear to be in line for that day of reckoning. The sense of direction for such an expectation comes from the community's understanding of their 'rightness' and their application of scripture to their viewpoint.

The second division of scripture in 4QTest indicates that the messiah will be kingly also. The Numbers 24 passage has a strong sense of judgement for those in opposition to the king figure. It would appear that this attitude of judgement would be an attractive element for the formulation of the kingly messiah at Qumran.

The expectation of a priestly messiah from Deuteronomy thirty-three makes certain statements about the self-understanding of Qumran. Just as Levi (and his clan) was tested in the wilderness concerning his fidelity to God so the community was tested in the desert area by their communal life-style. The congregation of the Dead Sea had severed ties with Jerusalem because of their zeal and devotion for God. They found a scriptural precedent in Deuteronomy thirty-three. The Levites were known for observing the word of God and keeping the covenant. The main thrust behind the life style of Qumran was to have a similar reputation. It may have been that the Numbers twenty-four passage was viewed as presenting the ideal conditions for both the priestly messiah and the eschatological community where he would be found. The priestly messiah would be like Levi described in Numbers twenty-four. However, the application of scripture did not end there, for it seems to give definition and direction for those who were preparing and expecting such a priestly messiah. The

priestly messiah's presence in the community would mean that judgements would be properly executed and the sacrificial altar would be correctly maintained.

The last section of 4QTest would appear to be a curse against anyone who would jeopardize the expectations of the community. The scriptural touchstone is a curse for anyone who would rebuild Jericho. The Biblical curse applied to anyone who would attempt to interfere with the plan of God in regard to the conquest of Canaan. The "cursed" theme allows the writer to claim that "a man accursed"⁴⁰¹ will entrap his people and destroy his neighbours. The community would appear to believe that this man would build a city⁴⁰² that would pollute the land and be a refuge of wickedness. This is a possible reference to their contemporary situation.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹Line 23.

⁴⁰²Lines 25-26. The text is quite broken and it is difficult to know what the structure may be. It seems that more than one individual is involved. Allegro, "Further Messianic References", p. 185, "...that the two of them may be instruments of violence. And they shall return and build..."

⁴⁰³It may refer to Hyrcanus II's attempts to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem ca. 47 B.C.E. However, the broken text precludes any definite theories. Allegro, "Further Messianic References", p. 187, has made the suggestion that the scroll is not so much "messianic" as eschatological.

Midrash on the Last Days⁴⁰⁴

The first line of 4QFlor is quite corrupt. The purpose of the scroll would appear to be an interpretation of II Samuel 7:10-14a.⁴⁰⁵ The hope that the wicked will no longer afflict Israel is made possible because a 'house [will be built] at the end of days'.⁴⁰⁶ Apparently this house will be of special status because it will remain forever. The writer finds such an understanding from Exodus 15:17c-18, Deuteronomy 23:3, and Ezekiel 44:9⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁴Midrash (מדרש, "to search, investigate, expound") on the Last Days is a fragmented column found in cave 4. J.M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature", *JBL*, 77, (1958), pp. 174-187, published these fragments and designated them as Florilegium (anthology) of cave 4. The abbreviated reference is 4QFlor. See J.M. Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrasim", *JBL*, 77, (1958), pp. 350-354; D. Flusser, "Two Notes on the Midrash on 2 Sam. VII (4Q Florilegium)", *IEJ*, 9, (1959), pp. 99-109; Wm. R. Lane, "A New Commentary Structure in 4Q Florilegium", *JBL*, 78, (1959), pp. 343-346; Y. Yadin, "A Midrash on 2 Sam. VII (4Q Florilegium)", *IEJ*, 9, (1959), pp. 95-99.

⁴⁰⁵The Biblical reference is II Samuel 7:10-11a, "And I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in their own place, and be disturbed no more; and violent men shall afflict them no more, as formerly, from the time that I appointed judges over my people Israel;". This passage concerns the promise of a permanent temple for Israel.

⁴⁰⁶Line 2.

⁴⁰⁷Exodus 15:17c-18, "...the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established. The Lord will reign for ever and ever". Deuteronomy 23:3, "No Ammonite or Moabite shall enter the assembly of the Lord; even to the tenth generation none belonging to them shall enter the assembly of the Lord for ever.". Ezekiel 44:9, "Therefore thus says the Lord God: No foreigner, uncircumcised in heart and flesh, of all the foreigners who are among the people of Israel, shall enter my sanctuary."

¶...The sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands [es]tablished, the Lord will reign forever and ever. That is the house where there shall never more enter [...] and the Ammonite and Moabite⁴⁰⁸ and bastard and alien and sojourner forever, for my holy ones are there⁴⁰⁹

1.3-4

The house that will be established at the end of days will only be for those among the 'right'. It will not suffer the consequence of the "sanctuary of Israel"⁴¹⁰ that was made desolate by the sins of the followers of Belial.⁴¹¹ The "house of the last days" will be a man made sanctuary⁴¹² where sacrifices will be made to God and thus there will be (true) "works of the Law".⁴¹³ There are two possible understandings of this line. One is that the sacrifices of the Temple have been replaced by the community's observance of the Law. The other understanding is that at the ends of days the sacrifices offered by the community will be in accordance with the proper understanding of the law. This is a statement

⁴⁰⁸See pp. 96-97.

⁴⁰⁹Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll", p. 351.

⁴¹⁰1.6a, מקדנש יִשְׂרָאֵל.

⁴¹¹1.5-6.

⁴¹²1.6b, וְיִוָּאמַר לְבִנּוֹת לֹא מִקְדֵּשׁ אָדָם לִהְיוֹת מִקְטִירִים בּוֹא לֹא, "and he declared to build for him a sanctuary of man in which sacrifices might be made to him". מִקְדֵּשׁ אָדָם can be taken to mean "sanctuary consisting of man" (i.e.) the community) which would contrast with יִשְׂרָאֵל מִקְדֵּשׁ (sanctuary of Israel) of 1.6. This would be in agreement with the "works of law" replacing the sacrifices. The performance of the works of the law (1.7) is the reason for the building of מִקְדֵּשׁ אָדָם of line 6.

⁴¹³1.7a. לְפָנָיו מַעֲשֵׂי תּוֹרָה, "[that there is] before him works of Torah".

about the eschatological future.⁴¹⁴

A continuation of II Samuel 7:11b is found in line 7b,

And as he said to David, I will cause
you to rest from all your enemies.⁴¹⁵
1.7b

This is understood to mean that God will give the community rest from the "sons of Belial". Apparently the latter came with a plan that would have caused the community to stumble.⁴¹⁶

Lines 10 and 11 continue a reference to II Samuel 7:11c-14a.⁴¹⁷

The Lord declares to you that He will build
you a House. I will raise up your seed
after you. I will establish the throne of
his kingdom [for ever]. I [will be] his
father and he shall be my son.⁴¹⁸
1.10-11a

The 'promised one' who will be raised up is interpreted as coming from the "shoot of David"⁴¹⁹ and he will arise with an "Interpreter of the Law."⁴²⁰ A Biblical reference⁴²¹ attempts to give support to the view,

⁴¹⁴The passage is ambiguous and highly controverted.

⁴¹⁵יִנְהַנִּיחוּ אֶת־יְהוָה, "I will cause to rest".

⁴¹⁶1.8-9. Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll", p. 352, "the sons of Belial who made them stumble to destroy them [and to...] them when they came with the device of [Belial to make the sons of] Light stumble and to devise against them wicked imaginations to betray(?) his [life to Belial through their vain] error."

⁴¹⁷It really is a combination of II Samuel 7:11c, 12b, 13b, 14a.

⁴¹⁸Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 246.

⁴¹⁹צֶמַח דָּוִד

⁴²⁰דּוֹרֵשׁ הַתּוֹרָה

⁴²¹Amos 9:1b.

that a "house" will be established in the last days,

and as it is written, and I will raise
up the tent of David that is fallen.

1.12b

This fallen tabernacle of David will arise to save Israel.⁴²² If מְקוֹדֵשׁ אֶתְּמַן means the community then the writer finds in these passages support for the existence of the community and that it will endure forever.

There follows a reference to Psalm 1:1a⁴²³ that a man will be happy if he does not walk in the counsel of wickedness. The text is broken at the end of line 14 but it would seem that not to walk in the counsel of the wicked meant that one turned away from something. The meaning of the line is lost to us because of the corrupt text. The interpretation of turning aside finds a point of reference from Isaiah 8:11⁴²⁴ where the prophet is warned against walking in the way of the people. Line 17 may be a reference to Ezekiel 40:10.⁴²⁵ If the scriptural

⁴²²Wm. Lane, "A New Commentary Structure in 4Q Florilegium", JBL, 78, (1958), pp. 343-346, makes the point that it may be that there is a natural break in line 13. He views the first thirteen lines as pesher of II Samuel and the last six lines as a pesher of the psalms.

⁴²³"Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked".

⁴²⁴Isaiah 8:11, "For the Lord spoke thus to me with his strong hand upon me, and warned me not to walk in the way of this people, saying:".

⁴²⁵The text states that it is giving a reference to Ezekiel, (line 16). However, the line is so broken that it is impossible to speak with certainty concerning either the Biblical reference or its interpretation. See Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll", p. 354, n. 27. Ezekiel 44:10, "But the Levites who went far from me, going astray from me after their idols when Israel went astray, shall bear their punishment.".

reference is correct the interpretation may refer to some of the sons of Zadok, who followed their own counsel and inclinations and thus departed from the way that had been established by the council of the community.

The scroll ends with a reference to Psalm 2:1

[Why do] the nations [rag]e and the peoples
imag[ine a vain thing? The kings of the
earth set] themselves, [and the ru]lers
take counsel together against the Lord and
against [his anointed]⁴²⁶

1.18-19a

The interpretation is in a broken text but it would seem that "the nations" raged against the elect of Israel.⁴²⁷

Summary:

The "house at the end of days" is like that of the Temple that was promised to David's descendants in II Samuel 7. It would appear that the writer has taken the Biblical passage and applied it to his understanding of the end of the age. The house built for the latter context will be different from the former because it will last forever. The writer finds verification for such a view from scriptural passages in Exodus, Deuteronomy and Ezekiel. The passages are so arranged as to deal directly with the concept of 'right' and 'wrong'. The first house was made desolate because "strangers"⁴²⁸ were allowed to sin in the house. "The house of the last days" will be distinguished from the

⁴²⁶Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll", p. 354.

⁴²⁷Column two is limited to four lines and the state of the column is extremely poor. It seems to be about the coming time of trial of the elect against the followers of Belial.

⁴²⁸זרים, "strangers, those who are estranged, loathsome".

former in that only the 'right' will be given access at the end of days. The sacrifices that will be made in the house of the eschaton will be in accordance with the proper understanding of the law.

II Samuel 7:11 indicates that David will be given rest from his enemies. 4QFlor takes this verse as a promise that the community will be given rest from the sons of Belial who had attempted to cause the community to err.

The reference in II Samuel 7 to David's descendants being established as legitimate heirs to the throne forever is understood to be a designation of the kingly messiah that would usher in the eschaton. He will be accompanied by a "seeker or interpreter of the Law". The establishment of the house of David (the man made sanctuary) will be the path of salvation for Israel.

The last section of 4QFlor cites Psalm 2:1 as a reference for the community's present situation. The nations rage against the Lord by persecuting his elect. Following Lane's suggestion it would appear that the last six lines deal with the present condition of the community rather than its future expectations.

Scripture in 4QFlor is a point of reference that explains or defines the community's present existence and its future expectations. The Dead Sea congregation will be the means whereby the "house of the end of days" may be constructed. It is difficult to tell whether they are the house of the end days or whether they eventually will physically build it. This scroll anticipates the end and the agents that will usher in such an end are given by support of scripture. It is interesting to note that the writer has incorporated Biblical texts from the Law, Prophets, and Writings to formulate his views.

The Melchizedek Document⁴²⁹

The fragments of 11QMelch open with a reference to Leviticus 25:12 and Deuteronomy 15:2.

...in this year of jubilee⁴³⁰ each of
you will return to his property...

line 2

...every creditor shall release what he
has lent to his neighbor, he shall not
exact of it his neighbor or [his brother
for there is proclaimed a release.

line 3b

⁴²⁹The Melchizedek document is a text from cave 11. Its shortened designation is 11QMelch. It is made up of 13 fragments that would appear to constitute an eschatological midrash of the end of time. The Hebrew text is based on S. van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefunden eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höle XI," Qudtestamentische Studien, 14, (1965), pp. 354-373. See J. Carmignac, "Le document de Qumran sur Melkisedeq", RevQ, 7, (1969-71), pp. 343-378; M. Delcor, "Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews", JSJ, 2, (1971), pp. 115-135; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Explication des textes hébreux découverts à Qumrân...11QMelch", Annuaire du Collège de France, 68, (1968-69), pp. 426-430; J.A. Fitzmyer, Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament, pp. 245-267, (originally published in JBL, 86, (1967), pp. 25-41, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11"); Y. Yadin, "A Note on Melchizedek and Qumran", IEJ, 15, (1965), pp. 152-154.

⁴³⁰The year of the jubilee refers to the final year of a 50 year cycle. The cycle includes 7 groups of 7 years plus the final year. The name is שנת היובל, literally, "the year of the ram's horn". It would appear that the horn sounded the beginning of the jubilee year. It meant the automatic release of a Jew who had become a slave to a fellow Jew and the release of any property that had been sold during the previous 49 years. In the context of 11QMelch it would seem that the year of jubilee (release) is identified with the beginning of the eschaton.

The two Biblical texts are interpreted to apply to the end of days.⁴³¹ The text is broken at the end of line four and the beginning of line five. However, it would seem that the year of the jubilee serves as a designation of the beginning of the eschaton. The release theme at the end of line three is picked up in line six. Those who have been held captive will be released by Melchizedek.⁴³² He is introduced into the text without explanation or commentary. Melchizedek sets the captives free and atones for their iniquities.⁴³³

Those who are among the "lot of Melchizedek" must recognize that he is of exceptional status, for he is called one of the "holy ones of God"

⁴³¹Line 4, לאחריה הימים, "the last days".

⁴³²The figure of Melchizedek is somewhat obscure in the Hebrew tradition. He is mentioned in Genesis 14:18-20 as preparing a cultic meal for Abram and then blessing Abram. In Psalm 110:4, David's kingship follows the priestly example of Melchizedek, "The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind, 'You are a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek'". See F.L. Horton, The Melchizedek Tradition. In the New Testament (Hebrews) Christ is thematized as a "high priest after the order of Melchizedek", 5:5-10; 6:20; 7:21. Fitzmyer, Essays on the Semitic Background, p. 267, makes the point that even though one cannot say that 11QMelch directly influenced the writer of Hebrews it is possible that the exalted figure in 11QMelch would allow the New Testament writer to make an appeal to Christ's superiority over the levitical priesthood by referring to Melchizedek. See n. 429, and M. de Jonge and A.S. van der Woude, "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament", NTS, 12, (1966), pp. 301-326.

⁴³³Fitzmyer, Essays on the Semitic Background, p. 251 points out that in line seven there is a reference to the "last jubilee" and the "tenth jubilee". He suggests that this may refer to the 490 years or "70 weeks of years" of Daniel 19:24-27. It is a year of atonement for iniquity and the Day of Atonement would seem to somehow be related to it. The text is so broken that it is impossible to make any clear judgement.

who will judge".⁴³⁴ The judgement responsibility of Melchizedek is tied to Psalm 82:1,

Elohim has taken his place in the divine council; in the midst of the gods he holds judgement.⁴³⁵

line 10

The lines that follow are fragmented but it is clear that the writer is continuing with the theme of judgement, and those who do not recognize the coming of Melchizedek are called the "unjust" and the "wicked"⁴³⁶ Those of the lot of Belial are subject to judgement of exact retribution of vengeance.⁴³⁷ The judgement of Melchizedek is interpreted as fulfilling what was spoken by Isaiah.⁴³⁸

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the herald bringing good tidings who proclaims peace, who brings good tidings, proclaiming salvation, who says to Zion, Your God is [king].

lines 15b-16

The "herald" of the Isaiah passage would appear to be identified with the agent, Melchizedek, who will usher in the era of judgement for the 'wrong' and good tidings for the 'right'.

Lines seventeen through twenty-six are very broken but it seems

⁴³⁴Line 6b, קדושי אל לממשלה משפט

⁴³⁵Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 267. Melchizedek appears to be given a place in the assembly of God.

⁴³⁶Line 11. It would appear that the writer has incorporated Psalm 82:2 into his statements about judgement.

⁴³⁷Line 13.

⁴³⁸Isaiah 52:7. See F. Du Toit Laubscher, "God's Angel of Truth and Melchizedek", JSJ, 1, (1972), pp. 46-51.

that the agent of the eschaton is identified with a figure in Daniel.⁴³⁹
Those who belong to the 'right' are called "establishers of the covenant"⁴⁴⁰
who turn from walking in the way of the people.⁴⁴¹

The fragments end with a reference to Leviticus 25:9,

And you shall sound the horn [loud]
in the [seventh] month⁴⁴²
line 6b

Summary:

The fragmented state of the text of 11QMelch means that it is difficult to come to a full understanding of the thrust of the text and its use of scripture. It would seem that Leviticus is a starting point in the discussion concerning the end of days. The year of the jubilee of Leviticus will be the mark of the beginning of the eschaton. The year of the jubilee will be the point in time and the agent that will usher in this

⁴³⁹See D.F. Miner, "A Suggested Reading for 11Q Melchizedek 17", JSJ, 2, (1971), pp. 144-148.

⁴⁴⁰Line 25, מקימנין הברית. There are parallels in 1QS 5.21; 8.10; 1QSb 5.23; 1QM 13.7; CD 3.13; 4.19.

⁴⁴¹A similar phrase is found in 4QFlor 1.14; 1QSa 1.2-3, and CD 8.16; 19.29.

⁴⁴²Fitzmyer, Essays on the Semitic Background, p. 251. Leviticus 25:9, "Then you shall send abroad the loud trumpet on the tenth day of the seventh month; on the day of atonement you shall send abroad the trumpet throughout all your land.". The Biblical context refers to the blowing of the ram's horn in order to mark the beginning of the year of jubilee.

new era will be Melchizedek. He acts as liberator and he atones for those whom he sets free. There is a definite sense of those who are 'right'. They are counted among the lot of Melchizedek. Those who are 'wrong' are subject to the judgements of Melchizedek. Isaiah 52:7 would appear to be an attempt to further identify the agent of the eschaton. However, the use of the Isaiah passage reverses the function of this agent. He is not only a judge but he is a herald of good tidings and salvation.⁴⁴³ Those who are 'in' have such a status because they establish the covenant and they do not walk in the way of the people (line 25). This is a clear reference to the community.

Scripture is a point of reference and a source of verification in 11QMelch. However, the text is so fragmented that it is difficult to make judgements on the use of scripture in forming self-understanding.

⁴⁴³The reversal in theme may indicate that there are two agents operative in the new age.

4 Re-writing of Scripture:

The Words of Moses¹

The scroll opens with Moses and the wilderness congregation being commanded to go to Mount Nebo.² Moses and Eleazar, son of Aaron are to proclaim to the congregation what God commands them. There follows a condemnation that Israel will not prove faithful to God.

And [call] heaven and [earth to witness against] them; for they will not love what I have commanded [them to do], neither [they] nor their children [during all] the days they shall [live upon the earth].³

1.5b-6a

This assessment of the future actions of Israel seems to be based on Deuteronomy 31:28-29.⁴ Some of the specific shortcomings will involve sinning against the holy days, the Sabbath and the covenant which they

¹The scroll of the Words of Moses comes from cave 1, and it appears to be based on a number of speeches of Moses. Its shortened designation is 1QDM. See D. Barthélemy, J.T. Milik, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 1, pp. 91-97 (the translation is taken from this Hebrew text); J.T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea, pp. 91-97.

²The first line is quite broken.

³Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 225.

⁴"Assemble to me all the elders of your tribes, and your officers, that I may speak these words in their ears and call heaven and earth to witness against them. For I know that after my death you will surely act corruptly, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you; and in the days to come evil will befall you, because you will do what is evil in the sight of the Lord, provoking him to anger through the work of your hands". Compare Deuteronomy 31:20.

were commanded to keep.

The second column admonishes Israel to keep the commandments in order that they might have all the good things that will be theirs in the land beyond the Jordan. These words of Moses are based on a number of passages from Deuteronomy.⁵

The scroll ends with the instructions to appoint men who will

expound [to you and your children] all
these words of the Law. [Watch carefully]
for your own sakes [that you keep them,
lest] the wrath [of your God] kindle and
burn against you, and He stop the heavens
above from shedding rain [upon you]⁶

2.8b-10a

The text is quite broken but it would seem that the writer of the scroll has understood Moses' instruction to the people to involve appointing men who would be able to expound the law. It is not simply a matter of appointing these men as a convenience for knowing the law but their appointment will prevent the wrath of God from being visited on the people.

Summary:

The speeches of Moses recorded in 1QDM are based on Deuteronomy. The method of using scripture is similar to the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs where the patriarchs (the sons of Jacob) predict the future of their descendants and admonish their sons to follow a particular life style. The text of 1QDM is quite broken but there appears to be a reference to the establishment of a group such as Qumran (expounders of

⁵Deuteronomy 6:11, 9:1, 27:9-10.

⁶Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 226.

the law) who will ensure the good graces of God and bring prosperity.⁷ Their appointment is the will of God and such an appointment will mean that the commandments, festivals and Sabbath will be observed. It would seem that scripture is being rewritten with the purpose of inserting the self-understanding of the community into the sacred texts. The writer is not content with using scripture as a point of reference but he employs scripture so it expressly states that the community becomes one of the institutions introduced by Moses.

⁷Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 226, has reconstructed the broken text so that the appointment of the expounders of the law will lead to correct observance which in turn will avert wrath (stopping of rain and harvest).

5 Pesharim

Commentaries¹

There is a series of scrolls that may be considered as commentaries on various books in the Hebrew Bible. They include the Biblical text with a commentary usually following the text. However, the commentary is not

¹The use of the word "commentary" may give a false impression to the scrolls that address the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible. They appear to give a commentary on the Biblical texts but in reality they come closer to attempting to apply the prophetic books to their present circumstances. See I. Rabinowitz, "Peshar/Pittaron", RevQ, 30, (1973), pp. 219-232. On page 230 Rabinowitz comments that the peshar "...may denote the 'ordinary-language' restatement of the reality prefigured in the enigmatic prophetic word...". Most pointedly he states on p. 231 that a peshar may be defined as a literary composition that states the realities that were prefigured in the Hebrew Bible. The thrust of peshar is found in the commentary on Habakkuk 2:1-2 where the prophet is depicted as writing down all that was revealed to him. Qumran understood that these writings applied to the last generation (their generation) and the full meaning of the texts (the hidden things) came from their community. See L. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle. A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Peshar", RevQ, 3 (1961-62), pp. 323-364 discusses the commentaries as either midrash peshar (parallel to midrash halakah and midrash haggadah) or a peshar like Daniel. The latter would make peshar a commentary of a special nature but not a midrash. F.F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, pp. 7-17, points out that peshar involves a divine mystery. He cites that its orientation may come from the Iranian noun, raz. An example of a raz is Nebuchadnezzar's dream of great images of four metals in Daniel 2:25-45. The raz cannot be understood until the interpretation, the peshar, is supplied. Both raz and peshar are understood to be divinely given. The raz is the first stage of revelation but it remains a mystery until the peshar is supplied. It is difficult to know if Qumran's peshar had an Iranian origin but Bruce's account seems to be quite close to the efforts of the congregation's commentaries. See A.G. Wright, "The Literary Genre Midrash", CBO, 28, (1966), pp. 105-138 and 417-457. Schiffman, The Halakhah at Qumran, p. 41, suggests that all Jews realized that Torah could not be lived by if it was taken literally. Thus oral law became a method to make the Biblical system livable. He equates peshar to oral law that allowed an escape from the literal orientation of the Bible. This is somewhat accurate although peshar has the sense of divine mystery for the final age.

limited in attempting to understand the Biblical text in its original setting. Rather, it would appear that the major concern of the Qumran commentaries is to uncover any hidden meaning that the Biblical text may have for the readers at the Dead Sea community. This endeavour has been given the name peshet. It is found in Koheleth 8:1 when it refers to the wise man who has the capacity for interpretation, (פֶּשֶׁר). It is also an Aramaic term used some 30 times in Daniel to designate the interpreter of visions and dreams.² The Hebrew equivalent is פֶּתַר in Genesis 40 and 41 which refers to the interpretation of dreams that relate to a specific situation. Each detail of the dream is interpreted.

The Qumran sectarians clearly used scripture as a means to understand their own community and those who were not among their numbers. The commentaries from Qumran indicate that they attempted to uncover the 'hidden mysteries'³ of scripture in order to know the message that was reserved for their generation.⁴ The message of the prophet is taken out of its own setting as it is applied to the situation that is contemporary

²See Rabinowitz, "Pēsher/Pittārōn", pp. 220-226 and A.L. Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East.

³See p. 47.

⁴Patte, Early Jewish Hermeneutic, p. 302, suggests that the commentaries reflect an "eschatological consciousness" that the community was the last generation.

with the community.⁵

⁵See G. Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism, pp. 37-49 and 59-91. Also, W.H. Brownlee, The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible, pp. 155-296; Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation Among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls", BA, 1951, pp. 54-76; O. Betz, "Le ministère cultuel dans la secte de Qumran et dans le christianisme primitif", La Secte de Qumran et les Origines du Christianisme, pp. 163-202; Betz, "The eschatological interpretation of the Sinai tradition in Qumran and in the New Testament", RevQ, 6, (1967), pp. 89-108; A. Finkel, "The Peshar of Dreams and Scripture", RevQ, 4, (1963-64), pp. 357-370; E. Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding of the Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls", RevQ, 25, (1965), pp. 3-15.

Commentary on Habakkuk⁶

The beginning of the Habakkuk scroll opens with a reference from Habakkuk 1:1-2,

[The oracle of God which Habakkuk the prophet saw. O Lord, how long shall I cry for help, and you will not hear? Or cry to you "violence!" and you will not save?

1.1-2a

This is interpreted to mean that the Biblical text is referring to the final generation.⁷ The Biblical text continues to be given but the interpretation is lost because of the broken text.

The Biblical text of Habakkuk 1:4 continues,

So the law is slacked and justice never goes forth. For the wicked surround the righteous, so justice goes forth perverted.

The weakening of the law and justice is understood to refer to those who have despised the law. The wicked one who surrounds the righteous and perverts justice is designated as the Wicked Priest. The righteous one

⁶This scroll is a verse by verse commentary on the first two chapters of Habakkuk. Its shortened designation is 1QpHab. See K.M.T. Atkinson, "The Historical Setting of the Habakkuk Commentary", *JSS*, 4, (1959), pp. 237-263; W.H. Brownlee, "The Jerusalem Habakkuk Scroll", *BASOR*, 112, (1948), pp. 8-18; Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk in the Ancient Commentary from Qumran*; F.F. Bruce, "The Dead Sea Habakkuk Scroll", *ALUOS*, 1, (1958-59), pp. 5-24; Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*; K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*; O.H. Lehmann, "Materials Concerning the Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls: I Habakkuk", *PEQ*, (1951), pp. 32-54; L.H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle. A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Peshet", *RevQ*, 3, (1961-62), pp. 323-364.

⁷1.2b.

who is being surrounded is the Teacher of Righteous.⁸

The end of column one and the beginning of column two reflects Habakkuk 1:5,

[Look among the nations, and see; wonder and be astounded. For I am doing a work in your days that you would not believe if] it was told.

1.17-21a

This is understood to refer to the unfaithful who were led by a central figure called a "man of falsehood".⁹ These unfaithful ones did not listen to the Teacher of Righteousness, for they apparently broke the covenant and spoke against God's name. Habakkuk 1:5 also is interpreted as indicating that there will be others who will be unfaithful.

They, the men of violence and breakers of the Covenant, will not believe when they hear all that [is to happen to] the final generation from the Priest¹⁰ [in whose heart] God set [understanding] that he might interpret all the words of His servants the Prophets, through whom He foretold all that would happen to

⁸1.12b-13, "The wicked surround the righteous, interpreted: the wicked, he is the wicked priest and the righteous, he is the Teacher of Righteousness". Note the term pishro (interpreted). This term follows throughout the scroll as an indication of the interpretation of the Biblical text. See Brownlee, The Text of Habakkuk, pp. 11-17 and E. Nielsen, The Righteous and the Wicked in Habakkuk, pp. 54-78. G.W. Buchanan, "The Priestly Teacher of Righteousness", RevQ, (1969), pp. 553-558 makes an interesting proposal that the Teacher of Righteousness may be a position rather than a particular individual.

⁹2.1b-2a. This individual who is in opposition to the Teacher of Righteousness seems to be the same person as the wicked priest.

¹⁰"The priest" is possibly another title for the Teacher of Righteousness. Note that part of his responsibilities is to interpret the prophets.

His people and [His land].¹¹

2.6b-10b

From general predictions of future events in the Biblical text the writer has introduced the figure of a "Wicked priest" who struggles against the representative of the community, the "Teacher of Righteousness." The presentation of the Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness comes from the tension between the wicked and the righteous in Habakkuk 1:4b. The community used the Biblical text to interpret and provide substance for understanding their own conflict. Their conflict was not seen as just a debate between a leader in power and his opponents (the Teacher of Righteousness may have had a number of enemies) but the conflict between the wicked [person] and the righteous [person] predicted [for the end of time] by the prophet.

An interpretation of Habakkuk 1:6-11 is found in columns 2.10b-4.13.

The Biblical text is as follows,

For lo, I am rousing the Chaldeans,¹² that bitter and hasty nation, who march through the breadth of the earth, to seize habitations not their own. Dread and terrible are they; their justice and dignity proceed from themselves. Their horses are swifter than leopards, more fierce than the evening wolves; their horsemen press proudly on. Yea their horsemen come from afar; they fly like an eagle swift to devour. They all come for violence; terror of them goes before them. They gather captives like the sand. At kings they scoff, and of rulers they make sport. They laugh at every fortress, for they heap up earth and take it. Then they sweep by like the wind and go on,

¹¹Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 236.

¹²See p. 98.

guilty men, whose own might is their
God.¹³

The section concerning the Chaldeans, who are bitter and hasty, is understood to refer to the Kittim,¹⁴ who have control of the whole world. They are defined further as those who do not believe the laws of God.¹⁵ The Biblical reference to the Chaldean's scoffing at kings and making sport of rulers is applied to the actions of the Kittim, when "they ridicule kings and princes and they scoff at the mighty host".¹⁶ Habakkuk 2:11, 'sweeping like wind', is interpreted to mean that the Kittim receive counsel from the "house of guilt".¹⁷

¹³The Biblical text is broken by the interpretation of specific sections.

¹⁴See p. 98 and H.H. Rowley, "The Kittim and the Dead Sea Scrolls", PEQ, 88, (1956), pp. 92-109.

¹⁵2.14b-15a. The Kittim plunder the cities and bring fear and dread. They plunder the earth and devour people like an eagle that cannot be satisfied, 2.15b-3.14a.

¹⁶4.1-2a.

¹⁷4.10-11a, מושלי הכתיאים אשר בעצה בית אשמה, "the commanders of the Kittim who on the council of the house of guilt" (pass in front of one another). In the Biblical text the idolater perishes before God. The writer of 1QpHab uses a collective term for the 'wrong'. See B. Gärtner, "The Habakkuk Commentary (DSH) and the Gospel of Matthew", ST, 8, (1955), pp. 2-3, for a discussion of the textual variants between the scroll and the MT. Some view this "house of guilt" as a reference to the Roman senate while others see it as a possible Seleucid reference. See Atkinson, "Historical Setting of Habakkuk", pp. 239-243.

Habakkuk 1:12-13a¹⁸ is interpreted to mean that God will not destroy his people, for in fact the elect will execute judgement on other nations.

Interpreted, this saying means that God will not destroy His people by the hand of the nations; God will execute the judgment of the nations by the hand of His elect. And through their chastisement all the wicked of His people shall expiate their guilt who keep His commandments in their distress.¹⁹

5.3-6a

The reference to God having eyes too pure to look on evil is interpreted to refer to those who have not lusted after their eyes during the age of wickedness.²⁰

A most interesting peshar is attached to Habakkuk 1.13b. The Biblical text is presented in the scroll as follows,

Why do you - O treacherous ones - stare
and keep silent while the wicked destroy

¹⁸Are you not from everlasting, O Lord my God, my Holy One? We shall not die. O Lord, you, O Rock, have established them for chastisement. You who are purer eyes than to behold evil and can not look on wrong. The beginning of column 5 is missing.

¹⁹There is difficulty knowing if "their chastisements" refers back to the elect or forward to the wicked. The passage is too controverted to know its full meaning. The point of interest is whether the elect who hold fast at the time of affliction will bring the wicked of Israel to repentance or if the (formerly) wicked of Israel will expiate their own guilt by keeping the commandments in the time of distress. See Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 253-254 for a discussion of various theories.

(swallow) one as righteous as he?²¹
5.7b

The interpretation of the passage is that this text refers to the House of Absalom and the members of the council²² who were silent during the chastisement of the Teacher of Righteousness. They did not come to his assistance when "the man of falsehood rejected the law in the midst of their congregation".²³ The tag of persecution in the Biblical text is the key to this pesher. What is given in generalities in scripture is now stated in specifics in reference to the history that is contemporary with the author.²⁴

The end of column six addresses the meaning of pesher in a most pointed manner. The writer gives the text of Habakkuk 2:1-2.

I will take my stand to watch and will station myself upon my tower. I will look to see what He will say to me and what [I will answer] concerning my complaint. And the Lord answered [and said 'write down the vision and make it plain] upon the tablets, that [he may

²¹The one who is righteous may either be the first person plural or the third singular, ממנו. The Biblical context is somewhat different. The writer asks why the one who can look at no wrong can look upon faithless men and be silent when the wicked swallow up the righteous man.

²²This would appear to refer to a family that was of some importance during the reign of Jonathan and Simon. See I Maccabees 11:70 and 13:11.

²³It would appear that this opponent of the community had a confrontation either in the geographic area of Qumran or in some sort of assembly of the congregation.

²⁴The end of column 5 and the beginning of column 6 deals with more interpretations of the Kittim. They worship their military equipment, ravage the lands and cause the people to perish by the sword.

run] who reads it.

6.12b-16a

The interpretation follows. Habakkuk was directed to write down what would happen in the final generation. However, he did not know when the events would take place. That remained a mystery until an individual was appointed by God to reveal the raz (the mystery).²⁵ The designation of that individual is taken from the last part of the Biblical reference. The one who reads the tablets is understood to be the Teacher of Righteousness whom God chose to make known "all the mysteries of the words of His servants the prophets".²⁶

Habakkuk 2:3 admonishes the reader not to loose faith by appealing to the words of the prophet.

For still the vision awaits its time;
it hastens to the end, it will not lie.
If it seems slow, wait for it; it will
surely come, it will not delay.

The writer interprets the 'vision awaiting' as the final age which is being prolonged. It will exceed all that the prophets had predicted. He asserts that the mysteries of God are astounding.²⁷ The scriptural reference to this vision seeming slow is interpreted concerning the men of truth who keep the law.²⁸ They do not hesitate in their service to truth while the final age is prolonged. All the ages of God reach their

²⁵See p. 128.

²⁶7.4-5a. The Teacher of Righteousness is depicted within a heightened sense of eschatology. See Gärtner, "The Habakkuk Commentary", pp. 9-12 and L. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle", RevQ, 3, (1961-62), pp. 326-327 and 344-346.

²⁷7.8.

²⁸7.10b-11a.

appointed ends by the mysteries of God's wisdom.²⁹

Habakkuk 2:4 is as follows,

Behold, he whose soul is not upright
in him shall fail, but the righteous
shall live by his faith.

The peshar of the first part of this verse refers to the wicked whose sins will not be forgiven when they are judged.³⁰ Here is a very definite sense of the fate of those outside the community. This is contrasted to those within the community. The latter are defined as those who are righteous by faith. However, the commentary on Habakkuk does not stop at this designation but uncovers the mysteries that are in this Biblical text. The righteous who live by faith are interpreted as those,

who observe the Law in the House of
Judah, whom God will deliver from
the House of Judgement because of their
suffering and because of their faith in
the Teacher of Righteousness.³¹

8.1-3a

The scriptural designation of "the righteous" is a definite reference to one who is 'right'. However, the commentary on Habakkuk goes beyond the scriptural sense of right and brings out what is hidden from those outside the community. The 'right' observe the law בנית יהודה (in the house of Judah). Their 'rightness' assures their deliverance from judge-

²⁹7.13-14a.

³⁰7.16, חטאיתיהם ולוא יארצו במשפטם, "their sins will not be paid off (compensated for) at their judgement".

³¹Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 239.

ment because of their suffering and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness. It would seem that for this peshar observance of the law, suffering and faith in the Teacher of Righteousness were all requirements to be among the lot of the elect that would be pardoned on the day of judgement. The elaborations of the mystery is quite distant from the statement of the original Biblical reference.

The next peshar comes from Habakkuk 2:5-6.³² It understands that the Biblical text refers to the Wicked Priest, who was at first thought to be a man of high esteem.³³ However, as he ruled over Israel he became proud and he betrayed the precepts of God for riches. He is portrayed as living among unclean defilement.³⁴

Habakkuk 2:7-11 is presented as the next peshar.

Will not the debtors suddenly rise and your torturers awake? Then you will be their booty. Because you have plundered many people all the remnant of the people shall plunder you.³⁵ The blood of men [will come as well as] violence to the earth, cities and those who dwell there.³⁶

³²"Moreover, wine is treacherous; the arrogant man shall not abide. His greed is as wide as Sheol; like death he has never enough. He gathers for himself all nations, and collects as his own all peoples. Shall not all these take up their taunt against him, in scoffing derision of him, and say, 'Woe to him who heaps up what is not his own - for how long? - and loads himself with pledges!'", 8.3b-8a.

³³He was called by the name of truth (שם האמת).

³⁴8.9b-13a.

³⁵8.13b-15.

³⁶9.8.

Woe to him who obtains evil gain for his house in order to set his nest high and to be out of harm's reach. You have planned shame for your house by cutting off many people. You have forfeited your life. [The stone] will cry out from the wall and the beam from the wood.³⁷

Each division of the Biblical text (separated by each footnote) is followed by an interpretation of the scripture. The debtors* (oppressors) and the torturers are understood to refer to the Priest who rebelled against the commandments. As a result of his actions he was afflicted with bodily diseases.³⁸ The writer inserts the Biblical reference of 2:8a, "because you have plundered many nations, all the remnant of the people shall plunder you", as a proof text to support the judgements on this Priest.³⁹ However, in using the scriptural text as a proof for judgement the writer also interprets his proof text to mean that the priests at Jerusalem (who amass wealth) will plunder the people. It is interesting to note that the same scripture is used as a proof text for past events and a pointer to the contemporary circumstances. The judgement on the Priest is supported by the proof text, and immediately following the scriptural text is its own interpretation. The writer does not seem to be bothered that the scriptural text is being used for a dual purpose. It is difficult to see any immediate relationship between the two applications of the text but it seems probable that the second application developed from the proof-text orientation. The riches of the priests will eventually end up in the hands

³⁷9.12b-15.

³⁸9.1b-2a.

³⁹9.3-4a, Habakkuk 2:8a.

of the Kittim.

The blood of men and the violence of the land is interpreted as referring to the Wicked Priest. He was "delivered into the hands of his enemies"⁴⁰ because of his actions against the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his council.

The reference to one cutting off people and thus forfeiting his soul⁴¹ is interpreted to refer to the Condemned House. Those who belong to this house will be delivered to a judgement that will be obvious to all of the people.

Habakkuk 2:12-14⁴² is interpreted to refer to the מטיף הכזב⁴³ who led many astray by building a city of vanity with blood and raising a following by deceit. He caused many to offer services that meant nothing and their actions were rewarded by fierce judgements.⁴⁴ These judgements were related to an offense toward the Day of Atonement.⁴⁵

The last section of peshar reflects Habakkuk 2:16-20. The most

⁴⁰9.9.

⁴¹10.2b, Habakkuk 2:10b.

⁴²10.5b-8a, "Woe to him who builds a town with blood and founds a city on iniquity. Behold, it is not from the Lord of hosts that people labour for fire and nations weary themselves for nothing".

⁴³Preacher of lies.

⁴⁴10.9-13.

⁴⁵"And at the time appointed for rest, for the Day of Atonement, he [the Wicked Priest] appeared before them to confuse them, and to cause them to stumble on the Day of Fasting, their Sabbath of repose", 11.6b-8a, Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 239-240. This is the peshar of Habakkuk 2:15.

important issues center around Habakkuk's prediction that the violence done by beasts to Lebanon will overwhelm the people and they will be terrified because of the violence done to the land, city and the inhabitants.⁴⁶ This is understood to refer to the punishment of the Wicked Priest. The vehicle of punishment finds definition from the Biblical text. Lebanon is interpreted as the council of the community. The beasts are represented as those in Judah who keep the law.⁴⁷ It should be noted that the designation of punishment (Lebanon) in the Biblical text now is represented as those who are 'right', (the council of the community). Those who do the punishing (the beasts) also is presented as 'the right'. One might have expected Lebanon to represent those who were in opposition and thus would have experienced ultimate judgement. However, this is not the case. The violence done to the land in Habakkuk 2:17b is interpreted to refer to Jerusalem, where the Wicked Priest committed abominable deeds by defiling the Temple. The scroll ends with the prediction (based on the peshet of Habakkuk 2:19-20) that on the day of judgement God will destroy the idolatrous and wicked men.⁴⁸

Summary:

The thrust of the commentary on Habakkuk is to give the community's

⁴⁶11.16-12.1.

⁴⁷12.3b-5a.

⁴⁸13.2b-3.

application and understanding of the Biblical text. The opening section indicates that the writer understood that his commentary was for the last generation. The belief in the coming eschaton may have heightened the sense of expectation so that an ordinary interpretation of scripture was not sufficient. Rather, all hidden things in the Biblical text had to be made clear for those who looked for the coming end. This is demonstrated in 6.12b-7.5 where Habakkuk is instructed to write down clearly what would happen in the last generation. The prophet himself did not know when his writings would be fulfilled. The task of making all things in scripture clear was given to the Teacher of Righteousness.

The commentary on Habakkuk reflects the Biblical theme of judgement and the designation of 'right' and 'wrong'. Habakkuk 1:4b laments that, "...the wicked surround the righteous, so justice goes forth perverted". The community's understanding of this verse would seem to reflect their own contemporary situation. The general designation of the "wicked" in scripture is defined as an historical figure called the Wicked Priest. One should note that the peshar reserved for the last generation is not a general interpretation. The historical identity of this Wicked Priest has been lost to us for a possible identification but it is clear that the community had a very precise understanding of him. He surrounded the righteous. As a man of promise he was held in high esteem. However, he eventually became proud and he betrayed the precepts of God and rebelled against the commandments for the sake of riches. God judged him and afflicted him with diseases. Eventually he would be delivered into the hands of his enemies because of his actions against the Teacher of Righteousness and the community. The reading and interpretation of

Habakkuk means that the writer arrives at a very clear understanding of who is 'wrong'. The link between scripture and the contemporary history of the writer is carried on in 1QpHab by discussing the 'wrong' in terms of the "man of falsehood" who caused some in the community to be unfaithful and break the covenant. The Kittim who ridicule and scoff at authorities are defined as 'wrong' from the interpretation of Habakkuk. It is important to note that the sect defines itself against its Israelite opponents (i.e. man of falsehood) and the Gentiles (Kittim) in 1QpHab. We have seen the Kittim as the community's opponent in 1QM (columns 15-19) and the wicked in Israel in 1QS (5.1-3) and 1QH (2.12,21; 4.19). However, in this scroll both opponents are the wicked.

The designation of the wicked is balanced with a definition of those who are 'right'. The "righteous" in Habakkuk 1:4 is defined as the Teacher of Righteousness and by implication the community that is true to him. The entire peshar of Habakkuk details what was a general designation of 'right' in scripture. The Teacher of Righteousness suffered at the hands of the Wicked Priest. However, the Teacher of Righteousness is the one chosen to read the tablets of Habakkuk. He is to make known all the mysteries of the prophets to those of the 'right'. The "righteous" is defined as referring to the Prophet of the community who would interpret the prophets for the final generation.

As I noted earlier the Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness may have been introduced into the scroll from the key words of "wicked surrounding the righteous" in Habakkuk 1:4. The tension between them is the realization of what was predicted by the prophet.

The definition of the 'right' is made very clear from 8.1-3a. This

is the peshar on the well known Habakkuk text of 2:4b, "the righteous shall live by his faith". The Biblical text is interpreted to refer to those who observe the law and who escape judgement because of their suffering and faith in the Teacher of Righteousness. This most assuredly is the Dead Sea community. The ability to find a natural touchstone in the scriptural text for such a definition of the 'right' is almost impossible. It would appear that the orientation for the definition of 'right' or 'wrong' had as much to do with the ultimate peshar as it did with the scriptural reference.

The grounds for such a view of scripture seems to be very close to what Bruce proposed. Scripture is understood to contain a hidden meaning or mystery (raz). The hidden meaning was meant for the history that was contemporary with the community and the community's mandate is to make that meaning known to those among the 'right'.

Interpretation is rooted in the Biblical text but the situation that the writer is addressing is of equal importance. Habakkuk 2:7-11 addresses the torturers and oppressors who will be plundered by the remnant because they plundered the people. The interpretation of this text is that the offense being committed is rebellion against the commandments. The scroll includes a support reference from Habakkuk 2:8a for the judgement that will come in light of the offense committed by the Wicked Priest. The writer then proceeds immediately with an interpretation of the support reference that is somewhat unrelated to the original idea of the punishment of the Wicked Priest. The peshar of the support reference concerns the priests of Jerusalem who gain great riches at the expense of the people. The second interpretation would appear to be determined by

the writer's desire to make a comment about his contemporary situation. The method he employs is 'tagged' to a scriptural reference.

Habakkuk 2:16-20 describes the violence that will be done to Lebanon by beasts. The peshet of this text is that the "violence" is the punishment of the Wicked Priest. Lebanon is interpreted as the council of the community and the beasts are understood as those in Judah who keep the law. In the Biblical setting Lebanon is attacked by the beasts. In the peshet, Lebanon (the council of the community) and the beast (those who keep the commandments) are both on the same side. This peshet would indicate that the interpretation of the mystery overrules the setting in scripture.

Commentary on Nahum⁴⁹

The scroll opens with a broken line.⁵⁰ The Biblical reference that follows is from Nahum 2:11,

Where the wretched lion [is], the
lioness dwells there and the young
lion and none to terrify.

1.1

This is interpreted to refer to Demetrius⁵¹ the king of Greece. He is depicted as the one who took counsel with the "seekers of smooth things"⁵²

⁴⁹The commentary on Nahum came from cave four and it is relatively well preserved. Its shortened designation is 4QpNah. See J.M. Allegro, "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect", *JBL*, 75, (1956), pp. 89-93; Allegro, "More Unpublished Pieces of a Qumran Commentary on Nahum (4QpNah)", *JSS*, 7, (1962), pp. 304-311; Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 5, pp. 37-42; J.D. Asmusin, "Ephraim et Manassé dans le Peshèr de Nahum", *RevQ*, 4, (1964), pp. 389-396; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Observations sur le commentaire de Nahum découvert près de la Mer Morte", *Journal des Savants*, (1963), pp. 201-227; S.B. Hoenig, "Dorshé Halahot in the Peshèr Nahum Scroll", *JBL*, 83, (1964), pp. 119-138; Hoenig, "Peshèr Nahum 'Talmud'", *JBL*, 86, (1967), pp. 441-445; R. Weiss, "A Comparison Between the Massoretic and the Qumran Texts of Nahum III, 1-11", *RevQ*, 15, (1963), pp. 433-439; Y. Yadin, "The Peshèr Nahum Reconsidered", *IEJ*, 21, (1971), pp. 1-12.

⁵⁰Allegro, "Further Light", p. 90, has reconstructed it, "...a dwelling for the wicked ones of the Gentiles". It is helpful to keep in mind that the Biblical context of Nahum is an oracle against Nineveh.

⁵¹There are three possibilities for this title. The first two are Demetrius I (ca. 162-150 B.C.E.) and Demetrius II (ca. 146-139 B.C.E.). Both men challenged the Hasmoneans but gave a fair amount of autonomy to Jerusalem. Demetrius III assisted the Pharisees against Alexander Janneus. See V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilizations and the Jews*, pp. 232-233, 238-239, 252 and H.H. Rowley, "4QpNahum and the Teacher of Righteousness", *JBL*, 75, (1956), pp. 188-193.

⁵²Rabin, *Qumran Studies*, p. 55 suggests that דורשי החלקות should be rendered expositors of smooth things.

to enter Jerusalem. However, this was not realized. The peshet indicates that God did not allow the city to be given up to outside forces from the time of Antiochus until the coming of the rulers of the Kittim. The third line of this first column is somewhat broken but it would appear that the interpretation of Nahum 2:11 includes a prediction that the city will suffer defeat at some future point.⁵³ The peshet seems more concerned with the establishment of the 'right' and 'wrong' than with an exegesis of the Biblical text. Demetrius, seekers of smooth things and Jerusalem are difficult to find in the Nahum text.

Nahum 2:21 asserts that,

the lion tears sufficient for his cubs
and strangles for his lioness prey.
1.4

[he filled his caves with prey] and his
den with victims.

1.6

The peshet of this text refers to a "lion of wrath"⁵⁴ who strikes with his mighty warriors and the men of his counsel. The second part of the Biblical text (1.6) is understood to refer to the "seekers of smooth

⁵³[But he did not enter, for] from Antiochus until the rising of the commanders of the Kittim [God did not deliver it] into the hand of the kings of Yawan. But afterwards it will be trampled under foot [by the Kittim...]", Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings, p. 268.

⁵⁴A possible reference to Alexander Jannaeus (ca. 103-76 B.C.E.). See Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran in Perspective, pp. 144-145; 147-152.

things" who were hung alive.⁵⁵ The peshet of line 1.6 is supported by a reference back to Nahum 2:13,

for it (the Scripture) calls the one
hanged alive on the tree - Behold,
I am against [thee, saith the Lord
of Hosts, and I shall burn up in
smoke Thine abundan]ce (?), and thy
young lions the sword shall devour.
And I shall cut [off from the land]
his [p]rey.⁵⁶

].8b-9

The scroll is broken at the beginning of line seven but it seems that the writer uses scripture to discuss the "seekers after smooth things" who hang men alive. The tag for the contemporary situation is Nahum 2:12. The peshet of the Biblical text moves back into the scriptural context and in fact the second scriptural text (Nahum 2:13) serves as a judgement against those who would hang a man alive on a tree. The transition from Biblical text to peshet back to Biblical text is abrupt and difficult to follow.

"Thine abundance" from Nahum 2:13 is interpreted to refer to the bands of warriors⁵⁷ and "his prey" is understood to be the wealth that the priests at Jerusalem had amassed.⁵⁸ From 1.4 to 1.9 the writer uses

⁵⁵1.6b-8a, "The explanation of this concerns the furious Young Lion [who...took ven]geance on those who seek smooth things - he who hanged living men [on wood...which was not] formerly [done] in Israel, but he who hanged alive upon [the] wood [...]", Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings, p. 269. This may be a reference to Alexander Jannaeus's execution of 800 Pharisees while their wives and children watched, (Josephus, Jewish War, I.iv.6).

⁵⁶Allegro, "Further Light", p. 91.

⁵⁷The interpretation of the young lions is lost because of the corrupt text.

⁵⁸1.11.

scripture as a tag as well as a judgement for his contemporary situation. Note that he interprets the scripture that had served as his judgement text. The concern for the use of scripture in both cases has to do with addressing those who are 'wrong'.

Column two opens with a reference to Nahum 3:1,

Woe to the city of blood; it is full of
lies and plunder.

1.2

This is interpreted to refer not to the Biblical context of Nineveh but to Ephraim⁵⁹ and the seekers of smooth things who walk in lies and falsehood.⁶⁰

The prowler is not wanting, noise of
whip and noise of rattling wheel,
prancing horse and jolting chariot,
mounting horsemen, flame and glittering
spear, a multitude of slain and a heap
of carcasses. There is no end to the
corpses; they stumble upon their
corpses.⁶¹

2.3-4a

This rendering of Nahum 3:1c-3 is interpreted to refer to the rule of the seekers after smooth things. Their rule is characterized by the swords of nations⁶² that will plunder and take captives. There will be no end to

⁵⁹Ephraim and Manasseh were adopted sons of Jacob (Genesis 48:1). Ephraim became a designation for Israel after the Syro-Ephraimite war (ca. 734-732 B.C.E.) when the northern kingdom had its territory limited to the area of Ephraim and Manasseh. See J. D. Asmusin, "Ephraim et Manassé dans le Pêshèr de Nahum", *RevQ*, 4, (1964), pp. 389-396.

⁶⁰2.2

⁶¹Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 232.

⁶²Or Gentiles.

the slaughter.⁶³

Nahum 3:4,

And for all the countless harlotries
of the harlot, graceful and of deadly
charms, who betrays nations with her
harlotries, and peoples with her charms

2.7

The Biblical text is interpreted to mean that it refers to those who will lead Ephraim astray with false teachings, lies and deceit. By their counsel families and cities will perish and kings, princes and priests will be among those who will join these false teachers. One is struck by the very defined sense of those who are 'wrong' in this peshet. It may be that it contains a list of the opponents of the community. The Biblical context refers to Nineveh playing the harlot and harlot may be directed at the cult of Ishtar that was characterized by temple prostitutes.⁶⁴ The Nahum peshet seems more interested in having a scriptural tag for those who are 'wrong' than in developing the concept of harlotry. It would have been more appropriate if the Qumran text had developed the idea of harlot and her devices and then moved into a discussion of the opponents. However, the peshet does not dwell on the theme of harlotry but directs itself to the circumstances that surround the community. The writer of the peshet may have felt that the theme of harlotry was obvious to his readership and the mystery (raz) of scripture needed his more immediate attention.

⁶³2.4b-6.

⁶⁴Compare Jeremiah 7:18; 44:17-19, 25.

Column 3.1b-2 presents Nahum 3:6-7a,

And I will cast upon thee detested things, and I will treat thee with contempt and make thee repulsive and all who look on thee will flee from thee.⁶⁵

The peshet is that the seekers of smooth things will have their evil deeds uncovered before all of Israel at the end of time. The curse in the Biblical text⁶⁶ against the harlot, Nineveh, is now directed toward the seekers of smooth things. However, the judgement is given an eschatological charge as the uncovering of the seeker's evil deeds will be at the end of time. The peshet moves from the community's contemporary situation to a future context. The "seekers" will be repulsive because of their involvement with Israel's enemies. The "simple of Ephraim"⁶⁷ will recognize the fate of those who follow the "seekers" and they will flee from their midst to join Israel.⁶⁸

The peshet of Nahum moves from a pointed reference to Qumran's contemporary situation. Nahum 3:8a⁶⁹ is interpreted to refer to Manasseh⁷⁰ and the nobles of Manasseh. Nahum 3:9b, "Put⁷¹ and the Libyans were her-

⁶⁵Allegro, "More Unpublished Pieces", p. 309.

⁶⁶Nahum 3:5, "Behold, I am against you, says the Lord of hosts, and will lift up your skirts over your face; and I will let nations look on your nakedness and kingdoms on your shame".

⁶⁷This is a possible reference to some in Israel that will eventually join the community.

⁶⁸3.3-5.

⁶⁹"Are you better than Thebes [Hebrew, No-amon] that sat by the Nile...".

⁷⁰See n. 59.

⁷¹"Put" in the Hebrew Bible refers either to Somalia or Libya.

helpers", is understood to refer to the wicked ones of Judah and those of the house of separation who joined Manasseh.⁷²

No-Amon eventually fell to the Assyrians in the Biblical context. Nahum understands this as a punishment by God.

Yet she was carried away, [she went into captivity: even] her young children will be dashed in pieces at the tops of all the streets; and they will cast lots for her honourable men and all [her nobles [were bound] in chains.⁷³

4.1b-3a

The peshar of this passage understands that a similar fate will befall Manasseh. In fact, one has the feeling that the oracle of Nahum is now finding its ultimate fulfillment with the judgement of Manasseh. At the end of time his rule of Israel will cease. His wives and children will go into captivity and his nobles and warriors will fall by the sword.⁷⁴ The Biblical text finds its final application by judging Manasseh. The peshar is heightened because of the eschatological charge of the last days.

The scroll ends in a fragmented form at line 9 but it is clear⁹ that the peshar in column four is concerned with the wicked ones who come after Manasseh.⁷⁵

⁷²4.1a.

⁷³Allegro, "More Unpublished Pieces", p. 310.

⁷⁴4.3-5a.

⁷⁵Allegro, "More Unpublished Pieces", p. 310.

Summary:

The peshar of Nahum is characterized by references to historical figures or situations such as Demetrius, Manasseh and the period from Antiochus to the Kittim.

Scripture is the basis of discussion and the point of departure for comments about the community and their contemporary situation. However, one has the impression that the message and content of scripture are secondary to the mystery that is being revealed by the writer. Scripture as a means of proof-text is used in a very limited sense.

The two major concerns of 4QpNah are the designation of those who are 'wrong' and an account of the community's contemporary situation. The "seekers after smooth things" is a reference for those among the 'wrong'. This title is given without explanation and it does not seem to have an orientation from Nahum. One has to wonder if the title came from another context that would have been familiar to both writer and readership. These "seekers after smooth things" would appear to be in a strong position of power and it would seem that they may have been a physical threat to the Qumran community. Part of the effort of giving a peshar of Nahum was to assert that these "seekers" would be punished and their true motivations would be exposed to all of Israel. The writer of 4QpNah is so concerned with the characterization of 'wrong' for these seekers and their coming punishment that he seems to have missed opportunities to discuss them within the context of the scriptural texts. This is particularly true in 2.7 where the harlotry of Nineveh is discussed. It would have seemed that harlotry would have been a good

theme to develop in regard to these opponents.

However, the peshar is concerned with listing those among the lot of the 'wrong' and their coming doom. This may give us a good insight into the concept of peshar. Its role is not really a commentary that is discussing a text in its own right with possible innovations in regard to interpretation. Peshar seems to lift scripture out of its original setting to give definition to the immediate and future situation. Most often the thrust of definition is concerned with designating who is 'right' or 'wrong'.

The contemporary situation of 4QpNah would appear to be a period of violence.⁷⁶ There are attempts by Demetrius and the "seekers" to take Jerusalem. Hangings and bands of warriors are common place and the priesthood is depicted as accumulating great wealth.⁷⁶

⁷⁶This is a common complaint against outsiders who are in power. See I Enoch 94.8; 46.7; 96.4.

Commentaries on Isaiah⁷⁷4QpIsa^a

4QpIsa is made up of a number of fragments that comment on Isaiah. The first fragment begins with Isaiah 10:22 but the text is very broken and it is difficult to make sense of the pesher. Isaiah 10:28-32 is given in 1.3-7 but the commentary is difficult to follow because of the broken text. There appears to be a fight but the opponents are missing because of the state of the text.

Column two⁷⁸ has the remains of a pesher that includes a reference to Kittim on line two and the Gentiles on line three.

Column three continues a discussion of the warring Kittim but the sense of the commentary is lost because of the corrupt text. Line ten of column three has a clear presentation of Isaiah 11.1-4a,

And there shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse and a branch from his roots will spring forth, and there will rest upon him the spirit of Yahweh, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel [and might] the spirit of knowledge and the fear of

⁷⁷There are five fragments of commentaries on Isaiah from cave four. Fragment 4QpIsa^a comments on the messianic passage from Isaiah 10-11. The text is very broken. 4QpIsa^b consists of three columns of fragmented commentary on Isaiah 5. See J.M. Allegro, "More Isaiah Commentaries from Qumran's Fourth Cave", *JBL*, 77, 1958, pp. 215-218 for variants of 4QpIsa^a from MT. See Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 5, pp. 11-30; J. Carmignac, "Notes sur les Pesharim", *RevQ*, 3, (1962), pp. 505-538; W.R. Lane, "Peshar Style as a Reconstruction Tool in 4QPesher Isaiah^b", *RevQ*, 2, (1959-60), pp. 281-283; Y. Yadin, "Some Notes on the newly published Pesharim of Isaiah", *IEJ*, 9, (1959), pp. 39-42. The text is based on Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 5 and "More Isaiah Commentaries".

⁷⁸Column two is really a second fragment.

Yahweh, and his delight shall be in the
 fear of] Yahweh [and not] according to the
 seeing [of his eyes shall he judge and not
 according to the hearing of his ears shall
 he decide] but he shall judge [with
 righteousness the poor and decide.⁷⁹

3.10-13

The interpretation of this Biblical text is applied to the end of time. A shoot of David will arise. He will be put in a position of honour and glory and he will rule over all the nations. By his sword he shall judge all people.

Isaiah 11:3b is presented again in line 6,

Not according to the seeing of his eyes shall
 he judge] nor according to the hearing of
 his ears shall he decide.⁸⁰

4.6

The peshet text is broken but there is a most interesting development in the messianic expectations of Qumran. In the Biblical text the messiah figure will not judge by his ears or eyes but he will judge the poor with righteousness and decide with equity for the meek of the earth. However, in 4QpIsa^a it would appear that a group (presumably those in the community) will teach this military-type messiah so that he may judge properly.

...[the Priests]⁸¹...As they teach him, so will
 he judge; and as they order, [so will he pass
 sentence]. One of the Priests of renown shall
 go out, and garment of...shall be in his hands

...⁸²

4.7-8

⁷⁹Allegro, "More Isaiah Commentaries", p. 180.

⁸⁰Allegro, "More Isaiah Commentaries", p. 181.

⁸¹This is a reconstruction from Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 227.

⁸²Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, 227.

From this first fragment of Isaiah it would seem that the commentary expected the rise of a military messiah who would fight and be triumphant over the Kittim and other opponents of the community. However, his ability to rule and judge properly came from the advice of a select group. One part of their group (or possibly the entire group) was made up of priests. The use of the Isaiah passage is not unusual until the last section of column four where the priestly advisors are added to the messianic concept. It is a unique presentation of a messiah-figure.⁸³ The scriptural basis for this innovation does not seem to be clear and it probably finds its orientation from the belief that the community had access to what was hidden.⁸⁴ The hidden things were not only applicable for the communal life-style but they had eschatological significance at the end of time. It is important to note that the peshet is directed toward the judgement and punishment of the 'right' over the 'wrong'. We have seen earlier in other scrolls that the community possessed what was hidden from the rest of Israel. Peshet involves the exposure of mysteries that had been contained in scripture but were unknown until the community uncovered them. In this last section of 4QpIsa^a we see the combination of peshet method with the hidden knowledge of the community.

4QpIsa^b

4QpIsa^b is made up of three columns of fragmented commentary on

⁸³See R. E. Brown, "The Messianism of Qumran", CBQ, 19, (1957), pp. 53-82.

⁸⁴See pp. 46-47.

Isaiah 5. The text is quite broken with much of the interpretation missing.

Column two indicates that some of the peshar was directed toward a discussion of the end of days. Isaiah 5:13-14 asserts that the people go into exile because of their lack of knowledge. Sheol has enlarged its mouth and the nobility of Jerusalem and her multitudes go down into it. This is interpreted as referring to Men of Scoffing who are in Jerusalem.⁸⁵ The peshar of Isaiah 5:14 is attached to Isaiah 5:24c. These men of scoffing from Jerusalem,

have rejected the law of God, and the word of the Holy One of Israel they have despised.

2.6-8a

The Biblical text (5:25) continues with statements of judgement.

Therefore the anger of the Lord was kindled against his people, and he stretched out his hand against them and smote them, and the mountains quaked; and their corpses were as refuse in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away and his hand is stretched out still.

2.8b-10a

The community identifies the Biblical statements with those who were contemporary with themselves (the men of scoffing of Jerusalem) and they define these people as 'wrong' by the use of scripture. These scoffers are 'wrong' because they have rejected the law of God. The writer had a number of options to choose to condemn his opponents. However, he took the one which served to contrast the 'right' from the 'wrong'. The 'right' do not reject the law of God and the word of the Holy one. This is

a significant designation of the 'right' because the community spent a great deal of time reading and studying the law. The use of scripture serves to validate the community's accusations against the 'wrong' and it supports the beliefs and activities of those who believed themselves to be 'right'.

4QpIsa^c

The third fragment addresses Isaiah 30:15-21. However, a great deal of the pesher is missing. It is interesting that the major theme of Isaiah 30:15-21 is the grace and mercy of God in waiting for the people to return to Him. However, the small section of pesher that is available picks up on those who flee from the mercy of God and interprets them as the congregation of the seekers after smooth things. They are identified as those from Jerusalem who do [not keep?] the law. The writer of 4QpIsa^c then inserts a section from Hosea 6:9 to give even more pointed emphasis to his accusations against those who are 'wrong'.

The interpretation of the phrase, at the end of days, concerning the congregation of the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things who are in Jerusalem.....[] in the Law, and they will not [be(?)...] heard for at the head of [...] As robbers] wait for a man, [so the priests are banded together (?)] the Law they have rejected [...]

.lines 10-14

The fragment then continues with Isaiah 30:19 about the people of Zion who weep no more. It would appear from this example that pesher involves the use of other scriptural passages to bring out the mysteries that are made known to the community. What is most interesting is that the introduction of Hosea 6:9 into the commentary has very little to do with the Isaiah

passage but expands the peshet of the community. The "seekers after smooth things" are partially identified with the priests who band together like robbers. Revealing the mysteries of scripture is the first priority of peshet. If that requires bringing somewhat unrelated texts together the ends justify the means.

4QpIsa^d

This fourth commentary on Isaiah would appear to be addressing Isaiah 54:11c-12a. Both the Biblical text and the commentary are corrupt. The Biblical text is as follows,

O afflicted one, storm-tossed, and not comforted, behold, I will set your stones in antimony, and lay your foundations with sapphires. I will make your pinnacles of a gate, your gates of carbuncles.

This section of the Biblical text is talking about a new Jerusalem where there will be peace and security. The interpretation in 4QpIsa^d is that this refers to the Council of the Community who are made up of priests and the congregation of His elect.⁸⁶

Summary:

Peshet on the Isaiah texts continues the theme of identifying and condemning those who are 'wrong'. The writer has a definite designation of these individuals and he includes the Jerusalem priests among their number. Scripture is the starting point of the discussion but one is never in doubt about the theme of interpretation.

⁸⁶Lines 7 and 8a.

Pesher is open to unusual types of innovation. In 4QpIsa^a there is a discussion of a military-type messiah. This interpretation is a standard understanding of Isaiah 11.1-4. The introduction of a priestly advisor to this military-type messiah is unique and it would appear that this advisor(s) does not come from a scriptural tag but from the messianic expectation of the community. However, the advisor is represented as coming from the community's reading of scripture.

In 4QpIsa^c the commentary on Isaiah 30 is expanded to include Hosea 6:9. Hosea is used to make clear that the priests who band together like robbers are among those who are in opposition to Qumran. From the example above it would seem that pesher included not only revealing the contemporary designations that are found in the scriptural precedent but also involved bringing texts from other scriptural books to define the contemporary designations. The original Isaiah text is very distant from the final statements about the priests.

Commentary on Hosea⁸⁷

The first column of 4QpHos^b is broken.⁸⁸ It would appear to be addressing Hosea 2:6b.⁸⁹ The pesher is quite corrupt but it seems to be applying the scriptural text to the last generation when certain parties will be punished. The text does not allow any further understanding of the pesher.

Column two is a much better text. The text under discussion is Hosea 2:8,

[And she did not know that] it was I
 who gave her the grain, [the wine,]
 [and the oil, and] who lavished [silver],
 and gold (which they used for Baa].⁹⁰
 2.1-2a

This is understood to refer to those who forgot God and his word.

They listened to those who led them in false paths.⁹¹

Hosea 2:9-10 discusses the prophet taking back grain, wine, wool and flax in its season in order that Gomer's nakedness be exposed before

⁸⁷In 1956 J.M. Allegro published a small fragment of a commentary on Hosea. Its designation is 4QpHos^a. The fragment is only a line which is very broken. See J.M. Allegro, "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect", *JBL*, 75, (1956), p. 93, plate 2. 4QpHos^b is a second commentary on Hosea from cave 4. The text is based on J.M. Allegro, "A Recently Discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Hosea from Qumran's Fourth Cave", *JBL*, 78, (1959), pp. 142-147 and Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 5, pp. 32-36.

⁸⁸Allegro, "Recently Discovered Fragments", p. 142.

⁸⁹Hosea 2:6b, "...and I will build a wall against her, so that she cannot find her path".

⁹⁰Allegro, "Recently Discovered Fragments", p. 145.

⁹¹2.3-6.

her lovers. This is interpreted to refer to those who had forgotten God. They would be exposed before other nations with hunger and nakedness.⁹²

Summary:

The important point to note in regard to 4QpHos^b is that the scripture is used to define those who are in opposition to the community.

⁹²2.12-13. Lines 14-19 continue with Hosea 2:11-12 but the peshet is missing.

Commentary on Psalm 37⁹³

The commentary on Psalm 37 contrasts the wicked with the righteous. In the Biblical setting it would appear that the psalmist is exhorting his readership to trust in God in spite of the temptations that surround them and the behaviour of the wicked. The peshet of this psalm has a precise understanding of those who make up the 'right' and the 'wrong' and their respective destinies.

The first column is somewhat broken but it would appear that the man carrying out evil devices of Psalm 37:7 will perish by sword, famine and plagues.⁹⁴ This interpretation of verse seven sets the tone for the rest of the commentary as the writer has very definite ideas about the meaning of the Biblical text.

Column two addresses the conflict that existed between the community and their opponents. Again, we meet very precise interpretations of the Biblical text. Psalm 37:8-9 predicts that the wicked will be cut off and those who wait for the Lord shall possess the land. The commentary on these verses understands that the former are those who were

⁹³This scroll is a peshet on Psalm 37 and 45:1-2. There are four broken columns with cols. 1 and 4 being in the worst state. See J.M. Allegro, "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect". JBL, 75, (1956), pp. 94-95 and Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 5, pp. 42-49; J. Carmignac, "Notes sur les Pesharim", RevQ, 3, (1961-62), pp. 505-538; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Explication des textes hébreux...: Commentaire du Psaume XXXVII". Annuaire du Collège de France, 64, (1964), pp. 320-323 and "4QpPs37", Annuaire du Collège de France, 64, (1964), pp. 395-404; H. Stegemann, "Der Peser Psalm 37", RevQ, 4, (1963-64), pp. 235-270; D. Pardee, "A Restudy of the Commentary on Psalm 37 from Qumran Cave IV", RevQ, 8, (1973), pp. 163-194.

⁹⁴1.18b-19a.

converted to the Law but refused to turn from their wickedness. Those who will possess the land are the congregation of the elect who do God's will.⁹⁵ The designation in Psalm 37:19-11 that the wicked will be destroyed and the meek will possess the land and enjoy prosperity is interpreted to refer to a 40 year period that will terminate with the destruction of the wicked. The community must suffer during the period of affliction but they will be delivered "from the snares of the Pit".⁹⁶

Psalm⁹⁵ 37:14-15 laments that the wicked draw their swords and bows to bring down the poor and needy. A most interesting commentary addresses these verses.

The explanation of this concerns the wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh who will seek to lay hands on the Priest and the men of his council at the time of trial which will come upon them. But God will re[de]em them from their hands, and then (the wicked) will be delivered into the hands of the violent of the nations for judgement.⁹⁷

2.17-19.

It would appear that the interpretation of Psalm 37 concerns the period when the leaders from Qumran were brought to trial before some authority.⁹⁸ The scriptural reference is similar in theme to the pesher. However, the

⁹⁵2.2b-3; 2.5a.

⁹⁶2.6b-7; 2.9-10. The pesher on Psalm 37:19b-20 (3.3b-4) indicates that the righteous will survive a period of famine while the wicked will be destroyed by famine and plagues.

⁹⁷A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran, p. 273.

⁹⁸There is a reference to the punishment of the Teacher of Righteousness and his council at the hand of the Wicked Priest in 1QpHab5.

latter is most precise in the actions and coming punishment of the wicked. One has the impression that the writer is not using the psalm as a source of authority as much as a vehicle to give expression to the circumstances that surround him. It is interesting that the scriptural fate for these wicked ones will be that their swords will enter their own hearts and their bows will be broken.⁹⁹ In the commentary the wicked will be delivered unto the violent of nations for judgement.¹⁰⁰ The sectarian understanding involved an outside force that would judge the wicked.

Psalms 37:20b condemns "the enemies of God,"¹⁰¹ for even though they are like the glory of the pastures they will vanish like smoke. 4QpPs37 changes the "enemies of God" to "those who love God"¹⁰² and interprets this to refer to the congregation of the elect. The latter part of Psalm 37:20b concerning those who will vanish like smoke is understood to refer to those who oppress the congregation, for they will perish like smoke.¹⁰³

Psalm 37:23-24 is as follows,

The steps of a man are from the Lord,
and he establishes him in whose way

⁹⁹Psalm 37:15.

¹⁰⁰It is most difficult to give a precise identity to this reference. Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 64 understands that it refers to Simon the Maccabee (I Maccabees 12:35-38).

¹⁰¹ואיבי יהוה, Kal participle of איב, "to hate or be an enemy".

¹⁰²ואוהבי יהוה, Kal participle of אהב, "to love", 3.5a. The column is damaged but most translators use the participle of אהב.

¹⁰³3.7b-8a.

he delights; though he fall, he shall
not be cast headlong, for the Lord is
the stay of his hand.

The pesher on these verses concerns the Teacher of Righteousness. The text is very broken but it would appear that the Teacher is the one whom the Lord established and he in turn gathered the congregation at Qumran for the Lord.¹⁰⁴

Psalm 37:32-33 describes the conflict between the wicked and the righteous,

The wicked watches the righteous, and seeks to slay him. The Lord will not abandon him to his power, or let him be condemned when he is brought to trial.

The commentary understands this to refer to the Wicked Priest who put the Teacher of Righteousness to death because the latter served [truth] and the law. The writer believes that the Wicked Priest will be punished by being delivered to the violent of the nations.

The explanation¹⁰⁵ of this concerns [the] wicked [Priest] who laid hands on the Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness, to put him to death. [But God...] and he wakened (?) him [because of the Spirit (?)]¹⁰⁶ which he sent to him. And God will not let [the Wicked Priest go] unpunished

¹⁰⁴3.15b-17a. The pesher on Psalm 37:25-26 addresses the way of the Teacher of Righteousness, 3.17b-20.

¹⁰⁵Of Psalm 37:32-33.

¹⁰⁶Line 8b is very broken. Lohse, Die Texte, p. 276, has reconstructed it לְהַחֲמִיתוֹ אֶת וְהַמּוֹרָה, "to slay...and the Law". Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, translates it as "truth and the law", while Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures, p. 255, reconstructs it as, "[and to make an end of the coven]ant and the Law [Torah]".

for the blood which] he has shed, but [God will] pay him his [re] ward by delivering him into the hands of the-violent of the nations to execute [vengeance] upon him.¹⁰⁷
4.8-70a

The scriptural text serves the purpose of giving an authoritative reference for what has happened to the community. The death of the Teacher of Righteousness was not an isolated event. God will not abandon the situation. However, the peshar does not stop with the obvious points of contact between scripture and their contemporary setting concerning the conflict between wicked and righteous. It finds within the scriptures explanations for circumstances that surround them. The actions of the Wicked Priest will not go unpunished but judgement will be executed on him for his treatment of the Teacher of Righteousness.

Summary:

The commentary on Psalm 37 has very definite designations for the 'right' and the 'wrong'. The Biblical text lends itself to such a discussion. However, the peshar goes far beyond the generalities of the psalm. Those among the 'wrong' will suffer judgement and destruction. It would appear that the hidden secrets of the psalm indicate that this will include the wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh as well as the Wicked Priest. It would appear that "the violent of nations" serves as God's vehicle of punishment against the wicked ones. It is interesting to note that the coming punishment of the 'wrong' is not balanced with

¹⁰⁷Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings, p. 272.

definite statements about the state of the 'right'. The latter are promised to be delivered from the snares of the pit¹⁰⁸ and to all the glory of Adam.¹⁰⁹ But these promises do not have the precision that we find concerning those who are 'wrong'. Those who make up the 'right' include the Teacher of Righteousness, the Priest and his council and the congregation.

¹⁰⁸2.9-10.

¹⁰⁹2.26b-3.2a.

6 Additional Scrolls

4QpMic

This scroll is made up of a number of fragments which together make limited sense. It would appear to be a pesher on Micah 1:5-6 and it includes such familiar topics as Teacher of Righteousness, council of God, elect of God and preacher of lies. (See J.M. Allegro, Discoveries in the Judean Desert, V. pp. 36 and 168, plate XII.)

1QSa

This scroll was originally included with the Rule of the Community and thus its shortened designation. Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 118 calls it the "messianic rule". It concerns instructions for the community in the last days and it involves the education and rules for the various age groups within the community (20, 25, 30, etc.). It does not use scripture but self-definition is active in that a structured community is outlined in this scroll. One notable element about 1QSa is that the characteristics that would exclude one from formal office in the community parallel the prohibitions concerning the priests in the Temple (no one shall serve if he is smitten in his flesh, paralysed in his feet or hands, etc., 2.3b-11; Leviticus 21:17-24). (See D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, Discoveries in the Judean Desert, I, pp. 107-118.)

1Qsb

This scroll consists of a number of fragments of blessings that were originally attached to 1QS and 1QSa. The blessings seem to be

intended for a new age (5.27b-29 suggests that the prince of the congregation is established). There are blessings for the congregation (those who walk perfectly, those who were chosen for an eternal covenant), the priests, the messiah(s) and the prince of the congregation. Scripture is not part of the self-definition process. (See D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, Discoveries in the Judean Desert, I, pp. 118-129.

Temple Scroll

One of the more difficult decisions in this thesis was the consideration of the Temple scroll. It is one of the longest scrolls from the Qumran caves and its two main themes concern a detailed plan of a temple complex and ordinances on such topics as cultic purity. The latter are characterized by statements that are formed to represent God speaking in the first person. Yadin (Y. Yadin, The Temple Scroll, 3 vols.) understands that this scroll represents genuine Qumran thought. However, there are others who suggest that the Temple scroll should be thought of as pseudepigraphic and be placed with such works as Jubilees and Enoch. The latter view is represented by B.A. Levine, "The Temple Scroll: Aspects of its Historical Provenance and Literary Character", BASOR, 232, 1978, pp. 5-23. The final decisions on the place of the Temple scroll are not yet formulated and may not be in the near future. The decision to omit the Temple scroll is a judgement call that is consistent with considerations of other literature for my study. In the New Testament section I will omit II Thessalonians and Colossians. There is a sizeable portion of New Testament scholars who view both texts as Pauline. The

standard that I will apply is if there is substantial doubt concerning the authenticity of a text I will omit it. I take Levine's article as presenting serious questions on the status of the Temple scroll.

Genesis Apocryphon

This scroll is a fragmented Aramaic paraphrase of the narratives from Genesis 5-15. It is usually dated around the late first century B.C.E. There is serious question whether or not 1QapGen originated with the Dead Sea community. It was found in the cave that had housed such important scrolls as 1QS and the Damascus document. However, after 20 years of discussion scholarship is still divided on the origins of 1QapGen. In regard to the discussion of this dissertation the scroll does involve the use of scripture. But its purpose seems to be the basis of a general haggadah midrash without a strong appeal to the concept of being 'right'. Noah making atonement for the land is a possible indication of Qumran orientation but that reference is in a very broken section of the scroll. Given the overriding concern with being 'right' and the use of scripture to designate the 'right' it is surprising that the writer of this scroll did not use the Biblical narratives of Genesis 5-15 if 1QapGen came from Qumran. (See J. Fitzmyer, The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1, A Commentary and B. Jongeling, C.J. Labuschagne, A.S. van der Woude, Aramaic Texts from Qumran, pp. 82-119).

Words of Heavenly Light

The fragments of this scroll were found in cave 4. It has a mysterious title דברת המארות, "the words of heavenly lights" (Dibre

Ham-Mer'orot is the English transliteration). It would appear that these fragments are directed toward prayers and hymns for days of the week. There is serious question whether this scroll has a Qumran origin. There is a lack of a sectarian bias and Israel is the centre of attention. (See M. Baillet, "Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân grotte 4: 'Les Paroles de Luminaires'", RB, 68, (1961), pp. 195-250 and J. Carmignac, E. Cothenet, H. Lignee, Les Textes de Qumran, traduit et annotés, vol. 2.)

7 Conclusion on Qumran

Scripture supports identity:

The Qumran literature makes it very clear that the community understood themselves as being 'right'. Those who joined the congregation belonged to the "council of God" (1QS 1.7b-8a). They did what was "good and right" (1QS 1.1-3a) and practiced truth, righteousness and justice (1QS 3.3b-7). The community was called by God and it was characterized as "princes of God" and "people of God" (1QM 3.4b-8b). They were also the possessors of "hidden things" which demonstrated their unique status (1QS 5.11b-13a; 8.9b-10a; CD 3.13c-15b; 1QH 1.21a). A major portion of the Qumran writings was concerned with defending and describing their particular position. Scripture served as an essential element in giving expression and support to such a view. I shall now outline the use of scripture in the definition of those who are 'right'.

In 1QS 5.4b-5 the community is described as the foundation and corner-stone of truth for Israel. A mosaic of scriptural references makes up this portion of the text (Psalm 81:12; Jeremiah 11:18, etc). Further, in 8.7b-8b, the writer of 1QS appeals to Isaiah 28:16 as proof that the community is indeed a precious corner-stone and foundation. In 8.13b-17 he interprets Isaiah 40:3 (prepare in the wilderness a path for God) to mean that the community is to study Torah and the "hidden things" in the wilderness. Clearly scripture plays a direct role in the self-definition of the writer. In 1QH 4.24 the writer cites Isaiah 65:1 as support for the status of the community for they are "walking in the way of God's heart".

The Damascus document portrays the pre-history of the sect as a tension between the faithful and the unfaithful. Abraham is characterized as a friend of God (CD 2.16) because he kept the commandments and did not choose his own will. Isaac (CD 3.3c-4a) was recorded as a possessor of the covenant forever. The pious of old serve as a model and pattern that is continuing with the sectarians.

1QM sets the community in opposition to the unfaithful. It would appear that the congregation is identified with Israel during the period of the exodus and the eventual conquest of Canaan (1QM 10.2-8 citing Deuteronomy 20:2-4; Numbers 10:9). The opponents of Qumran are identified with the enemies of the Biblical era (the Gentiles, 1QM 11.8). The victory of Qumran over the sons of darkness is expressed in terms of David's victory over Goliath (1QM 11.3b-5) and the exodus congregation's triumph over the Pharaoh and the Egyptians (1QM 11.9b-10a). The scriptures that were chosen had a ready made opponent that could be identified with those outside Qumran. Those who were 'out' did not keep the commandments and the special "hidden things" that were unique to the community.

The Damascus document cites Numbers 21:16b-18 as support for the sectarian withdrawal from the larger society (CD 6.3b-4a; also 7.14b-16 citing Amos 5:26). In 4Q Flor the writer appeals to II Samuel 7:10-14a (lines 2-12) to find support for the community as the house that will be built at the end of days that will remain forever. As we have noted above part of the self-definition at Qumran was to separate, study the law and the prophets, and know the "hidden things" (1QS 1.1-3; 5.11b-13a). The writer of IQpHab appeals to Habakkuk 2:1-2 to give further understand-

ing and direction to the community. The Biblical passage concerns the commandment to Habakkuk to write down the vision that God revealed. The writer of 1QpHab understands that the visions contain mysteries that were not known until the Teacher of Righteousness and the eventual establishment of the community (1QpHab 8.12b-16a). An essential effort at Qumran was to define oneself as 'right' and to use scripture as a means for that expression and a source of authority.

1 4QTest cites Deuteronomy 5:28-29; 18:18-19 (lines 7-4) as support for the belief in a spokesman like messiah similar to Moses. Likewise, 4QTest appeals to Numbers 24:15-17 (lines 9-13) for the belief in a kingly messiah and Deuteronomy 33:8-11 (lines 14-20) for the concept of priestly messiah. In 4QpIsa^a 4.7-8 the writer cites Isaiah 11:3 as proof for the belief that the community will advise the messiah in judgements.

Opponents:

Qumran's faithfulness and piety is contrasted with the opponents of the community who are unfaithful. The actions of the latter are found to be paralleled in the early history of Israel. The sons of Noah went astray and were cut off because they did not keep the commandments (CD 3.2c). The sons of Jacob did not keep the commandments and did what was right in their own eyes and their actions led to the subsequent low periods in the history of Israel (CD 3.5b-6a). The opponents of Qumran are a major concern for the writers of the community. This may seem like a fairly obvious point but is important to realize that the opponents of the community made a very great impression on how the sectarians viewed their own status. The latter attempted to contrast

themselves with the unfaithful of their opponents. Scripture is used to define the outsider.

Those who are 'out' are considered to be under the dominion of Belial (1QS 1.17-18a) and they are characterised as "seekers of smooth things" (CD 1.18-2.1; 1QH 2.16a; 2.32; Isaiah 30:10,13). They band against the life of the righteous (CD 1.18-2.1; Psalm 94:21) and are builders of a weak wall (CD 4.19c; 8.12b; Ezekiel 13:10). They are men of deceit and seekers of errors for "they walk in the way that is not good and they despise God's covenant, they abhor the law, take no pleasure in the commandments and they choose the way that God hates" (1QH 15.17b-19a).

The argument against the community's opponents is most pointedly demonstrated in the pescharim, for the opponents are given specific designation. The writer of 1QpHab 1:12b-13 appeals to Habakkuk 1:4 as proof that the wicked will persecute the righteous. However, he does not write in general terms concerning the community and its opponents but understands scripture to refer to a specific conflict with the Teacher of Righteousness in opposition to the Wicked Priest (compare 4QpPs 37 3.15b-17a). Further in 1QpHab the writer uses Habakkuk 1:6-11 to define specific enemies (the Chaldeans are the Kittim who ridicule kings and scoff at hosts, 1QpHab 2.10b-4.13). In the commentary on Nahum the "wretched lion" of Nahum 2:11 is identified as the king of Greece who took counsel with "seekers of smooth things" (4QpNah 1.1). In 4QpIsa^b 2.6-8a the writer appeals to Isaiah 5:14 to define the opponents who have rejected the law of God. Those who are outside are given explicit designation from the authority of scripture. The passages

that are used seem to come mainly from the prophets and the psalms (where the wicked and the righteous are frequently discussed). A second source of scriptural reference comes from the passages that deal with Israel's invasion of Canaan. The writer has ready made opponents (Gentiles) to identify with the Gentiles that are contemporary with Qumran.

Points of Practice:

When we examine self-definition in regard to points of practice that are based on scripture we find few examples. The demand for the initiate to join the community as a means to being 'in' is clear and it is supported by some citations of scripture. In IQS 1.1-3 the community is to do the good and right as commanded by Moses and the prophets (a rather general appeal). In IQS 1.24-2.1 the initiate is subject to the blessings and curses of Numbers 6:24-26 and Deuteronomy 29:18-19. Also in IQS 5.11b-13a the writer appeals to Exodus 23:7 and Isaiah 2:22 to separate from the larger society.

Qumran had many communal practices (see IQS 5.1-7.25) but relatively few of them were based on scripture. If one blasphemed one was put out of the community. This practice was based on Leviticus 24:15-16 but differed from the scriptural practice of having the person put to death. In the Damascus document (4.19c-21) it would appear that there was prohibition against taking a second wife. The passage is somewhat confusing for we do not know if the prohibition applied to a widower. The communal practice was based on Genesis 1:27; 7:9 and Deuteronomy 17:17. In the same sectarian text a man is declared unclean if he has sexual relations with a woman during her menstrual period (based

on Leviticus 15:24). Also CD 6.13b-14a discourages the sectarians from going to the Temple by citing Malachi 1:10a. Given the highly structured communal life-style at Qumran it is most surprising to see the lack of scriptural references in regard to correct practice. This is particularly true when we note that scripture was a major source of authority for defining correct belief.

In summary it would appear that Qumran used specific scriptural passages that would give clear definition for the 'right' and the 'wrong'. This is particularly true in regard to the opponents of the community as well as beliefs of the community. However, in matters of practice scripture was not a major source of authority or a means of expression. The fact that scripture played such a major role in the belief system of the community may have been sufficient authority for the leaders of the community to initiate practice without scriptural support. The closed communal lifestyle of Qumran may have been the authority base. The hierarchy was able to keep close watch on its members. The yearly examination insured right belief and right practice.

PAUL

8 Introduction

A few introductory remarks may be helpful before I commence with a discussion of Paul. Firstly, Paul is writing to a number of audiences and the way that he formulates the 'right' and the 'wrong' will depend to a great extent on his audience and the situation he is addressing.

Secondly, it is important to note that Paul has a strong conviction on being a Christian. He understands that humanity is in need of a saviour and this belief comes from a persuasion that God has provided such a saviour. E.P. Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, especially pp. 474-511, has argued quite conclusively that Paul should be understood as starting with the saving act of God in Jesus Christ. Thus, Paul has the solution for humanity's relationship with God and his arguments are formulated to address the need for this solution (solution comes before dilemma).¹ By studying Paul in such a manner two interrelated aspects of Paul's arguments are highlighted. One is that Paul views Judaism as deficient because and as a result of his conversion to Christianity. Judaism from antiquity until today testifies that one can have a full and complete religious experience. However, Paul did not agree with this because of his overwhelming conviction that Jesus was the Christ and that there was a new way of knowing God. This brings us to the second part of Paul's argument. His statements that Judaism is 'wrong' come

¹For a presentation of Paul that begins with dilemma and proceeds to solution see G. Bornkamm, Paul, ET by M.G. Stalker, pp. 120-129; R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, vol. I, ET by K. Grobel, pp. 191, 227-232.

from the prior conviction of the availability of being 'right' by faith in Jesus Christ. He makes very harsh statements against Judaism and Christian Judaizers and some of these statements may have given rise to certain anti-Semitic sentiments on the part of Christianity. However, it is important to note that Paul's negative statements against Judaism did not come as a result of a life long void on his part as a Jew (surely he would have said so in very clear terms) as much as from an overwhelming conviction that he had encountered the saving act of God in the person of Jesus Christ (a constant theme throughout his letters).

If we keep in mind that the letters of Paul are addressing real situations with immediate issues (for example, does one observe kosher, circumcision and purity laws) and the proposal of solution before dilemma, we may arrive at a better understanding of the need and the expression of self-definition in Paul.

I will examine the letters of Paul that are most commonly accepted as authentic. This will include I Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, I and II Corinthians and Romans.²

²I have taken the position that I will deal only with the letters that are undeniably Pauline. There is a very large body of scholarship that would consider II Thessalonians and Colossians as Pauline. Many of the arguments are equally weighted and result in a draw. See W.G. Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament, ET by H.C. Kee, pp. 265-269 and E.P. Sanders, "Literary Dependence in Colossians", JBL, 85, (1966), pp. 28-45. For a discussion of the Pastorals and Ephesians not being Pauline see Kümmel, Introduction, pp. 370-384 and pp. 357-366. Philemon is part of the Pauline corpus but it is a personal letter with little theological value.

9 I Thessalonians¹

The letter to the Thessalonians opens with a thanksgiving for the church's work of faith² and hope in Jesus Christ as Lord (1:3).

Paul reminds his readership that the gospel came not only in word,

but also in power and in the Holy Spirit and with full conviction.³ You know what kind of men we proved to be among you for your sake.

1:5b

Paul presupposes that his audience understands how one is counted among the 'right' (by faith and hope that Jesus Christ is Lord, 1:3) and reminds them that the Spirit is a demonstration of the truth of the gospel and those who preached the gospel.⁴ The Thessalonians proved to be "imitators of us and of the Lord" (1:6a) by receiving the word and turning from idols to serve a living and true God (1:9b). The requirements for being 'in' are to have faith that Jesus is Lord, turn from

¹I Thessalonians is the oldest surviving letter of Paul and it is usually dated between 45-50 C.E. See W.G. Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament, ET by H.C. Kee, pp. 255-262; J.E. Frame, Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, ICC, pp. 8-17 and 28-39; G. Bornkamm, Paul, ET by M.G. Stalker, pp. 62-63. Also H. Boers, "The Form Critical Study of Paul's Letters, I Thessalonians as a Case Study", NTS, 22, (1976) pp. 140-158.

²It might be noted that "work of faith", τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως puts emphasis on works after one is 'in'. It is inspired by faith which will become a key term for the 'right'.

³πληροσφία, "full conviction, assurance". E.E. Ellis, Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity, p. 65 comments that "assurance" is closely related to the conviction that accompanies prophetic understanding and proclamation.

⁴In 1:6 they are represented as excellent examples because they endure persecution "with joy inspired by the Holy Spirit". Compare Galatians 3:2; I Corinthians 12:3; Romans 8:15-16.

idols to the true God and

to wait for his Son from heaven, whom
he raised from the dead, Jesus who
delivers us from the wrath to come.⁵

1:10

In chapter two Paul declares that we [the apostles] have been approved by God to be entrusted with the gospel (2:4a). Paul clearly understood that he preached the message that would put one 'in' for it was approved by God and it meant turning to the true God. By hearing and obeying the gospel one would be called into God's kingdom and glory (2:12). In 2:13 he restates that when they received the word of God (which they heard from the apostles) they accepted it not as the word of men "but as what it really is, the word of God, which is at work in you believers".⁶

The Thessalonians have their own countrymen as their opponents. However, they are not to be discouraged for they stand in a line of honourable tradition. The churches in Judaea were persecuted by their fellow Jews, "who killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets and drove us out and displease God". Persecution is part of the Christian identity and this self-understanding stands in the tradition of the prophets and Jesus.

Chapter three continues the theme of the requirement of faithful-

⁵Turning to God has a two-fold effect. One is a conscious anticipation of the return of Christ and the second is to be rescued from coming judgement: See R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, ET by K. Grobel, p. 67 and C.J. Roetzel, Judgement in the Community, pp. 68-108.

⁶See B.A. Pearson, "1 Thessalonians 2:13-16: A Deutero-Pauline Interpolation", HTR, 64, (1971), pp. 79-94.

ness in spite of persecution. To maintain faith and love (3:6) means that the Lord Jesus will establish their hearts to be faultless, holy and blameless before God at the coming of the Lord Jesus (3:13).

In chapter four Paul presents a way that will please God. They are to abstain from unchastity, take a wife in holiness and honour and not "in the passion of lust like heathen who do not know God" (4:4-5).⁷

In the latter part of chapter four Paul appeals to the hope of the believers. They believe that Jesus died and rose again and those who have died will be brought with the Lord at the day of his coming (4:13-14). Those who are alive will also share in this day of the Lord. The believers have a hope for full salvation in the future at the day of the Lord.

For God has not destined us for wrath,
but to obtain salvation through our
Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us that
whether we wake or sleep we might live
with him.

5:9-10

Summary:

One of the difficulties of the presentation of each letter is that we do not have an overview of the writer until the conclusion. This is particularly evident in the Pauline section. I Thessalonians is a

⁷Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 66 outlines some of the basic characteristics of "Hellenistic-Christian missionary preaching". This included accusing the pagan world of ignorance $\alpha\gamma\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ and error $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ which include "not knowing God". Compare Jeremiah 10:25a. Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 455 states that in I Corinthians Paul is repeatedly concerned with the two traditional sins - idolatry and sexual immorality. These two sins occur in I Thessalonians.

Letter of encouragement to the believers at a church that was under persecution and Paul does not elaborate on certain themes that are of interest to us. They will be evident in some of his other correspondence and for the present we must acknowledge certain gaps in a full presentation of self-understanding of Paul.

However, I Thessalonians indicates a definite sense of the 'right'. They have hope and faith that Jesus is the Christ (1:3) and they identify with his death and resurrection (4:13-14). The presentation of this hope (the gospel) came in word by the apostles that was witnessed and verified by power and the Holy Spirit. The power and Spirit serve as a guarantee of the validity of the gospel (as well as proof of the integrity of the apostles). The apostles are approved by God and entrusted with the gospel which is not the word of men but the word of God (2:13b). The guarantee of the Spirit seems to be sufficient proof for the Thessalonian correspondence that Paul does not appeal to scripture for either right belief or correct behaviour.

To be 'in' means that one turns from idols to the true God by faith in Jesus as Christ. One waits for the Lord to return and thus avoids the wrath that is to come. Those who are not Christians obviously will receive this wrath and they are identified as those who persecute the believers.

10 Philippians¹

The letter to the Philippians does not make a straightforward case for self-understanding in the opening chapter. Paul recounts his imprisonment and attempts to encourage his readership at Philippi.

In chapter two, verses six through eleven, he outlines the basis for their faith.² Christ Jesus being found in human form humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross (2:8). God has exalted him by giving him "the name which is above every name" (2:9b).³ The 'right' will be determined by confessing that Jesus is Lord. The context of verses ten and eleven indicates that at some point in the future everyone will make this confession. However, it does not seem to mean that everyone will be saved; rather everyone will acknowledge the way to salvation.

In verse twelve Paul instructs the Philippians that in his absence they are to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling,

for God is at work in you, both to

¹Philippians is considered to be a genuine letter of Paul dated shortly after I Thessalonians. See Kummel, Introduction, pp. 332-335. Also T.E. Pollard, "The Integrity of Philippians" NTS, 13, (1966), pp. 57-66 and R. Jewett, "The Epistolary Thanksgiving and the Integrity of Philippians", NovT, (1970), pp. 40-53.

²Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 125 suggests that this Christ-hymn was not composed by Paul for this context but is a quotation taken over by him (Bultmann is following E. Lohmeyer).

³Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p. 63 makes the point that by his death and resurrection Jesus is exalted above all heavenly beings. Compare Romans 1:4. See D.E.H. Whiteley, The Theology of St. Paul, pp. 99-129 for a discussion of Jesus as Lord.

will and to work for his good pleasure.
2:13

It is quite clear from 3:9-11 that one did not earn an entrance 'in'. That came by faith in Jesus as Christ. Once one was 'in' work was involved in keeping one 'in'. The right are contrasted with those who are wrong (a crooked and perverse generation, 2:15b) and the day of the Lord (day of Jesus Christ, 1:6b; day of Christ, 1:10b) will mean judgement of the Christian and by implication also the non-Christian (2:18-19, the enemies of the cross will meet destruction).

Holding fast the word of life, so that
in the day of Christ I may be proud that
I did not run in vain or labour
in vain.

2:16

In chapter three Paul warns against the opponents of the church.

Look out for the dogs, look out for
the evil-workers, look out for those
who mutilate the flesh. For we are
the true circumcision, who worship
God in spirit and glory in Christ
Jesus, and put no confidence in the
flesh.

3:2-4

Those who are 'out' are called "evil-workers" and they are designated as such because they are circumcised. Paul asserts that he (and the Philippians) is the true circumcision because he worships God in spirit and relies on participation in Christ Jesus. He does not have confidence in claiming salvation because of circumcision. The opponents to the Philippians are either Jews or Christians that insist on circumcision. We will encounter the issue of circumcision more fully in Galatians and Romans. It was the sign of the covenant between Abraham and God.⁴ Paul

⁴Genesis 17:10-11

will attempt to argue in 3:7-11 that the relationship that was established between God and humanity during Abraham's time has been radicalized by Jesus Christ. The sign of the relationship is no longer circumcision but faith that Jesus is the Christ. Thus in verse three he claims that he is of the "true circumcision" (the proper relationship in light of Jesus as the Christ) because he worships God in spirit (the guarantee of being 'right'): He puts no confidence in the sign of the covenant of Abraham but glories in Christ Jesus. It is important to note that an essential element in self-understanding is participatory identification with the death and resurrection of Jesus.⁵ Paul points out that if anyone could have had confidence in being 'right' by circumcision it would have been him.

If any other man thinks he has reason for confidence in the flesh, I have more: circumcised on the eighth day, of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews; as to the law a Pharisee, as to zeal a persecutor of the church, as to righteousness under the law blameless.

3:4b-6

I have given this lengthy text to indicate in quite straightforward terms that Paul did not have a dilemma of religious self-understanding before he converted to Christianity. The passage does not indicate that Paul was searching for a 'better' religious experience or that he found Torah obedience inadequate. However, that system is not the way of salvation in light of Jesus Christ.

Indeed I count everything as loss because of the surpassing worth of

⁵Schweitzer, Mysticism, pp. 120-140.

knowing Christ Jesus my Lord.⁶

3:8a

In Verse nine he continues,

and be found in him, not having a righteousness of my own, based on law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness from God that depends on faith.⁷

3:9

One is 'right' because of his faith in Christ. Again, an essential element of being 'in' is the participation of the believer with the death and resurrection of Jesus:

that I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and may share his sufferings, becoming like him in his death that if possible I may attain the resurrection from the dead.

3:10-11

In verses seventeen through twenty-one Paul contrasts the fate of the 'right' from the 'wrong'. Those who are 'wrong' are enemies of the cross of Christ (3:18c). Presumably this refers to either those who do not believe that Jesus is the Christ or more likely those who do not "work out their own salvation" in the proper manner.⁸ They "live as enemies of the cross". Their fate will be destruction because "their

⁶It probably refers to Paul's experience at Damascus. See J. Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, ET by F. Clarke, pp. 22-23. The "I" reference is confessional rather than biographical. Compare Bornkamm, Paul, p. 125.

⁷Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 505 suggests that in this Philippians passage the concern is not with righteousness as a goal but participation in Christ. One participates by being in Christ, suffering and dying with him and attaining resurrection.

⁸Paul seems to know them. Compare 3:17-18.

god is the belly, and they glory in their shame, with minds set on earthly things". Those who are 'in' await a saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ,

who will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body, by the power which enables him even to subject all things to himself.⁹

3:21

The participation of the believer with Jesus Christ is fully realized at the eschaton when he will have a glorious body.

Summary:

The letter to the Philippians makes very little use of scripture to define the Christian. However, it does have a definite understanding of a Christian. One is 'in' if he believes that Jesus is Lord. The latter is verified in a confessional formula in 2:5-11. Those among the right are not to have confidence in any other religious system and especially the covenant sign of circumcision. Paul uses himself as an example of achieving Torah righteousness but that righteousness is not adequate under the new conditions.

But whatever gain I had, I counted as loss for the sake of Christ. Indeed I count everything as loss because of the surpassing worth of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord. For his sake I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them as refuse, in order that I may gain Christ.

3:7-9

⁹Whiteley, Theology, p. 250 suggests that the change of body for Paul is an eschatological change that is linked to its soteriological cause.

It would seem that the 'right' can only be achieved through faith in Christ. This is to the exclusion of all other possibilities and in particular the righteousness of the Torah. One who relies on the righteousness of Torah is called an evil-doer and circumcision (the sign chosen by God to verify his relationship with Abraham) is described as "mutilating the flesh". The entry 'in' is to have faith in Christ. A necessary requirement for the Christian is participatory identification with the death and resurrection of Jesus (3:9-11). Paul uses this type of language without explanation and although it is somewhat unfamiliar to the modern it is an essential part of the definition for Paul.

Once an individual was 'in' it became important to work out proper belief and behaviour ("work out your own salvation with fear and trembling", 2:12b). It is important to emphasize that 'works' were not part of getting 'in'. That is most clear in all of Paul's correspondence. Once one was 'in', works became important. In 3:17 he encourages his readership to be imitators of himself (presumably in beliefs and practice),

and mark those who so live as you have
an example in us.

3:17b

In 2:16 he warns them to "hold fast to the word of life" in order that in the day of Christ he might be proud of them that he did not labour in vain. Judgement appears to be a part of the element that forces proper belief and practice. This would appear to give added incentive to working out one's own salvation with fear and trembling.

11 Galatians¹

The letter to the Galatian church opens quite abruptly with Paul's declaration that he is an apostle,

not from men nor through man, but through
Jesus Christ and God the Father who raised
him from the dead.

1:1b

This statement makes it quite clear that Paul understood that he knew the way of the 'right'.

In verse six he addresses the issues that face him at Galatia. There appears to be question about his apostleship (the probable explanation for his opening statement) and the possibility of another gospel.²

I am astonished that you are so quickly
deserting him who called you in the grace
of Christ and turning to a different
gospel - not that there is another gospel,
but there are some who trouble you and
want to pervert the gospel of Christ.

1:6-7

He counters this possibility by declaring that if anyone (including himself or an angel from heaven) should preach a gospel that is contrary to what he preached initially to them, he is to be accursed. In verse

¹Galatians is dated between 51-55. See Kümmel, Introduction, pp. 292-304; E. Burton, The Epistle to the Galatians, ICC, pp. xvii-lxxxii and H.D. Betz, "The Literary Composition and Function of Paul's Letter to the Galatians", NTS, 21, (1975), pp. 353-379.

²For suggestions of possible opponents at Galatian see Ellis, Hermeneutic, pp. 109-112; Munck, Paul, pp. 87-134; W. Schmithals, Paul and the Gnostics, pp. 13-64; J.B. Tyson, "Paul's Opponents in Galatia", NovT, 10, (1968), pp. 241-254.

eleven he states quite clearly that his gospel is not man's gospel.

For I did not receive it from man, nor
was I taught it, but it came through a
revelation of Jesus Christ.

1:12

Part of the appeal of Paul, that he has the message that will put one
'in' is his own religious experience." The gospel that he preaches came
through a revelation of Jesus Christ. He is not content with leaving
his claim to that statement for he continues that he was set apart
before birth to preach to the Gentiles.

But when he who had set me apart before
I was born, and had called me through
his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son
to me, in order that I might preach him
among the Gentiles.

1:15-16b

Paul's apostleship was predestined and the gospel came to him through a
revelation of Jesus Christ.

I did not confer with flesh and blood,
nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those
who were apostles before me.

1:16b-17a

In the first chapter Paul has attempted to prove quite conclusively that
his apostleship and his claim to the gospel goes beyond human appoint-
ment or a gospel of man.

In chapter two, verse nine the Jerusalem authorities and Paul
agree that the former will go to the circumcised and Paul will preach to
the Gentiles. However, in verses eleven through fourteen the issue
between the two groups does not seem to be as settled as first thought.
When Peter went to Antioch he ate with the Gentiles but when men came
from James he separated from the Gentiles and would not eat with them.

The issue is that the Gentiles had not been circumcised.³

But when they [the men from James] came
he [Peter] drew back and separated
himself, fearing the circumcision party.
2:12b

Paul maintains that one is included among the 'right' through faith in
Jesus Christ and not by works such as circumcision.⁴

[We] yet who know that a man is not
justified by works of the law but
through faith in Jesus Christ, even
we have believed in Christ Jesus, in
order to be justified by faith in Christ;
and not by works of the law, because by
works of the law shall no one be justified.⁵
2:16

The point of the statement is that faith in Jesus as Christ is the way
one is counted among the 'right'. It is not achieved by works. Again,
we note that the thrust of the statement involves participatory language
whereby the believer identifies with Jesus Christ.

For I through the law died to the law,
that I might live to God. I have been
crucified with Christ; it is no longer
I who live, but Christ who lives in me;
and the life I now live in the flesh I

³Compare 2:3,7. See Bornkamm, Paul, pp. 32-33.

⁴J.B. Tyson, "'Works of Law' in Galatians", JBL, 92, (1973), pp. 432-431 and E. Lohmeyer, "Probleme Paulinischer Theologie", ZNTW, 28, (1929), pp. 177-297. Lohmeyer makes the point that "works of law" are a God given way of life and are in effect "a way of life".

⁵Paul may have been influenced by Psalm 143:2 (LXX 142:2) in this verse. The Biblical context is a plea for rescue from persecution by one who admits his own inadequacies. Whitely, Theology, p. 82, comments that the possibility of one being justified by works never arises for Paul because God's purpose is to offer righteousness to all through faith in Jesus Christ. Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 27 states that justification by works of the law and justification by divine grace appropriated in man's faith exclude each other.

live by faith in the Son of God,
who loved me and gave himself for
me.

2:19-20

Paul claims that he was crucified with Christ and Christ lives in him.⁶ His life (in the flesh) is lived by faith in the Son of God. Because of Jesus' death and resurrection the way to the 'right' is now defined in light of these events. One who desires to be included among the 'right' must identify and participate by faith with the death and resurrection. This way excludes all other possibilities.

For if justification⁷ were through the
law, then Christ died to no purpose.
2:21b

Christ's death was not in vain and any other attempt at being 'right' (i.e. circumcision) is futile. The efforts of following the law are not counted as wrong but they will not put one among the saved.

In chapter three Paul asks the Galatians how they received the spirit.

Let me ask you only this: Did you

⁶See Burton, Galatians, pp. 135-139. Also R. Tannehill, Dying and Rising with Christ, p. 11. Schweitzer, Mysticism, p. 125 states that for Paul "every manifestation of the life of the baptized man is conditioned by his being in Christ. Grafted into the corporeity of Christ, he loses his creatively individual existence and his natural personality." This might be an overstatement but somewhat true to Paul's comments.

⁷Δικαιοσύνη, can be translated as "righteousness" or "justification". For a discussion of the various forms and usages of the word see Burton, Galatians, pp. 460-474. See Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 270-274; J.A. Ziesler, The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul; E.P. Sanders, "Patterns of Religion in Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: A Holistic Method of Comparison", HTR, 66 (1973), pp. 455-478. Also see M.R. Baruch, "Perspective in God's righteousness' in recent German discussion", in Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 523-542.

receive the Spirit by works of the law, or by hearing with faith? Are you so foolish? Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?

3:2-3

The point of the argument is that one is included among the 'right' by faith rather than by works. He appeals to possession of the spirit as one proof that faith is the way 'in'. He then uses Genesis 15:6 as the second part of the argument that one is right by faith rather than works of the law.

Thus Abraham "believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness." So you see that it is men of faith who are the sons of Abraham.⁸

The character from scripture is set up as the precedent and pattern for being right. It was not works that put Abraham 'in' but his faith. His sons are men of faith. Paul asserts that this designation of men of faith was intended for the Gentiles (who are 'in' by faith and not works) during the time of Abraham.

And scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying

⁸For a discussion of sons of Abraham see Burton, Galatians, pp. 156-159. For a discussion of a commentary pattern (initial citation followed by commentary using certain words from the citation) see P. Borgen, Bread from Heaven, pp. 47-50.

"In you shall all the nations be blessed".⁹
3:8

Those who are men of faith (not works) are blessed with Abraham who set the pattern by his faith (3:9).

In 3:10 Paul attempts to stop any of the Galatian Gentiles who might be tempted to the circumcision side by referring to Deuteronomy 27:26 that anyone who does not keep all the law is subject to a curse.

In verse eleven he excludes other possibilities and especially the works of the law.

Now it is evident that no man is justified
before God by the law.

3:11a

Paul appeals to Habakkuk 2:4 that "he who through faith is righteous shall live".¹⁰ The scriptural text serves to demonstrate that being

⁹Genesis 18:18. Paul's use of scripture gives definite priority to the LXX. Half of his citations are from the LXX with almost complete agreement. A number are not in agreement with either the Hebrew or the LXX and this has led a number of scholars to suggest that Paul used a form of midrash peshar in his citations. See K. Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew. Also see E.E. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament; Ellis, Hermeneutic, pp. 173-181; A.T. Hanson, Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology, pp. 135-210.

¹⁰It would appear that Habakkuk 2:4 is part of a testimonia ("testimonies" that pre-date the New Testament in either oral or written form). In this case Paul makes the scriptural citation and continues his larger discussion of faith versus works. In the case of a midrash the writer usually gives an interpretation of the passage. See C.H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures; Ellis, Hermeneutic, pp. 188-197, 204. Paul has combined the Hebrew text באמונתו "the righteous shall live by his faith" with the LXX ἐκ πίστεως μου "by my God's faithfulness" to arrive at ἐκ πίστεως "through faith" which is a single term.

'right' is accomplished by faith. It is only by faith that one has life. Those who might rely on circumcision and the works of the law are warned in verse twelve,

but the law does not rest on faith,
for "He who does them shall live by
them".¹¹

The Habakkuk reference points to the way 'in'. The Leviticus passage serves as a warning that whoever attempts to achieve justification by works of the law must live by them. However, the connecting thought between the Leviticus and Habakkuk passages claims that the law does not rest on faith. The central issue of the whole argument is that the law is not adequate but only faith will put one 'in'. The Habakkuk passage clinches the point and the Leviticus passage serves as a stern warning for anyone that might be tempted to achieve salvation by works of the law.

In 3:13 Paul writes,

Christ redeemed us from the curse of
the law having become a curse for us.¹²

He then appeals to Deuteronomy 21:23 to support his claim that Christ became a curse.

Cursed be every one who hangs on a
tree.

3:13b

¹¹Leviticus 18:5.

¹²Referring back to the curse for not obeying the law in verse 10. See Schweitzer, Mysticism, pp. 72-73 and 220-221, and A.T. Hanson, Studies in Paul's Techniques and Theology, pp. 48-51.

The Deuteronomy passage in its original context concerns a man that commits a crime that is punishable by death: he is hanged on a tree. The law commanded that the body should not remain all night upon the tree but it should be buried the same day as the hanging. The point of the law is that a hanged man is accursed by God and Israel was not to defile the land by leaving this man over night. The point of contact between the scriptural proof-text and Paul's use of it is that Christ redeemed the believer from the law by his death and resurrection. He became a curse by his death which involved being hanged on a tree. The death of Jesus was not an isolated event for it accomplished a particular end for the believer.

That in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gentiles, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

3:14

I will review the argument and method of argument thus far. The way to the 'right' is through faith that Jesus is the Christ and not by works of the law such as circumcision. Paul sets up his case so that the two sides are mutually exclusive. Abraham was included among the 'right' (reckoned as righteous) by faith. His example serves as the pattern for the Gentiles who will be included as Christians by being men of faith. Genesis 18:18 verifies this position by claiming that all Gentiles will be blessed in Abraham. In verse ten he asserts that all who rely on the law are under a curse. He appeals to Deuteronomy 27:26 and by implication suggests that if the Gentile Christians observe circumcision they are obligated to keep all of the law. Paul goes to the heart of the circumcision issue in 3:11a by claiming that no man is justified before

God by the law. The demand of circumcision on the Gentile Christians is no longer valid in light of this claim. He supports this by appealing to Habakkuk 2:4 as the proof that one is justified by faith. Being "in Christ", receiving the blessing of Abraham and the promise of the spirit is a result of having faith.

The promises that were made to Abraham are understood to refer to his offspring Christ (3:16). The law that came 430 years after Abraham "does not annul a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to make the promise void" (3:17).¹³ The use of Abraham and the law 430 years afterward is to argue that the pattern of faith came first and it cannot be altered by the law. The purpose of the law was temporarily to consign all things to sin" (3:22a).¹⁴ Most pointedly he claims that

if a law had been given which could
make alive, then righteousness would
indeed be by the law.

3:21b

There is not a law that can make alive. Therefore it is futile to seek righteousness by the law for it only was a temporary stopgap until faith could be operative as a result of the death and resurrection of Jesus. Scripture (Habakkuk 2:4) points to what will make alive, "for he who

¹³Burton, Galatians, p. 182 translates this verse "a covenant previously established by God, the law which came four hundred and thirty years afterwards does not annul so as to make inoperative the promise". Schweitzer, Mysticism, p. 209 comments that the Abraham reference is applied to the messianic era rather than an historical period.

¹⁴3:19, "Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the offspring should come to whom the promise had been made; and it was ordained by angels through an intermediary." See Whiteley, Theology, p. 76.

through faith is righteous shall live" (3:11). The use of scripture (particularly Abraham and Habakkuk) is the central pattern of belief for the apostle.

The law served as custodian until Christ. Now that one can be 'right' by faith,

we are no longer under a custodian;
for in Christ Jesus you are all sons
of God, through faith.

3:25b-26

Those who are 'in' are sons of God by identifying with Christ Jesus by faith. The participatory language continues to define the believer in 3:27,

For as many of you as were baptized
into Christ have put on Christ.

Access to Christianity is open to all because

there is neither Jew nor Greek,
there is neither slave nor free,
there is neither male nor female;
for you are all one in Christ Jesus.
And if you are Christ's then you
are Abraham's offspring, heirs
according to the promise.

3:28-29

The key to self-definition is that faith is the means whereby one is 'right'. This is in contrast to works of the law and access is open to anyone who identifies with Jesus as Christ. By being in Christ one follows the pattern established by Abraham and is considered as Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise.¹⁵

¹⁵4:6. "And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, "Abba! Father!". See Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 434-442 and 458-463 for a discussion of participatory language in Paul.

In 4:21 Paul returns to his opponents who desire to be under the law. He compares the possibility of faith and works of the law with Isaac and Ishmael.¹⁶ The former is identified as a son of a free woman while the latter is a son by a slave. The son of the slave was born according to the flesh while the son of the free woman was the result of the promise made to Abraham.

Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One is from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery; she is Hagar.

4:24

In somewhat of an odd twist of events Paul would seem to identify those who keep the law with the children of Hagar. This is quite inappropriate for anyone who is Jewish. However, he designates Hagar's children as present Jerusalem.

She [Hagar] corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children.

4:25b

Having understood that those who have faith in Jesus Christ are heirs of Abraham, Paul wants to identify the believer with Isaac (the son of promise).¹⁷

¹⁶Genesis 16:15; 29:1-9. Ellis, Hermeneutic, p. 156 has suggested that 4:21-5:1 is a midrash of Genesis 21 with additional citations and catchwords. The final application of the midrash is given in 4:30. See Hanson, Paul's Techniques, pp. 94-97.

¹⁷In 4:27 Paul quotes Isaiah 54:1, "For it is written, 'Rejoice, O barren one who does not bear; break forth and shout, you who are not in travail; for the children of the desolate one are many more than the children of her that is married'." In the Isaiah text the prophet is referring to Jerusalem when the exiles return. Paul's use of the text would seem to suggest that a new situation surpasses the old.

Now we, brethern,¹⁸ like Isaac, are children of promise.

4:28

Ishmael is represented as persecuting Isaac and this representation serves as a means of identification for the Jewish opposition to the Christians. He appeals to Genesis 21:9-12 as the pattern that will be demonstrated in his own situation.

But what does the scripture say? "Cast out the slave and her son; for the son of the slave shall not inherit with the son of the free woman." So, brethern, we are not children of the slave but of the free woman.¹⁹

4:30-31

The point of contact between the scriptural references and the definition of the Christian is that the latter is understood to pattern themselves after the faith of Abraham and therefore they are the heirs of the promise.

In chapter five Paul declares

that if you receive circumcision, Christ will be of no advantage to you.

5:2b

He again warns his readers that if they receive circumcision they must keep the whole law (5:3). But there are even greater consequences.

You are severed from Christ, you who

¹⁸Note the direct application of the Biblical characters to the readership (οἱ ἐν ἐσχατοῖς). The Galatians are 'in' by the promise made to Abraham and not by physical descent.

¹⁹This introductory formula stresses the authority of the scriptural passage for its eventual application. "The son of the free woman" replaces "my son Isaac" to fit the apostle's argument.

would be justified by the law; you
have fallen away from grace.

5:4

Paul had very definite beliefs concerning those who were 'in' and he asserted very clear guidelines of practice that would put one 'out'.

For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision
nor uncircumcision is of any avail, but
faith working through love.

5:6

In 5:12 he wishes that his opponents would mutilate themselves.

Paul contrasts the desires and results of those who are 'in' with the desires and results of those who are 'out'. The former come by walking in the spirit and being led by the spirit. He appeals to the spirit as his first proof that one is 'right' by faith and not works of the law (3:1-5). Those who are 'out' have the desires and works of the flesh. They will not inherit the kingdom of God (5:23).

Summary:

The issue in Galatians is how one is counted among the 'right'. Is it by faith or by works of the law? Paul in very clear terms is in favour of the former (2:16). It is by faith and participatory identification with the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (2:19-20; 3:27). This is the only way 'in' and it is to the exclusion of any other way. In 2:21b he states that if justification was through the law then Christ died for no purpose. In 3:11a he declares that no one is justified by the law and 3:21b states that there is not a law that can make alive. Once one is 'in' he is not to consider other means for entrance for one is severed from Christ if he would attempt to be justified by the law

(5:4). From the above references it is obvious that Paul viewed faith as the means to correct self-definition. To prove his argument he sought certain proofs.

The first is that he appealed to the experience of the Galatians that they possessed the spirit by faith and not by works. He then turned to a number of scriptural references to support his argument.

Abraham (Genesis 15:6) was included among the right by faith and he set the pattern to be followed by all those who want to be 'right'. Those who followed this pattern were called men of faith. The Gentiles were to be included among this number because Genesis 18:18 promised that by Abraham all nations (Gentiles) would be blessed (3:8b).

Paul also appeals to Habakkuk 2:4 for proof that by faith one was 'right' and it included life. He makes the point that the law does not rest on faith and by implication (to Habakkuk) one can not have life if one relies on the law.

Part of the faith commitment was to identify with the death and resurrection of Christ. In 3:13-14 Paul asserts that the death of Christ was for a purpose and that was to be a curse. He appeals to Deuteronomy 21:23 to prove that Jesus' death by crucifixion was a curse. Christ as a curse made it possible for the Gentiles to receive the promise by faith.

The promise and the pattern held precedent over the law and it could not be annulled because the promise came 430 years before the law (3:15-18). The law was a custodian that served to consign sin (3:19-22).

Access to Christianity is open to all by faith. The result of faith is that one is counted as Christ's and heirs to the promise. Paul attempts to prove this by appealing to the examples of Isaac and Ishmael.

The Christians were identified with Isaac and the Jews were compared to Ishmael. Israel was not included among the 'right' (unless by faith and not by works of the law) because they like Ishmael did not inherit the promise because they did not follow the pattern of Abraham.

Scripture is an essential part of the expression of correct belief and practice in the Galatian correspondence.

12 I Corinthians¹

In chapter one Paul argues against the party divisions at Corinth (1:10-14). The church was divided along the lines of who had been baptised by what apostle (1:11-16). Paul asserts that his apostleship did not concern baptism for he was sent to preach the gospel and not with eloquent wisdom "lest the cross of Christ be emptied of its power" (1:17). For those who are 'out' "the word of the cross is folly" (1:18a) but for those who are 'in' "it is the power of God" (1:18b). He appeals to Isaiah 29:14 that wisdom is not the requirement for being 'in'.

For it is written, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the cleverness of the clever I will thwart".

1:19

The point of the argument and the scriptural passage is that one is not 'right' by wisdom but by the gospel of the cross.

For since, in the wisdom of God, the world did not know God through wisdom, it pleased God through the folly of what we preach to save those who believe.²

1:21

¹The integrity of I Corinthians is not disputed. It is dated between 51-55 C.E. See Kummel, Introduction, pp. 269-279; H. Conzelmann, I Corinthians, ET by J.W. Leitch, pp. 3-4; A. Robertson and A. Plummer, First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, pp. xvi-xix; Also see J.C. Hurd, The Origin of I Corinthians, and J.R. Richards, "Romans and I Corinthians Their Chronological Relationship and Comparative Dates", NTS, 13, 1966-67, pp. 14-30.

²The wisdom of the world is set in antithesis to the wisdom of God. Compare Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 180-183; Conzelmann, Corinthians, pp. 45-46; Ellis, Hermeneutic, pp. 45-62. See pp. 213-215 of Ellis for a discussion of I Corinthians 1:18-31. It is possible this section was set up on a midrash (Isaiah 29:14; 19:11) and application basis. It is possible that 2:6-16 is a pre-Pauline midrash that Paul incorporates into his argument. Also see W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 152-176.

Those who desire to be 'in' must recognize that Christ crucified is the power of God and not signs (1:22) or wisdom (2:1-5).

Still on the topic of man's wisdom being thwarted by the actions of God in Christ, Paul reminds his readership that his preaching was not in words of wisdom but in the demonstration of the spirit and of power (2:4). The wisdom that was given to the mature was not a wisdom of this age or of the rulers of this age but it was a secret and hidden wisdom "which God decreed before the ages for our glorification" (2:7).³ He appeals to a scriptural citation to support the possibility that there is secret wisdom for those who are 'in'.

But, as it is written, "What no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him,"⁴

2:9

Those who are 'in' receive the revelations of the spirit (2:10) and those who are 'out' do not understand them.

The unspiritual man does not receive the gifts of the Spirit of God, for they are folly to him, and he is not able to understand them because they are spiritually discerned.

2:14

³The mature Christians (τελειοις) receive the hidden wisdom. Compare 1QS 3.13; 9.14; 1QH 12.12. Paul makes the point that none of the rulers of this age understood the hidden wisdom; "for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." (2:8b). Compare 2:10.

⁴This is not a quotation from the Hebrew Bible or the LXX. It is similar to Isaiah 64:3-4; 65:17; Ps. 31:20. See A. Feuillet, "L'Enigme de I Cor., II, 9: Contribution à l'étude des sources de la christologie paulinienne", *RB*, 70, (1963), pp. 52-74 and Robertson and Plummer, *Corinthians*, pp. 41-43. Munck, *Paul*, p. 146 suggests that the citation may be from memory.

In chapter three Paul attempts to clinch his argument that the wisdom of this world is not the way of salvation by appealing to passages from Job 5:13, "He catches the wise in their craftiness" and Psalm 94:11, "The Lord knows that the thoughts of the wise⁵ are futile" (3:19b-20).

Paul warns the Christians to take care for if they attempt to build on any other foundation other than on Jesus Christ (3:10-11) their efforts will be of no consequence. If they try and build on gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay or straw their work will not stand them in good stead on the day of judgement. Only what was built on Christ will withstand the test on the day of judgement.

for the Day will disclose it, because it will test what sort of work each one has done. If the work which any man has built on the foundation survives, he will receive a reward. If any man's work is burned up, he will suffer loss, though he himself will be saved, but only as through fire.

3:13b-15

Even if the person survives his work must be built on Christ or it will perish.⁶

Thus, we have read that one is not a Christian by association or baptism but it is by the word of the cross (Christ crucified, 1:23-25). The cross was understood to be the power of God. One was not 'in' by

⁵Paul inserts σοφῶν "the wise" for ἀνθρώπων "of men". See Hanson, Paul's Technique, p. 147.

⁶"Therefore do not pronounce judgement before the time, before the Lord comes, who will bring to light the things now hidden in darkness and will disclose the purposes of the heart. Then every man will receive his commendation from God", 4:5.

wisdom. Paul seeks to support his belief by appealing to Isaiah 29:14 (1:19), Job 5:13 (3:19b) and Psalm 94:11 (3:20). The wisdom that was given the mature believers was a secret wisdom. He refers to Isaiah 64:3-4 (65:17; Ps. 31:20) to support this belief (2:9).

In chapter five Paul pronounces judgement (in the name of the Lord, 5:4a) on the man who was living with his mother (or mother-in-law). Those who are 'in' are not to have immoral people among their own number (5:11).⁷ He instructs them to judge those inside the church and expel the wrong doers from their midst. He appeals to Deuteronomy 17:7 to support this practice.

Drive out the wicked person from among
you.

5:13

In 6:9-10 he gives a list of the unrighteous who will not inherit the kingdom of God.⁸ He asserts that the body of the believer is not meant for immorality (6:13f) for it is a member of Christ (6:15).⁹ He makes the point that whoever joins himself to a prostitute becomes one body with her. His proof for such a belief comes from Genesis 2:24.

The two shall become one flesh

6:16b

⁷He gives a list that includes idolaters, revilers, drunkards and robbers. They are not even to eat with these people. Conzelmann, Corinthians, p. 96, n. 29 points out that marriage between a stepmother and stepson was forbidden in both Jewish and Roman law.

⁸Conzelmann, Corinthians, p. 106 suggests that Paul is drawing on a set Christian tradition.

⁹Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 503 comments that it is not the transgressions qua transgressions which exclude one but the establishing of unions that are not compatible with union with Christ.

The opposite to that union is the believer who becomes one spirit with the Lord (6:17). Immorality appears to have grave consequences for the Christian.¹⁰ Any union with a prostitute excludes one from the participatory union with Christ. Becoming "one flesh" with the prostitute has real effects for it jeopardizes the previous union with Christ.

Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have from God? You are not your own; you were bought with a price. So glorify God in your body.

6:19-20

In chapter nine Paul addresses the issue of support for himself and Barnabas.

Do we not have the right to our food and drink? Do we not have the right to be accompanied by a wife, as the other apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Cephas?

9:4-5

He argues that the Corinthian church is a witness to his apostleship (9:1-2). He also appeals to scripture as precedent for his own support.

You shall not muzzle an ox when it is treading out the grain.¹¹

9:9a

Paul does not take this scripture as applying to only the circumstance of the ox but also to his own situation.

Is it for oxen that God is concerned?

¹⁰Again Paul is concerned with one of the traditional Gentile sins (the other is idolatry). See Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 455.

¹¹Deuteronomy 25:4. Paul uses $\kappa\eta\rho\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ rather than $\omega\mu\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (of the LXX).

Does he not speak entirely for our sake?
9:9b-10a

Scripture is used as a pattern for correct behaviour. In very clear terms he asks that if there were spiritual results of his apostleship there should be material support for Barnabas and himself.

If we have sown spiritual good among you, is it too much if we reap your material benefits? If others share this rightful claim upon you, do not we still more?

9:11-12

To add the final word to his argument he refers to the Temple service and those employed at the altar. They share in the sacrificial offerings¹² and "in the same way, the Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel" (9:14).

Chapter ten concerns the worship of idols. In order to make the prohibition against idolatry understandable Paul uses the Biblical reference of the exodus.¹³

I want you to know, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea and all ate the same supernatural food and all drank the same supernatural drink.

10:1-4

¹²Numbers 8:15; Deuteronomy 18:1.

¹³See E. Käsemann, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper" in Essays on New Testament Themes, pp. 116-119. He makes the point (p. 117) that Paul wants to stress that the sacrament [of the Lord's supper] does not provide insurance against apostasy or against divine rejection. The Biblical passages include Exodus 13:21; 14:21; 16:4, 14-18; 17:6; Num. 20:7-13. Conzelmann, Corinthians, p. 166 states that Paul may not be seeking a point-for-point correspondence with the Christian sacraments but is satisfied with the exemplary character of historical Israel.

He continues that in spite of being baptized into Moses God was not pleased with them and they were overthrown in the wilderness (10:5)¹⁴ because they were idolaters.

Do not be idolaters as some of them were;
as it is written, "The people sat down to
eat and drink and rose up to dance."¹⁵
10:7

The events in the scriptural reference serve as instruction for the Corinthian church (10:11). The point of the Biblical passage is that a union (the believer and Christ) can be broken by idolatry (10:16-17). The baptism of Israel into Moses and their participation of eating and drinking what was supernatural would surely qualify for being 'in'. Yet that union was broken by Israel's idolatry. The Biblical passages "happened to them as an example, but they were written down as a warning for us" (10:11a). The references are clear definition for proper behaviour.

Similarly, one is not to indulge in immorality for that too can break the union between believer and Christ.

We must not indulge in immorality as some of them did, and twenty-three thousand fell in a single day.¹⁶ We must not put the Lord to the test, as some of them did and were destroyed by serpents;¹⁷ nor grumble,

¹⁴Numbers 14:29-30. Note the participatory language of baptism.

¹⁵Exodus 32:4,6. Wm. Orr and J.A. Walther, I Corinthians, p. 246, n. 7 make the point that the exodus passages do not necessarily imply sexual implications.

¹⁶Numbers 25:1-18.

¹⁷Numbers 21:5-6.

as some of them did and were destroyed by the destroyer.¹⁸

10:8-10

In verses sixteen and seventeen Paul makes it clear that he is talking about the believers' union with Christ. The cup of blessing (of communion) is a participation in the blood of Christ and the breaking of the bread is a participation in the body of Christ.¹⁹

Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread.

10:17

One is 'in' by participatory identification with the death and resurrection of Christ. The status of being a Christian can be threatened and destroyed by any other union such as immorality or idolatry. Scripture is an essential part of the expression of correct belief and practice.

Paul again appeals to Israel as a demonstration for his argument. Those (of Israel) who eat the sacrifices are partners in the altar (10:18).²⁰ Likewise, the pagans participate in their altars when they sacrifice. But the altars of the pagans are to demons and not to God (10:20b).

I do not want you to be partners with demons. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of

¹⁸Numbers 16:41,49. See Conzelmann, Corinthians, p. 168, n. 36.

¹⁹See Käsemann, "Lord's Supper", pp. 109-112 and Whiteley, Theology, pp. 196-199.

²⁰Leviticus 7:6; Deuteronomy 18:1-4.

demons. You cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons.

10:20c-21

As in chapter six Paul makes it a central point of belief that immorality or idolatry can destroy the status of the Christian. In both cases scripture is an important part of the expression of that belief and the ultimate prohibition of practice. In both cases union with Christ by participatory identification is an essential part of being 'right'. To jeopardize that union will put one 'out'.

In 11:23-26 Paul presents an early tradition concerning the remembrance and identification of the death of Christ in the eucharist. This would appear to be a fundamental part of the early Christian practice.²¹

For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes.

10:26

However, this practice carries responsibility. Whoever eats or drinks in an unworthy manner is guilty of profaning the body and blood of the Lord (11:27) and he brings judgement upon himself (11:29). Paul would appear to understand that this is why some of the Corinthians are sick and dying.

That is why many of you are weak and ill, and some have died.²²

11:30

²¹See Conzelmann, Corinthians, pp. 195-203.

²²11:33-34 would indicate that some viewed the eucharist as a common meal.

In the second half of chapter twelve Paul addresses the issue of access to the 'right'.

For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body - Jews or Greeks; slaves or free - and all were made to drink of one Spirit.

12:12-13

The point of this passage and the rest of the chapter is that there is equal access for all and it involves participatory identification with Christ ("we were all baptized into one body", 12:13a). Therefore in the operation of the church they were to function with the same coordination as the body (apostles, prophets, teachers, helpers, administrators, etc. 12:27-29).

In chapter fifteen Paul presents an early form of the Christian kerygma. It is important to note that it deals with the saving act of God in Christ rather than man's dilemma. The saving act concerns the death and resurrection of Christ and his subsequent appearances to his followers (15:3-8).²³ The death and resurrection of Christ is what the early church preached and "so you believed" (15:11). This is such an essential part of the claim of the early church that Paul declares that "if Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain" (15:14). If the resurrection of Christ is not the act of God then the apostles' preaching has misrepresented God "because

²³See Wm. Baird, "What is the Kerygma? A Study of I Cor 15 3-8 and Gal 1 11-17", JBL, 76, (1957), pp. 181-191.

we testified of God that he raised Christ" (15:15b).

The need for Christ's death (and resurrection) is explained by referring to Adam.²⁴

For as by a man came death, by a man
has come also the resurrection of the
dead. For as in Adam all ~~die~~, so also
in Christ shall all be made alive.

15:21-22

The first type of participation is without choice but the second comes by faith in Christ. Paul seeks to contrast Adam and Christ by appealing to Genesis 2:7.

Thus it is written, "The first man
Adam became a living being"; the last
Adam became a life-giving spirit.²⁵

15:45

He continues,

The first man was from the earth, a
man of dust; the second man is from
heaven.

15:47

The point of the contrast is that identification with the death of Christ will mean that resurrection of the spiritual body (15:43-44) will be one of the benefits for those who are 'in'. When the end comes (15:24) the

²⁴See E. Brandenburger, Adam und Christus. Exegetisch - religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Rom 5,12-21 (1 Kor. 15); Conzelmann, Corinthians, pp. 284-286. Also C.K. Barrett. From First Adam to Last.

²⁵Compare Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 204 and B. Schneider, "The Corporate Meaning and Background of 1 Cor 15,45b - 'O ESCHATOS ADAM EIS PHEUMA ZOIOPOIION'", CBQ, 29, (1967), pp. 450-467. See Conzelmann, Corinthians, p. 284, n. 33 for the changes made from the LXX.

enemies of the 'right' will be put under God's feet (15:25 is a reference to Psalm 110:1),

For he [God] has put all things in subjection under his feet.²⁶

15:27a

At this point those who are 'in' will have full salvation.

Summary:

The correspondence to the Corinthians demonstrates that one is 'in' by participatory identification with the death and resurrection of Christ (10:16-17). It is not by association with certain factions (1:11-16) or by wisdom (1:19; 3:19) but by the word of the cross (Christ crucified, 1:23-24) which is the power of God. The latter is the only thing that will stand at the judgement day (3:10-11).

Those who are 'right' must not think that their status allows them to do whatever they wish: In particular, they must guard against immorality and idolatry. To engage in the first involves a union whereby the individual and immorality become one flesh (Genesis 2:24). If the believer becomes involved in such a union it means that the union with Christ is destroyed (6:17-29; 10:8-10). Similarly the believer must guard against idolatry. Israel stands as an example of enjoying a unique status. They were baptized with Moses and eat and drank the supernatural. However, their idolatry destroyed their status (10:5-7). This account was written for the instruction of the believer (10:11a)^a to show that union with Christ can be destroyed by idolatry (10:20c-21).

²⁶Psalm 8:6.

Scripture serves as a clear point of authority in this letter. Correct behaviour is a pressing issue and both proof texts and scriptural patterns are a source to establish the acceptable Christian practice. The Biblical accounts allow Paul to transfer an example from its original setting to his circumstance to give expression and support for behaviour in the early church. The apostles should be supported by the churches and this is established with reference to the ox at the mill and the priests in Temple service. For those who practice immorality in the Corinthian church the example of the immoral in the wilderness serves as a pattern to be avoided if one does not want to suffer the fate of the immoral in the wilderness.

13 II Corinthians¹

In chapter three Paul describes salvation through Christ as a "new covenant, not in a written code but in the Spirit; for the written code kills, but the Spirit gives life (3:6b).² He continues to contrast the old system with the new by stating that if the old system (the dispensation of death, carved in letters on stone 3:7a) came with such splendour that Israel could not look on the brightness of Moses' face, then "will not the dispensation of the Spirit be attended with greater splendour (3:8)?" The reason that the old system is no longer adequate is because the new system surpasses it.

Indeed, in this case, what once had splendour has come to have no splendour at all, because of the splendour that surpasses it. For if what faded away came with splendour,

¹The authenticity of II Corinthians as a whole is not disputed. However, there are some difficulties with the unity of the book. There would appear to be gnostic glosses in 3:17, 18b and 5:16. Section 6:14-7:1 seems to interrupt the flow between 6:13-7:2. Also there is a possibility that 1-9 (Paul has a good relationship with the Corinthian community) may stand in opposition to 10-13 (Paul attacks members of the church). The proposals to solve the difficulties have not proven to be fully adequate and it may be best to resolve most of the difficulties by noting the change in direction of the letter (between 9-10). See Kümmel, Introduction, pp. 287-293; W.H. Bates, "The Integrity of II Corinthians", NTS, 12, (1965-66), pp. 56-69; H.D. Betz, "2 Cor 6:14-7:1: An Anti-Pauline Fragment?", JBL, 92, (1973), pp. 88-108; C.K. Barret, "Paul's Opponents in II Corinthians", NTS, 17, (1970-71), pp. 233-254; Ellis, Hermeneutic, pp. 80-115; A. Plummer, Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, ICC, pp. xix-xxxvi. It is usually dated between 52-55 C.E.

²Compare Jeremiah 31:31. Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 247 makes the point that this statement is not in regard to Jewish transgressions of the law but it is a polemic against the esteem of the Torah as an eternal law. See Galatians 2:16 and Munck, Paul, p. 172.

what is permanent must have much more splendour.

3:10-11

The new system is permanent while the old system was temporary. The new system is a dispensation of the Spirit that gives life while the old system is characterized as a written code that kills.

Israel is understood to have hardened their minds (3:14a) and for that reason a veil remains between the reader and the old covenant (3:14b).³ However, when one "turns to the Lord the veil is removed" (3:16b).

Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom.⁴ And we all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are being changed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord who is the Spirit.⁵

3:17-18

Note that participatory language continues to be part of the means for self-definition.

A constant theme in II Corinthians is that persecution is part of the lot for those who are 'in'.⁶ In 4:17 Paul encourages the Corinthian church that "this slight momentary affliction is preparing us for an eternal weight of glory beyond all comparison. In chapter five he warns them to be prepared for judgement.

³ Since we have such a hope, we are very bold, not like Moses, who put a veil over his face so that the Israelites might not see the end of the fading splendour.

⁴ Isaiah 61:1-2

⁵ See n. 1.

⁶ 4:7-12.

For we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ, so that each one may receive good or evil, according to what he has done in the body.

5:10

One enters by faith in participatory identification with the death and resurrection of Christ. Once one is 'in' he must work to avoid evil and to receive good at the judgement. To make his readership aware of how they are 'in' Paul appeals to the fundamentals for being a Christian.

For the love of Christ controls us, because we are convinced that one has died for all; therefore all have died. And he died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised.

5:14-15

The death of Christ and participatory identification by the believer is the essential element of being 'right'.⁷ If one seeks such an identification Paul states,

therefore, if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away; behold the new has come.⁸

5:17

In chapter six Paul appeals to Isaiah 49:8 to argue that salvation is available now.

Behold, now is the acceptable time; behold, now is the day of salvation.

6:2f

Paul is against the believer having an intimate relationship

⁷See Whiteley, Theology, p. 137.

⁸See Ellis, Hermeneutic, p. 170.

with an unbeliever for it will reflect their unequal status.

Do not become unequally matched with unbelievers.

6:14a.

His proof for such a prohibition is that the relationship is a partnership of righteousness with iniquity (6:14b) and light with darkness (6:14c). He appeals to the participatory identification with Christ that will be threatened by such a union. Those who are 'in' are called a temple of God.

What agreement has the temple of God with idols? For we are the temple of the living God.

6:16a

To secure his argument he appeals to LXX of Leviticus 26:11-12 with a mixture of other passages.⁹

As God said, "I will live in them and move among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Therefore come out from them, and be separate from them, says the Lord, and touch nothing unclean; then I will welcome you, and I will be a father to you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty."

6:16b-18

The unbeliever is compared to what is unclean. Those who separate from them will be called the sons and daughters of the Almighty. Paul takes these scriptural passages as a promise for the believer.

Since, we have these promises, beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from every defilement of body and spirit, and make holiness perfect in the fear of God

7:1

⁹Isaiah 52:11; Ezekiel 20:34;37:27; II Samuel 7:14.

Summary:

II Corinthians compares salvation through Christ as a new covenant that is in the spirit and the new covenant gives life. This is contrasted with the old system of the law that brings death (2:6). The latter is an inadequate system for putting one 'right' because it is superceded by the new covenant. The old system was temporary while the new one is permanent (3:11). Those who are 'out' do not recognize the inadequacies of the old system because their minds are hardened (3:14).

Those who turn from the old system "are being changed into [the Lord's] likeness" (3:17-18). They must be prepared for persecution and they must separate from the unbeliever. To enforce the practice of separation (spiritual and moral, not physical) from the unbeliever, Paul asserts that relationships with an unbeliever means that the two partners have become parties of unequal status. The prohibition is in the imperative (6:14a) and to support this claim Paul appeals to a mosaic of scriptures (6:16b-18) that would call for the faithful to be separate "from the unclean" (6:17c).

The opening lines of Romans make a very clear statement of how Paul viewed himself. He calls himself a servant or slave, δούλος, of Jesus Christ called to be an apostle. He understands that he was set apart (from other men?) for the sake of the gospel of God which was promised in the prophets (1:1-2). Thus, Paul is compelled to be an apostle of a gospel not of men but of God.² Certainly there is little room for error on Paul's claim for truth. In keeping with my comments concerning solution before dilemma it is important to point out that Paul did not begin his discussion in Romans with a statement about man's dilemma but rather with a clear statement about the solution in the "gospel of God".

the gospel concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh and designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead, Jesus

¹Romans is dated between 53-55 C.E. and there is little question in regard to its authenticity. There are some who suggest that chapter 16 was not part of the original letter. However, this does not seem to be correct as chapter 16 is made up almost entirely of greetings. There is more serious question concerning the last 3 verses of chapter 16 (25-27). Its position in Romans varies with certain manuscripts. The general consensus is that the original text included 1:1-16:23. See Kümmel, Introduction, pp. 314-321; C.E.B. Cranfield, The Epistle to the Romans, ICC, pp. 1-11; C.H. Talbert, "A Non-Pauline Fragment at Romans 3:24-26?", JBL, 85, (1966), pp. 287-296; R.J. Harris, "Rom 14:1-15:13 and the Occasion of Romans", CBQ, 35, (1973), pp. 155-178; K.P. Donfried, "False Presuppositions in the Study of Romans", CBQ, 36, (1974), pp. 332-355; W. Wuellner, "Paul's Rhetoric of Argument in Romans", CBQ, 38, (1975), pp. 330-351. Also see Bornkamm, Paul, pp. 93-96 and Munck, Paul, pp. 196-200.

²"...set apart for the gospel of God" (1:1c).

Christ our Lord, through whom we have received grace and apostleship to bring about the obedience of faith for the sake of his name among all the nations.³
1:3-5

Paul is in a place of "grace and apostleship" which is a very definite sense of being 'right' and his task is to "bring about the obedience of faith". In 1:16 he asserts that the gospel is the "power of God for salvation to every one who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek". One attains the status of being 'right' and receives (salvation by his faith that Jesus is the Christ.

For in it [the gospel] the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith.⁴
1:17a

The attaining of righteousness by faith that Jesus is the Christ is the real issue behind the letter to the Romans. Paul will contrast this possibility with the attempt to be 'right' by obedience to the law. Again, it is important to note that he is already convinced that Jesus is Christ and from his perspective the works of the law will only leave one in the status of being 'wrong'. Paul appeals to Habakkuk 2:4b to

³These verses contain most of the essential points of the early Christian kerygma. See C.H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development, p. 17.

⁴See Cranfield, Romans, pp. 91-98. Ellis, Hermeneutic, p. 217 comments that Romans 1:17-4:25 (like I Corinthians 1-4) is set up on midrashic style with scriptural text and then exposition. For example 1:17 (Habakkuk 2:4) with 1:18-2:5 as commentary, 2:6 (Proverbs 24:12) with 2:7-23 as exposition, 2:24 (Isaiah 52:5) with 2:25-3:3 as exposition, etc.

support his claim concerning faith.⁵

But the one who is righteous from
faith shall live.

1:17b

Those who suppress the truth [the gospel] will receive the wrath of God (1:18). They are characterized as ungodly and wicked and it would appear that they worship various images and exchange "natural relations for unnatural" (1:21-23).⁶

In chapter two Paul sets up the dilemma of the unbeliever against the good fortunes of the believer. Those on the side of the former have hard and impenitent hearts and they will receive wrath on the judgement day (2:5). Those on the side of the latter are patient in well-doing and they will receive eternal life (2:8).⁷

In verse twelve of chapter two the dilemma of the law (from Paul's perspective) is presented somewhat abruptly.

All who have sinned without the law
will perish without the law, and all
who have sinned under the law will be
judged by the law. For it is not the

⁵Romans 1:17b is ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται. The LXX has ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως μου ζήσεται. The phrase ἐκ πίστεως can mean either "because of my [God's] faithfulness" or "because of his faith in me". See Cranfield, *Romans*, pp. 100-102. The Hebrew text for Habakkuk 2:4b is "the righteous shall live by his faithfulness", וצדיק באמונתו יחיה. See A. Feuillet, "La Citation d'Habacuc 2.4 et les Huit Premiers Chapitres de l'Épître aux Romains", *NTS*, 6, (1959), pp. 52-80.

⁶Compare Psalm 106:20 (LXX 105:20); Exodus 32; Jeremiah 2:11 for Israel's attempts to worship other gods.

⁷C.H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, p. 58-59 comments that on the day of wrath there will be no substantial difference between Jew and pagan. The difference is that Israel received the law and in a sense has been exposed more immediately to moral order.

hearers of the law who are righteous
before God, but the doers of the law
who will be justified.

2:12-13

Firstly, one is categorized as 'wrong' if one sins, with or without the law. The real issue seems to be that one is counted as "righteous" by being a doer of the law rather than just a hearer of the law. In verses fifteen and sixteen Paul states that the Gentiles know in their hearts what the law requires. Their conscience bears witness to this and on the judgement day they will be judged by the requirements of the law. In verses seventeen through twenty-four Paul accuses Israel of contradicting themselves. They rely on the law, boast of their relationship with God in knowing his will and law, and yet they commit what they accuse against others⁸ and they do not do what they teach. In 2:24 he appeals to an adaptation of the LXX of Isaiah 52:5b, "the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you". Those who are 'out' are there because they are hearers of the law and not doers. This would appear to apply to both Gentiles (in their hearts they know what the law requires) and to the Jews (they do not keep the laws). There is no special status in regard to judgement.

In verses twenty-five through twenty-nine Paul characterizes the 'right' as the circumcised who obey the law. Circumcision is indeed of value if one obeys the law, but if one breaks the law then circumcision is regarded as uncircumcision. One moves from the 'right' to the 'wrong'

⁸"You who say that one must not commit adultery, do you commit adultery? You who abhor idols, do you rob temples? You who boast in the law, do you dishonour God by breaking the law?"

by breaking the law.

So if a man who is uncircumcised keeps the precepts of the law, will not his uncircumcision be regarded as circumcision. Then those who are physically uncircumcised but keep the law will condemn you who have the written code and circumcision but break the law.

2:27-28

Conversely, if one keeps "the precepts of the law" one moves from the 'wrong' to the 'right'. Paul claims in verse twenty-eight that one is not a real Jew who is only outwardly Jewish because true circumcision is something that is not just external and physical. One is truly a Jew when one is inwardly Jewish, for real circumcision is a matter of the heart, spiritual and not literal. Circumcision of the heart is not accomplished by obedience to the law. Circumcision and the obedience to the law do not seem to be the real issues. Rather, when we move into chapter three we encounter what puts one in the 'wrong'.

for I [we] have already charged that all men, both Jews and Gentiles are under the power of sin.⁹

3:9b

To add weight to this statement concerning the dilemma of humanity Paul appeals to a whole list of Biblical references that would depict man as unrighteous, not seeking God, not doing good, deceitful and without the fear of God (3:10-18).¹⁰ The passages are arranged in a careful and

⁹See Cranfield, Romans, pp. 187-191, for the variations of this verse.

¹⁰Verses 10-12 are an adaption of the LXX of Psalm 52:1-3. Verse 13a is an exact quotation of LXX Psalm 5:10b while 13b is a citation of Psalm 139:4. Verse 14 is an adaption of Psalm 9:28. Verses 15-17 are from the LXX of Isaiah 59:8a and verse 18 is an exact quotation of Psalm 35:2b. The citations serve to demonstrate that humanity indeed has a dilemma.

selected manner to achieve that writer's desired ends. Man's condition is developed to such a degree that Paul claims in verse twenty,

For no human being will be justified in his [God's] sight by works of the ~~law, since~~ through the law comes knowledge of sin.¹¹

As we shall see in the verses immediately following Paul has the solution for the dilemma. Scripture is the proof for his statement of the condition of humanity.

But now the righteousness of God has been manifested apart from the law, although the law and the prophets bear witness to it, the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe. For there is no distinction; since all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God, they are justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood, to be received by faith.¹²

3:21-25a

The verses above outline the necessary requirements for being among the righteous and this includes that one have faith in Jesus Christ. I will summarize to this point the 'right' and the 'wrong'. All who have sinned with or without the law will perish (2:12) and it would appear that

¹¹Compare Psalm 143:2b (LXX 142.2b).

¹²See J. Reumann, "The Gospel of the Righteousness of God", Interpretation, 20, (1966), pp. 432-452; G. Howard, "Romans 3:21-31 and the Inclusion of the Gentiles", HTR, 63, 1970, pp. 223-233. Also see C.H. Talbert, "A Non-Pauline Fragment at Romans 3 2-26?", JBL, 85, (1966), pp. 287-296.

everyone is accountable to obey the law, both Jew and Gentile (2:15-15). It would seem that the Jews have not kept the law (2:17-24). In fact all of humanity has the dilemma of being defined as 'wrong' (3:9b). However, this is not as great a plight as it would seem, for Paul has at hand the solution. The 'right' is attained by faith in Jesus as Christ "apart from the law although the law and prophets bear witness to it" (3:21b). Scripture to this point serves as a verification for the dilemma of man and the requirement of faith to remedy that dilemma. Paul now uses scripture to argue that faith is the key to being included among the just.

For we hold that a man is justified
by faith apart from works of law.

3:28

Faith is the means of being 'in' for both Jew and Gentile;

since God is one; and he will justify
the circumcised on the ground of their
faith and the uncircumcised through
their faith.

3:30

The point is that there is no partiality for all are counted among the just by faith. He attempts to prove this argument by appealing to Genesis 15:6. Paul asserts that Abraham was counted as 'right' on the grounds of his faith. "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness" (4:3b). He argues that if one works then one is owed wages for services performed. However, this was not the case with Abraham for "his faith is reckoned as righteousness" (4:5b). Paul is appealing to a scriptural pattern for the way of the righteous.

Abraham fits this purpose.¹³ The idea of having righteousness reckoned because of one's faith leads to another scriptural reference. Psalm 32:1-2 (LXX) concerns blessings on a man whose iniquities are forgiven, whose sins are covered and whose sins the Lord does not reckon. Paul uses the scriptural texts to support his claim that righteousness comes through faith and not works,

So also David pronounces a blessing upon
the man to whom God reckons righteousness
apart from works:

4:6

The use of the second scriptural reference is somewhat out of context. The first reference fits the theme of the argument that faith puts one on the side of the righteous. The reference to Psalm 32 involves a man being included on the side of the righteous but how he arrives at such a status is not included in the Biblical text and in fact the key element of faith is missing. The use of the two texts together may be explained by a rabbinic method of playing on words or concepts that are similar. In this case it may be the common expression of λογίζεσθαι.¹⁴ However, it would appear that the status of being righteous is more likely the reason for the use of the two texts than a common expression.

¹³The Genesis 15:6 reference fits Paul's purposes best because there is no mention of the work of Abraham but only his faith. Compare Genesis 12:1-4 where Abraham was required to leave his father's house and go to a strange land.

¹⁴H.L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, p. 94, comments "gezerah shawah, literally: similar injunction or regulation. 'Inference by Analogy', by virtue of which, because in two pentateuchal passages words occur which are similar or have the identical connotation, both laws, however different they may be in themselves, are subject to the same regulations and applications".

The second part of the Abraham pattern questions when Abraham was reckoned as righteous. In a rather ingenious move Paul asserts that Abraham received his status of righteousness before he was circumcised and circumcision was the "sign or seal of the righteousness which he had by faith while he was still uncircumcised". The reason that Abraham was reckoned as righteous at that time was to serve as an example (and father) for both Jew and Gentile who wish to be reckoned as 'right' by their faith in Jesus as Christ.

He [Abraham] received circumcision as a sign or seal of the righteousness which he had by faith while he was still uncircumcised. The purpose was to make him the father of all who believe without being circumcised and who thus have righteousness reckoned to them, and likewise the father of the circumcised who are not merely circumcised but also follow the example of the faith which our father Abraham had before he was circumcised.

4:11-12

Note that Paul makes it very clear that those who wish to be 'in' must follow the pattern of the faith of Abraham, whether Jew or Gentile.

In verse thirteen of chapter four Paul understands that the promise to Abraham and his descendants (that they should inherit the world) did not come through the law but "through the righteousness of faith". He is so convinced that one is 'right' by faith that he declares,

if it is the adherents of the law who are to be the heirs, faith is null and the promise is void.

4:14

Scripture serves as the pattern for the believer. This goes beyond right ethics and judgements, for one's destiny depends on understanding

and following the pattern. Abraham's actions recorded in scripture put him on the side of the 'right'. This act of faith on his part is the key for self-understanding now that Jesus has come as the Christ. The requirement for the Christian is the same kind of faith (following Abraham as father) as Abraham and it will achieve a similar end.

That is why it depends on faith; in order that the promise may rest on grace and be guaranteed to all his descendants - not only to the adherents of the law but also to those who share the faith of Abraham, for he is the father of us all.

4:16

The significance of Abraham as the father of those who are 'right' by faith is supported by a reference to Genesis 17:5.

I have made you the father of many nations.

4:17b

Abraham's real life situation is presented as meaning that he hoped against hope that he would become the father of many nations. This refers to the advanced age of both Abraham and Sarah. Most pointedly verse eighteen states, "in hope he believed against hope, that he should become the father of many nations". Paul asserts that Abraham did not weaken in faith nor did distrust make him waver concerning the promise of God (4:19-20),

but he grew strong in his faith as he gave glory to God, fully convinced that God was able to do what he had promised. That is why his faith was "reckoned to him as righteousness."

4:20b-22

Abraham's faith was not only relevant for his own situation but it stands as a pattern for what is necessary to be 'right' in the preaching

and teaching of the early church.

But the words, "it was reckoned to him", were written not for his sake alone, but for ours also. It will be reckoned to us who believe in him that raised from the dead Jesus our Lord, who was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification.¹⁵

4:24-25

The scriptural example of Abraham's faith serves as a most important part of the self-definition of early Christianity. It is interesting to note that Judaism would not deny the importance of Abraham's faith. It was part of the involvement of God with Abraham and his descendants that ultimately is demonstrated in the Torah. However, Paul sets up his presentation of the faith of Abraham in opposition to the Torah. It would appear that self-definition in early Christianity was advanced to the point that Paul felt that it was necessary to make a precise statement concerning not being 'right' by Torah but only by faith. This would indicate a most-pointed departure of Christianity from Judaism.

Chapter five asserts that one "is justified" by faith and thus has access to God's grace and the glory of God (5:1-2).¹⁶ Further in this chapter Paul presents the dilemma of humanity once again. He does so by contrasting Adam to Jesus.¹⁷

¹⁵See D.M. Stanley, Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology.

¹⁶There is debate whether chapter 5 fits better with chapters 1-4 or 6-8. See Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 486.

¹⁷See Cranfield, Romans, pp. 271-281; Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 36-57; Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 174.

Therefore as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned...Yet death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who was a type of the one who was to come.

5:12,14

The use of scripture at this point goes beyond proof-texts for definition. It would appear that the scriptural accounts of Adam are understood to have particular effects on the definition of humanity. Sin is part of the make-up of man and sin carries the consequence of death. In terms of this dissertation sin puts one 'out' and therefore one needs a remedy.

If, because of one man's trespass, death reigned through that one man, much more will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness reign in life through the one man Jesus Christ. Then as one man's trespass led to condemnation for all men, so one man's act of righteousness leads to acquittal and life for all men.

5:17,18

The scriptural reference to Adam's actions having consequence on humanity is now contrasted with the actions of Jesus.

But God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Since, therefore, we are now justified by his blood, much more shall we be saved by him from the wrath of God.

5:8-9

The actions of Adam are understood to have historical and quite real kinds of effects of putting one 'out'. The way one is put on the side of the 'right' is to recognize the effects of the death of Jesus ("while

we were yet sinners Christ died for us", 5:8b) and to identify with his death. This identification has long term effects that contrast with the actions of Adam.

Did you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life.¹⁸

6:3-4

What is interesting to note in the Biblical example of Adam is that one is by nature 'out'. Scripture makes one's present situation understandable and points to the need of a remedy. The fact that Paul had an immediate remedy makes one question if this did not have influence on his presentation of the dilemma of humanity. To be put 'in' means that one must take an initiative of believing and then identify with the death of Jesus. The consequence of being on the side of the 'right' is eternal life.

But now that you have been set free from sin and have become slaves of God, the return you get is sanctification and its end, eternal life. For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord.

6:22-23

To be 'in' means that one has eternal life and to be 'out' means that one has (eternal?) death. The definition of both sides is most definite

¹⁸Whiteley, Theology, p. 169 makes the point that Paul applies the phrase "sons of God" to those who by baptism have been linked in death and resurrection with Christ. Compare I Corinthians 1:13-17 and Galatians 3:26-27.

and has great consequence.

Chapter seven continues the contrast between being 'in' and 'out'.¹⁹ When one is 'out' he is subject to the flesh and sinful passions which are aroused by the law (7:5). Paul declares that,

if it had not been for the law, I should not have known sin. I should not have known what it is to covet if the law had not said, "You shall not covet."

7:7b

Ultimately the dilemma of humanity is that one cannot do what is right no matter how hard one tries.

I do not understand my own actions. For I do not do what I want, but I do the very thing I hate.

7:15

He continues,

for I know that nothing good dwells within me, that is, in my flesh. I can will what is right, but I cannot do it. For I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do. Now if I do what I do not want, it is no longer I that do it, but sin which dwells within me.

7:18-20

Those who are 'out' are subject to their own inadequacies and the law accentuates this because one cannot do the good which is the essence of the law (7:12, "So the law is holy, and the commandment is holy and just and good").

¹⁹I take chapter 7 as Paul speaking about non-Christians from the perspective of faith rather than Paul giving an account of himself before becoming a Christian. See W.G. Kümmel, Römer 7 und die Bekenhrung des Paulus; J. Dupont, Foi et Salut Selon S. Paul, pp. 67-88; Cranfield, Romans, pp. 342-347; Also Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 23-31.

So I find it to be a law that when I want to do right, evil lies close at hand. For I delight in the law of God, in my inmost self, but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind and making me captive to the law of sin which dwells in my members.

7:21-23

Paul's definition of the 'wrong' is all-encompassing and would appear to leave everyone with a dilemma. But he does have a solution.

For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free from the law of sin and death. For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do: sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, he condemned sin in the flesh in order that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit.

8:2-4

One can be 'in' because of the work of Jesus as the Christ. If one believes and identifies with the death and resurrection of Jesus then one is no longer subject to the inadequacies of "the flesh".

If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit which dwells in you.

8:11

The contrast between being 'in' or 'out' as a principle of humanity would raise the question whether or not one could leave the characteristics that put one 'out'. If one wants to do good but cannot, will his faith in Jesus as Christ free him from his natural tendencies? Paul attempts to answer this in the first part of chapter seven by appealing to the example of a widow in scripture (7:1-3).

A woman is bound by law to her husband as long as he lives. However, if he should die and she remarries she is not an adulteress. That which was binding on her in her former circumstance is no longer applicable in the latter situation. Paul likens this to the faith identification with Jesus as Christ.

But now we are discharged from the law,
 dead to that which held us captive, so
 that we serve not under the old written
 code but in the new life of the Spirit.

7:6

Paul would appear to view the 'right' as being more than just joining a particular community or group. It has to do with ultimate claims on one's life. Again, the reference to scripture makes the contrast between 'in' and 'out' understandable. It goes beyond a proof-text orientation, for what is a principle in the case of the widow is equally applicable in the case of being a Christian.

In chapter eight, verses twenty-eight through thirty Paul presents a sense of predestination on the part of the Christian.

For those whom he foreknew he also
 predestined to be conformed to the
 image of his Son, in order that he
 might be the first-born among many
 brethren. And those whom he predestined
 he also called; and those whom
 he called he also justified; and those
 whom he justified he also glorified.

8:29-30

This would seem to be a common element of self-definition at the turn of the common era. It is not an elaborate theme in either Qumran or Christianity but it is part of the claim of being 'right'. Chapters nine through eleven concern the place of Israel in the scheme of

Christian self-understanding.²⁰ It would appear to be a unit unto itself and it may reflect a refined presentation of a topic that was an important question for both Paul and the early church.

From the readings in Romans to this point (as well as Paul's other writings) it is not unusual to find that Judaism is put on the side of the 'wrong'. It is most interesting how he manages to reconcile this position by the use of scripture. Firstly, he expresses a genuine regret for Israel as well as a very clear sense that they are 'out'.

For I could wish that I myself were
accursed and cut off from Christ for
the sake of my brethren, my kinsmen
by race.

9:3

He reflects an immediate tension in the following verses (4 and 5) by acknowledging that they have sonship, covenants, law, worship forms, promises, the patriarchs, and

of their race, according to the flesh,
is the Christ.

9:5b

However, Paul points out that not all who are descended from Israel truly belong to Israel and not all of the children of Abraham are necessarily his descendants. He appeals to Genesis 21:12 that "through Isaac shall your descendants be named" (9:7b).²¹

²⁰See Ellis, Hermeneutic, pp. 218-220 for a comparison between Romans 9-11 and rabbinic homilies. Also see Munck, Paul, pp. 42-49 for discussion of Romans 9-11.

²¹9:7 and 9:9 would seem to be points of contact for the commentary or exposition that follows in 9:10-28; 9:15,17,25,26 are additional citations that serve to support the precedent of "promise" over "flesh".

He understands this to mean that the children of the flesh are not 'in' (as the children of God, 9:8a) but rather the "children of the promise are reckoned as descendants" (9:8b). He uses Genesis 18:10 to define what is meant by "promise",

About this time I will return and
Sarah shall have a son.

9:9b

Paul is contrasting Ishmael with Isaac (the first being a son of the "flesh", Hagar, while the second being a child of promise, Sarah).

Similarly (9:10-13) Esau is designated as the child of the flesh while Jacob (the younger son) is identified as the child of promise. The examples that are taken from scripture indicate that one born of the flesh of a patriarch was not guaranteed to receive the promises made to the patriarch and his descendants. In the discussion of Esau and Jacob Paul comments,

though they were not yet born and had
done nothing either good or bad, in
order that God's purpose of election
might continue, not because of works
but because of his call.

9:11

Israel's position among the 'wrong' is a result of the election of God, just as He had chosen Jacob rather than Esau and Isaac rather than Ishmael. He appeals to Exodus 33:19b to verify this claim.

For he [God] says to Moses, "I will
have mercy on whom I have mercy, and
I will have compassion on whom I have
compassion."

9:15

As an attempt to show the former privileged status of Israel he refers, to Exodus 9:16,

For the scripture says to Pharaoh, "I have raised you up for the very purpose of showing my power in you, so that my name may be proclaimed in all the earth."
9:17

I find it most interesting that Paul does not elaborate on these scriptural references. He may have understood them to be self-evident but they lack a peshar development in that the meaning of the scriptural text for the immediate discussion is made by inference rather than by being explicit. Each scriptural passage builds on the former to give a full development of the election theme. Isaac and Jacob were both children of promise but they were not the first offspring of their father. However, they were the descendants that received the blessings of the promise. This was a result of election rather than birthright or any particular performance and man should not question the ways of God (9:18). Scripture interrelated by the theme of election is the thread that attempts to make the present status of Israel understandable.

Paul applies Hosea 2:23 to Israel and the Christians.

As indeed he says in Hosea, "Those who were not my people I will call 'my people', and her who was not beloved I will call 'my beloved.'"
9:25

He continues from Hosea 1:10,

"And in the very place where it was said to them, 'You are not my people' they will be called 'sons of the living God.'"
9:26

From these passages it would appear that Paul understands that the title of election "my people" has been transferred from those who were formerly given that title to a new group. Similarly in the Israel

versus Christian context, those who were 'in' have now lost that status. It has been given to a new group.

He cites Isaiah 10:22-23 as a proof that only a remnant of Israel will be among the 'right'.

And Isaiah cries out concerning Israel:
 "Though the number of the sons of Israel
 be as sand of the sea, only a remnant of
 them will be saved; for the Lord will
 execute his sentence upon the earth
 with rigour and despatch."

9:27-28

In verse thirty and following, Paul finally addresses the status of Israel and the meaning of the scriptural texts. The Gentiles (Christians) are now in the position of the 'right' because they have attained it through (faith, 9:30) while Israel is 'wrong' because it attempted to "attain righteousness" which was based on the law. They were not successful in fulfilling that law "because they did not pursue it through faith but as if it were based on works", (9:31-32). The point of failure on the part of Israel hinges on their lack of faith (that Jesus was the Christ). The contrast of descendants of flesh and promise and election by God culminates at the issue of being 'right' because one has faith. The use of scripture serves to point out that the unexpected was part of the historical development in the scriptural past and it is continuing into the present. The past is not only a means for definition of the present but it would appear that being 'right' and 'wrong' is a continuation of the historical involvement of God with a group of elect. Paul attempts to verify Israel 'missing the way' by combining Isaiah 28:16 with Isaiah 8:14,

as it is written, "Behold, I am laying

in Zion a stone that will make men
stumble, a rock that will make them fall;
and he who believes in him will not be
put to shame."

9:33

This would appear to refer to Jesus. His messianic status would be a stumbling block for everyone (including Israel) who would not believe that he was the Christ.

Chapter ten, verse four declares that faith is the means whereby one is counted as just.

For Christ is the end of the law, that
everyone who has faith may be justified.

Continuing in verses nine and ten Paul asserts that those who confess that Jesus is Lord and believe that God raised him from the dead "will be saved."

For man believes with his heart and so
is justified, and he confesses with
his lips and so is saved.

10:10

For anyone that would question whether Israel has heard the preaching that Jesus is Christ, Paul attempts to answer this by referring to Psalm 18:4,

Their voice has gone out to all the
earth, and their words to the ends of
the world.

10:18b

It would appear that Paul is using the Biblical text as a description of the early church's preaching. Scripture serves as a means of characterizing the early church and it serves also as a pointer for the behaviour of Israel. They had acted in disbelief in scriptural precedent. Moses declared to them that they were not faithful because of their

worship of other gods. Paul understands that this lack of faith is continuing in the present situation.

Again I ask, did Israel not understand?
First Moses says, "I will make you
jealous of those who were not a nation;
with a foolish nation I will make you
angry."

10:19

The early church would appear to take on the role of the non-nation/foolish nation of scripture and their status will make Israel jealous. The message of scripture is made fully understandable in the present situation. Isaiah (65:1) found that Israel rejected God in the past even when He made himself available.

Then Isaiah is so bold as to say, "I
have been found by those who did not
seek me; I have shown myself to those
who did not ask for me."

10:20

Israel's exclusion from the 'right' is not a surprise for Paul, for he finds precedent from scripture that would verify his present understanding. He continues with Isaiah 65:2 as a further characterization of present day Israel,

But of Israel he says, "All day long
I have held out my hands to a diso-
bedient and contrary people."

10:21

The historical situation of Israel that was found in scripture is continuing to be demonstrated in the contemporary situation of the early church. Despite Israel's unfavourable status of being 'out' Paul contends that God has not forsaken his people.

I ask, then, has God rejected his
people? By no means! I myself am an

Israelite, a descendant of Abraham, a member of the tribe of Benjamin. God has not rejected his people whom he foreknew.

11:1-2a

He bases this view on the example of Elijah in I Kings 19:10, 14, 18.

Elijah had complained to God,

Lord, they have killed thy prophets, they have demolished thy altars, and I alone am left, and they seek my life.

11:3

Paul reminds his readership that God's reply was that there were seven thousand men who had not bowed to Baal. The situation that was evident in the scriptural context makes the present circumstance understandable.

So too at the present time there is a remnant, chosen by grace.

11:5

However, the condition for being among this select group is to be "chosen by grace".

But if it is by grace, it is no longer on the basis of works.

11:6a

The contrast between grace and works would suggest that grace includes the belief by faith that Jesus is the Christ. Some from Israel believed by faith (not works) and they are the remnant (chosen by grace).

Israel failed to obtain what it sought. The elect obtained it, but the rest were hardened.

11:7b

Paul seeks to support this argument by appealing to a modified presentation of Deuteronomy 29:4 and Isaiah 6:9,10;29:10,

as it is written, "God gave them a spirit

of stupor, eyes that should not see
and ears that should not hear, down
to this very day."

11:8

He continues with a reference from Psalm 69:23-24,

Let their table become a snare and a
trap, a pitfall and a retribution for
them; let their eyes be darkened so
that they cannot see, and bend their
backs forever."

11:9-10

Because Israel is not among the elect, the Gentiles (Christians) have
been included.

But through their trespass salvation has
come to the Gentiles, so as to make Israel
jealous.

11:11b

However, it would seem that Paul holds that Israel (or part of Israel)
will some day be 'in'.

Now if their trespass means riches for
the world, and if their failure means
riches for the Gentiles, how much more
will their full inclusion mean!

11:12

And even the others [Israel], if they do
not persist in their unbelief, will be
grafted in, for God has the power to graft
them in again.

11:23

He believes that Israel's unbelief will be for a period of time in order
that the Gentiles come 'in' and then Israel will be included once again
among the 'right'.

Lest you be wise in your own conceits, I
want you to understand this mystery,
brethern: a hardening has come upon part
of Israel, until the full number of the
Gentiles come in, and so all Israel will

be saved;

11:25-26a

The culmination of bringing both Israel and the Gentiles 'in' is given further definition by a free translation of Isaiah 59:20-21,

as it is written, "The Deliverer will come from Zion, he will banish ungodliness from Jacob"; "and this will be my covenant with them when I take away their sins."

11:26b-27

At the present time Paul views Israel as enemies of the gospel but in terms of election and the plan of God they are "beloved for the sake of their forefathers" (11:28b).

In chapter fifteen, verse twenty-one, Paul appeals to Isaiah 52:15 as a sense of direction for his preaching to the Gentiles.

but as it is written, "They shall see who have never been told of him, and they shall understand who have never heard of him."

Scripture serves as a guide for self-definition in Christianity and it also serves as that which gives definition for the individual.

Summary:

It is clear from the very beginning of Romans that Paul has a very precise understanding of the 'right'. It is the gospel of God (1:1) that was promised by the prophets (1:2) and it is the power of God for salvation (1:16). More specifically, it is for those who have faith that Jesus is the Christ (1:17).

In chapter two Paul asserts that everyone is subject to being a "doer of the law". This is a problem because he believes that the Gentiles know the law (in their hearts) but do not do it and the Jews

are "hearers of the law" (2:17-24) but they also are not doers. The issue of doing the law seems to be a preparation for a more severe statement that all of humanity is under the power of sin. Therefore everyone is 'out'. He uses scripture to verify his position (i.e. 2:24 where he appeals to Isaiah 52:5b that the Jews blaspheme God among the Gentiles).

Paul's presentation of the dilemma of humanity is immediately countered by clear solution. All have sinned but there is redemption in Christ Jesus for all that believe by faith (3:21-25a). The statements concerning the 'right' are so precise and meet the dilemma of the 'wrong' so well that one might question if the solution did not precede the dilemma in the mind of the writer. The argument for the solution is supported by an appeal to Abraham being righteous by his faith. Because his faith came before his circumcision, Abraham is considered as the father of all who believe whether they be circumcised or uncircumcised (4:11-12). The separation of Abraham's faith and circumcision seems to be an artificial division of actions that are very much bound together. Abraham in his 'faith state' (uncircumcised) is the father of the uncircumcised (Gentile Christians) and after his circumcision he is the father of the Jewish Christians (4:12). The actions of a Biblical character (in this case, Abraham) clearly stand as the key for self-understanding for Paul. What happened in the past and what achieved a particular end (being reckoned as righteous) continues as a pattern for correct status in the present. It is important to note that the pattern of Abraham argues for faith rather than works, and this makes access to the 'right' available for all.

The use of a Biblical character as a means of self-understanding continues with Paul's use of Adam. He is understood to have initiated the dilemma of humanity.

Therefore as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned.

5:12

The use of this Biblical character has historical and real effects of putting one 'out'. Jesus as Christ meets this effect and can put one 'in'. The use of scripture in this case is understood to have immediate consequence that somehow must be addressed. Scripture is not merely an example of a human trait but it contains the essence of the human character. Again, the appeal to Adam is an essential point of belief for Paul.

The use of scripture in the argument that Israel is 'out' attempts to show that election is the rule for being 'in' rather than descent. The appeal to Isaac/Ishmael and Jacob/Esau serves to verify that the unexpected is part of the dealings of God with humanity. The election of the Gentile Christians over Israel is understood as a continuation of the involvement of God that was initiated in scripture. The election of the Christians is a result of the faith that Jesus was the Christ.

Paul uses scripture (Deut. 32:21 - Rom. 10:19 and Isaiah 65:1-2 - Rom. 10:20) to show that Israel's position among the 'wrong' is an historical situation that was found in scripture and it is continuing to be demonstrated in his contemporary situation. Their ultimate position will be among the 'right', and he appeals to I Kings as an

example of the faithful among Israel. However, the condition for the 'right' is faith that Jesus is the Christ (11:23).

The use of scripture in Romans seems to have two major concerns. The first serves as a pattern for correct belief. The significance of the pattern goes beyond an example of scripture, for it has immediate consequence for the present situation. Adam is understood to have introduced the human dilemma and Abraham's behaviour serves as a way out of the dilemma. Both characters are tied to Jesus as Christ. The pattern has to do with belief and practice.

The second use of scripture is that it serves as a verification of the status of the 'right' and 'wrong'. The election of the Gentile Christians is demonstrated in the election of Isaac and Jacob. Exodus 33:19 points out that the ultimate choice of election rests with God and Hosea 1:10, 2:23 points to the 'wrong' status of Israel in the past. This status of Israel ultimately rests on its lack of recognizing the pattern of Abraham in light of the death and resurrection of Christ.

15 Conclusion on Paul

Scripture supports identity:

Paul presents a clear understanding of the definition for a Christian. Those who hear and obey the gospel are called into the kingdom of God (I Thess. 2:12). They are counted as holy and blameless before God (I Thess. 3:13) and this status is available to everyone. The gospel is the power of God for both Jew and Greek (Rom. 1:16). The key for self-definition is to believe that Jesus is Christ by participatory identification with his death and resurrection (Gal. 2:19-20; 3:27; I Cor. 15:3-8; Rom. 6:3-4; 8:2-4). To believe that Jesus died and rose again means that one has hope for full salvation at the eschaton (I Thess. 4:13-14; 5:9-10). The possession of the spirit is a demonstration that one is saved by faith rather than by works (Gal. 3:2). To be 'in' by faith means that all other systems are excluded for they will not achieve the desired end (Gal. 2:16).

Those who are 'out' do not have appeal or excuse for their status. Paul states very clearly that the Gentiles know in their hearts what is required (Rom. 2:15-16) and the Jews have the Torah but do not obey the law. He appeals to Isaiah 52:5b for proof that they blaspheme God among the Gentiles. In fact, all humanity suffers the fate of being under the power of sin (Rom. 3:9b). He cites a list of scriptures (3:10-18) to prove that humanity indeed has a dilemma. The law cannot meet that dilemma for he states in Romans 3:20 that no one is justified by works of the law (Gal. 3:21b, there is not a law that can make ~~it~~ alive). Redemption comes through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe (Rom. 3:21-26).

Israel is 'out' because they do not follow the pattern of Abraham (righteousness by faith) and thus they are not descendants of Isaac (Rom. 9:7). Paul appeals to Exodus 33:19 and 9:16 to prove that God elects whom he wishes and controls election for his own purposes. "So then he has mercy upon whomever he wills, and he hardens the heart of whomever he wills" (Rom. 9:18). He attempts to clinch his argument by appealing to Isaiah 10:22-23 (Rom. 9:27-28) that only a remnant of Israel will be 'in'.

From the above outline it is clear that Paul made precise statements about the definition of those who would be Christians. In fact, 'right' and 'wrong' play a major role in the correspondence of the apostle. Scripture is a means of expression and a source of authority.

In regard to correct belief Paul argues in Galatians 3:6-7 and Romans 4:3 that Abraham (Gen. 15:6) sets the pattern for those who are 'in' by his faith in the promises of God. Abraham not only established the pattern for faith but Genesis 18:18 confirms that by Abraham all nations will be blessed (i.e. the Gentiles). Paul takes the latter reference to indicate that Abraham was the father of all for both circumcised and uncircumcised believers (Rom. 4:11-12; Gal. 3:8). The argument for being justified by faith is set against those who would believe that one could be saved by works of the law. Paul finds further proof for his faith stance by referring to Habakkuk 2:4 that the righteous shall live by faith (Gal. 3:11b; Rom. 1:17).

In I Corinthians 1:18-19 Paul asserts that wisdom was not a requirement for being 'in'. He appeals to Isaiah 29:14 to support his position. It is not wisdom that is a requirement but it is by understanding the significance of the cross (I Cor. 1:22-24) that one is

counted as 'right'. Paul also cites Job 5:13 and Psalm 94:11 as proof that the wisdom of this world is not the criterion for the Christian (I Cor. 3:19-20).

In Galatians 3:13b Paul appeals to Deuteronomy 21:23 to make his claim that Christ redeemed the believer from the curse of the law by becoming a curse (death by crucifixion) for the believer. Proper belief is based on the pattern established by Abraham. This pattern was established 430 years before the giving of the law and the latter does not annul or supersede the former (Gal. 3:17).

To support that one is 'in' by faith rather than by works of the law Paul appeals to Genesis 16:15 and 21:1-19 (Gal. 4:21). Isaac is presented as the son of promise who was chosen over the son of a slave Ishmael. The latter was not heir to the promise of Abraham even though he was the first born. Israel does not have claim to the 'right' even though they predate the early church. The sons of Abraham and heirs to the promise (Gal. 4:30-31) are those who follow the pattern of Abraham and believe in faith that Jesus is the Christ.

Points of Practice:

Paul's letters attempt to counter opponents of his gospel and to give instruction to the churches. In Galatians 3:10 he appeals to Deuteronomy 27:26 in order to make the point that anyone who does not keep the entire law is subject to a curse (Gal. 3:12). He cites Deuteronomy 17:7 to the Corinthian church to have them drive out the immoral from their midst. Immoral acts put one in opposition to union with Christ and to support this view he appeals to Genesis 2:24 that those who engage in immoral acts become "one flesh" with their partner.

Further in I Corinthians 10:1-4 Paul again reminds his readership that participation in immorality or idolatry jeopardizes their status as Christians. He cites a number of passages from Exodus and Numbers (I Cor. 10:1-4) depicting Israel as enjoying a particular status during the wanderings. They are characterized as being baptised into Moses and eating and drinking the supernatural. However, idolatry and immorality (I Cor. 10:7) put them 'out'. "Nevertheless with most of them God was not pleased; for they were overthrown in the wilderness" (I Cor. 10:5). Paul argues that the events in scripture serve as a warning for they were written down for the instruction of the early church (I Cor. 10:11). The immorality of Israel meant that twenty-three thousand fell on a single day (I Cor. 10:8).

Scripture was also used to prove that Paul and Barnabas should receive support from the churches where they ministered. In I Corinthians 9:9a Paul appeals to Deuteronomy 25:4 that one should not muzzle an ox when it is treading grain. Also, those who work in the Temple receive a portion of the Temple offerings (I Cor. 9:13). He comments that these examples in scripture serve as a precedent for the practice in the early church. "In the same way, the Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel" (I Cor. 9:14). It should be noted that even though he argues for this practice, in 9:12b, Paul points out that they did not make use of this right.

When we consider what scriptures were used by Paul we see that he cites passages from the early patriarchal era to establish the pattern for religious self-understanding. These scriptures refer to events which pre-date Sinai, the conquest of Canaan and the later

nationalist expressions of Israel. In particular Paul avoids the use of scripture that would depict the Gentiles as the opponents of the 'right'. Citations from the prophets and psalms argue that Israel is 'out' because it did not follow the pattern of the patriarchs in light of Christ's resurrection (Rom. 9:25-28).

One of the main issues that faced Paul was the place of the law (and Israel) within the emerging definition of Christianity. This was a natural question given the religious and cultural setting of the early church. The covenant was understood to be the ultimate expression of God's involvement with humanity and the law traditionally was viewed as the focal point of the covenant (which included the people of Israel). Yet Paul viewed Israel as 'wrong' and considered the law no longer the valid expression of the covenant. He was convinced the Christ was the end of the law (Rom. 10:4a). A new era had dawned and it demanded that to be justified one must have faith in Christ (Rom. 10:4b). The law had limited significance for Jewish Christians (presenting the gospel to the circumcised) and he was adamant that his Gentile converts recognize that it had no role in their salvation. Israel was 'wrong' because they had not recognized that the law had been invalidated by the salvation offered through Jesus Christ. He proved all of this by the appeal to scripture (Gal. 3-4; Rom. 9-12). The very source of the law (scripture) was the source that Paul used for denying the validity of the law. This is a most unusual use of sacred texts and sets up a tension within Christianity. On the one hand, Paul anticipated the question of the law and invalidated it on its own ground. On the other hand, one wonders about this use of scripture for it strikes at the very raison

d'être of the Jewish scriptures. It probably indicates the way sacred texts could be used even if it included a re-definition of what was inherent to the texts at a previous time.

Paul was convinced that the death and resurrection events were the acts of God on the line of history. Since the scriptures were a witness to God's previous actions it was only natural that scripture would be a main source for understanding these events. Ultimately Paul was left with two possibilities for knowing God. Law was the source for Judaism and Christ was the source for Christians. This raised an inevitable tension that could only be reconciled by his blunt statement that Christ was the end of the law. His christology allowed him to use scripture to invalidate the law and claim that Israel was no longer 'right'.

Conclusion

From my examination of Qumran and Paul it is clear that the drive for self-understanding was a major concern. My working hypothesis was that groups at the turn of the common era (i.e. Qumran and Christianity) used scripture as part of their method of definition and that standard conditioned the eventual understanding of themselves and their opponents. My study has shown two major results. On the one hand, both groups used scripture to justify their own practices and beliefs. However, this method of appeal went beyond mere "proof texts", for in a number of cases the community identified with the scriptural pattern in a most direct and personal manner. On the other hand, it would appear that scripture conditioned the way the community understood their status before God and thus modified their understanding of themselves.

Both Qumran and Paul demonstrate a strong sense of identity. The former call themselves the "council of God" (1QS 1.7b-8a), "the people of God" (1QM 3.4b-8b) who practice "truth, righteousness and justice" (1QS 3.3b-7). Paul asserts that those who hear and obey the gospel will be counted blameless before God (I Thess. 2:12; 3:13). Those who believe that Jesus died and rose again will have hope for full salvation at the eschaton (I Thess. 4:13-14; 5:9-10).

Appeal to scripture as a standard of identity:

Scripture serves an essential role in identifying correct beliefs. In 1QS 5.4b-5 the writer characterizes the community as a foundation and corner-stone of truth for Israel by appealing to a mosaic of scriptural references (Psalm 81:12; 11:8; Deut. 10:16). In 1QS 8.7b-8b the writer

again calls the community a precious cornerstone and foundation by citing Isaiah 28:16. In 1QH 4:24, Isaiah 65:1 is the proof that the community is walking in the way of God's heart. The Damascus document (2.16) characterizes Abraham as a friend of God who did not choose his own will and kept the commandments. Likewise, Isaac (CD 3.3c-4) was a possessor of the covenant forever for the same reasons. Both heroes are models that are being followed by the sectarians. The War scroll identifies with Israel at the conquest of Canaan (10.2-8) and the eventual victory of the sons of light over the sons of darkness is understood from the examples of David over Goliath (11.3b-5) and the exodus congregation's victory over Pharaoh and the Egyptians (11.9b-10a). In Galatians 3:6-7 (as well as Rom. 4:3) Paul appeals to Genesis 15:6 that Abraham set the pattern for Christians by his faith in the promises of God. Further to this point he cites Genesis 18:18 that Abraham is the father of all (i.e. the Gentiles). In both Galatians 3:11b and Romans 1:17, Habakkuk 2:4 supports the claim that the righteous shall live by faith. In I Corinthians 1:18-19 Paul cites Isaiah 29:14 as proof that one is not saved by wisdom. Later in I Corinthians 3:19 he claims that the wisdom of this world will not put one right by referring to Job 5:13 and Psalm 94:11. Galatians 3:13b appeals to Deuteronomy 21:23 for proof that Christ redeemed the believer from the curse of the law by becoming a curse (death by crucifixion) for the believer. In Galatians 4:21 Paul cites Genesis 16:15 and 21:19 for support that the sons of Abraham and heirs to the promise are those who follow the pattern of Abraham's faith.

From the examples above it is abundantly clear that correct belief in both communities was dependent upon scripture for a point of reference

and a means of understanding how they fit the Biblical history that predated them. Neither group looked at themselves in isolation, for they understood that they fit into the plan of God. If one understood that God revealed Himself in history and this revelation was recorded in scripture it was of utmost importance that one be able to "tag" oneself with what had happened in the past. By being able to do this successfully one gained a degree of legitimacy that would stand as a point of reference for the believer and part of a defense against one's opponents.

If one is able to use scripture as a point of reference for right belief then it would seem the stage is set for scripture to be used as proof for right behaviour.

Points of practice:

In IQS 8.13b-17 the writer interprets Isaiah 40:3. He interprets "a path for God in the wilderness" as meaning that the community is to study Torah and the "hidden things" in the wilderness. In CD 6.3b-4a the writer cites Numbers 21:16b-18 and in 7.14b-16 he appeals to Amos 5:26 for scriptural support that the community is to withdraw from the larger society. In IQS 5.11b-13a the writer appeals to Exodus 23:7 and Isaiah 2:22 to prove that the community is to separate and in 1.24-2.1 the initiate is subject to a series of blessings and curses that are based on Numbers 6:24 and Deuteronomy 29:18-19. The Dead Sea Scrolls reflect a highly structured plan for a community with definite conditions for right behaviour. However, in light of such a plan few of their practices are based on scripture and scripture is seldom used as an appeal for correct behaviour. It may be that because their numbers reflect a common Jewish background the accepted patterns of behaviour

were based on that common factor. However, much of the practice reflected in such documents as IQS suggest that behaviour at Qumran was unique to itself (IQS 6.24-25, one who lies concerning his wealth is expelled from the community for a year and he is fined one-fourth of his food ration). It may have been that the community was so exclusive that that factor alone allowed them to control behaviour without appeal to scripture. It would also seem that once a group had made a strong appeal for right belief from scripture, a strong basis for right practice on the authority of the community alone was a natural by-product from the first point. This may be demonstrated in IQS 6.8b-23a where the hierarchy from Qumran (who possessed the right beliefs) examined the members of the community on right behaviour (as well as the correct understanding of Torah) without appeal to an outside authority.

Paul does not make extensive use of scripture as an appeal for correct behaviour. In I Corinthians 5:13 he appeals to Deuteronomy 17:7 to drive out the immoral from the Corinthian church. In 6:16 he cites Genesis 2:24 as proof that an immoral act puts one in opposition to union with Christ. In I Corinthians 9:14 Paul claims that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel and to support his claim he refers to Deuteronomy 25:4 that one does not muzzle an ox that treads at the mill (9:9a). In chapter 10:1-10 he points out that the special status of Israel at the exodus and during the wanderings was in jeopardy because of idolatry, immorality and grumbling. This appeal to scripture is an example of behaviour to be avoided by the Corinthian church.

Paul cites lists of proper or improper behaviour throughout his writings (I Cor. 6:9-10; II Cor. 12:20-21; Gal. 5:19-24) as well as

specific points on behaviour. Yet very little of the appeal for right practice is tagged to scriptural example or the authority of scripture. Many examples of correct Christian living appear to have a Jewish background. The list regarding improper conduct in Romans 1:29-31 has parallels in Wisdom of Solomon 14.25, III Baruch 4.17, 8.5, 13.14, II Enoch 10.4 as well as Testament of Reuben 3.3-6 and Testament of Judah 16.1-2. Similar lists are found in I Corinthians 5:11 and 6:9-10 as well as Galatians 6:19-21 and 5:22-23 (the latter being a list of good characteristics).¹ Paul's instructions to married Christians in I Corinthians 7:5 is that they are not to refuse each other except for a short period for prayer. This would appear to parallel a similar Jewish practice.² In I Corinthians 11:5 Paul asserts that any woman who prays or prophesies with her head unveiled dishonours her head (11:3, her husband). He does not appeal to an authority but it was a Jewish custom that a woman have her head covered.³

In both Qumran and Paul there is a limited use of scripture as an appeal for right practice. There are definite behavioural standards and practices and they would appear to be conditioned by the Jewish background of both groups. Each community had particular practices and the authority for these practices appear to reflect the context of the

¹Conzelmann, Corinthians, pp. 100-101 suggests that Greek, Roman and Jewish literature reflect similar lists of virtues and vices.

²For examples see Conzelmann, Corinthians, p. 117, n. 26.

³III Maccabees 4:6 rules that if a woman went out without her head covered it was a disgrace and grounds for divorce. It is possible that Greek practice also supported Paul's appeal for a woman to keep her head veiled.

community. In the case of Qumran the hierarchy of the community made rulings on behaviour. This is best demonstrated by the yearly examination of members in IQS 5.24-25. Paul appeals to his apostleship (Gal. 1-2) as his authority base before making decisions for the churches. Paul also draws on early Christian tradition. In I Corinthians 15:3-5 and 11:23-25 he cites tradition for correct belief. In I Corinthians 7:10-11 he asserts that a spouse should not divorce, but if they do, they are to remain single or be reconciled. His appeal is to the Lord.

To the married I give charge, not I but the Lord, that the wife should not separate from her husband...and that the husband should not divorce his wife.

Paul then continues with his own ruling on a Christian husband and an unbelieving wife (7:12-16).

Both groups cite extra verification for their particular status. In the case of Qumran the "hidden things" that were revealed to the community serve to verify their position (IQS 8.15). Paul appeals to the possession of the spirit as a guarantee for his authority (I Cor. 2:10-16).

Each community sought to establish many of their beliefs by use of scripture and this may have given them confidence to rule on points of behaviour that was not supported by scripture. It may also be that decisions on practice often are a response to behaviour that has already taken place. Thus the ruling on one who lies concerning his wealth in IQS 6.24-25 may be in response to someone who did lie on such a matter. Paul's ruling in I Corinthians 6:1-8 on Christians suing each other probably reflects such a situation in the Corinthian church. These

points plus the common factor of a Jewish background were important aspects in the practical self-definition of Qumran and Paul.

Patterns of scripture as an appeal for belief:

I have suggested earlier that ~~certain~~ personalities or events that are found in scripture are used as an appeal for belief. These are not used only as "tags" for self-understanding; rather it would appear that the patterns are understood to have profound meaning for the community.

In the Damascus document (3.2) Abraham's status as a friend of God is a result of keeping the commandments and not choosing his own will. The sectarian writer sets the community in the pattern of Abraham by keeping the commandments and not doing their own will.

And he handed it down to Isaac and to Jacob and they kept it and were written down as friends of God and His covenanters forever.

3.2b-4a

It is not that Abraham is the point of reference but he is the first of a tradition that is being carried on by the community. The keeping of such a pattern means that the sectarians share the status of Abraham. They are friends of God.

Similarly in the War scroll the writer identifies the sectarians with Israel during the exodus and the conquest of Canaan. The victory of Israel over Canaan and the Gentiles brought the glories of David and Solomon. Although the text is somewhat fragmented (1QM 10:10-12) it would seem that the writer understood that his readership was continuing the pattern of scripture. The texts of Deuteronomy 20:2-4 and Numbers 10:0 are not only a point of reference for the writer takes the first

person identification to act out the theme of holy war. The scriptural pattern is not only a proof text, it is the community.

In 11.3-5a the success of David over Goliath is transferred to the community.

Thou didst deliver us many times by the hand of our kings for Thy mercy's sake, not for our deeds, in that we have done wickedly, nor for our sinful actions. Thine is the battle, and from with Thee is the might, not ours.⁴

A similar use of scriptural pattern is used in 1QM 11.9b-10a from the example of Israel's victory over Pharaoh and the Egyptians.

Paul uses the pattern of Abraham's faith as a definitive example to be followed by Christians. In both Romans 4 and Galatians 3 the faith of Abraham is the key to being a Christian. It is not through the works of the law. In Galatians 3:26 he states, "for in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith". The pattern of Abraham is to be continued with the Christian. Abraham is the "father of us all" (Rom. 4: 16f) and to be descendants of Abraham and heirs to the promise one must continue the pattern of faith. Faith for the Christian involves the active identification with what was established by Abraham.

It will be reckoned to us [righteousness] who believe in him that raised from the dead Jesus our Lord.

Rom. 4:2b

In Qumran and Paul the scriptural patterns are appropriated to the community and applied in order to achieve self-understanding. Again, emphasize that the pattern of Abraham is personalized and each community

⁴Yadin, The Scroll of the War, p. 310.

sets itself in the line of succession to Abraham as a result of their identification with the patriarchal behaviour.

Both communities jump from their point in history back to the patriarchal period. Once they have made the identification with the early period they are able to set Israel's subsequent history into a pattern that will be of best advantage to their own point of reference. In the case of Qumran they contrast themselves with the unfaithful throughout Israel's history and put themselves in the line of succession of the faithful. Paul appears to leap from the patriarchal period to the new era that was established in Christ. However, for both communities it is of utmost importance that they establish themselves with the setting of Abraham. There probably is a certain sense of a new era beginning with God's involvement with humanity at the time of Abraham. To put themselves in that context helped both Qumran and Paul make the point that something new was beginning to be initiated with their community. For Qumran it was the community of faithfulness and purity and for Paul it was the community of the new era started with Christ.

Scripture defines opponents:

Scripture is used to give definition to the opponents of Qumran and Paul.

In the Damascus document (3.2c, 5b-6a) the sons of Noah and the sons of Jacob went astray because they did not keep the commandments and they did what was right in their own eyes. This is applied to the contemporaries of the sectarians (3.17-18). In 1QH 2.16a and CD 1.18-21 the opponents are called seekers of smooth things (Isaiah 30:10). In 1QM the enemies of the community are compared to Goliath (3.3b-5),

Pharaoh and the Egyptians (11.9b-10a) and the Gentile opponents of the Biblical era (11.8). In 1QpHab 1.12b-13 the peshet uses Habakkuk 1:4 as a reference that the Wicked Priest will persecute the Teacher of Righteousness. In 4QpNah 1.1 the wretched lion of Nahum 2:11 is the king of Greece who took counsel with the "seekers of smooth things".

Paul is less inclined to use scripture to designate and describe his opponents. He uses scripture more often as appeals either for right behaviour or correct belief. However, he makes use of scripture for his opponents in a limited sense. In Romans 3:10-18 he uses a list of scriptural texts to prove that humanity has a dilemma that can be resolved by belief in Christ. In Romans 9:6-15 he points out that the first born in the patriarchal period was not guaranteed to receive the inheritance of the patriarch. In fact Isaac and Jacob both testify that it was the children of promise who were reckoned as descendants (9:8). In 9:18 Paul cites the stories of Pharaoh to prove that God elects whom he wishes. To prove that his Jewish opponents are missing the mark by rejecting Christ he appeals to Isaiah 28:16 that characterizes Israel as stumbling over a stumbling block. To clinch his argument he cites a list of scripture in 10:18-21 that describe Israel as a disobedient and contrary people.

For those who were inclined to preach Torah observance in Christianity he cites Deuteronomy 27:26 as his proof that anyone who does not keep the entire law is subject to a curse. The immoral in the Corinthian church are to be driven out. He cites how the 23,000 immoral in the wilderness fell in a single day (I Cor. 10:1-5). Immoral acts are in opposition to Christ and in I Corinthians 6:16 he cites Genesis

2:24 as proof that those who commit such acts are in one flesh with their partner and in opposition to Christ.

In II Corinthians 6:14-7:1 Paul warns against the Christian having intimate friendships with unbelievers. This is considered a relationship where the partners will be unequally matched (6:14a). As part of his defense for this prohibition Paul cites Leviticus 26:11-12 along with a mosaic of other scriptures. The Christian is to come out from the unbeliever (6:17a) in the moral and spiritual sense for the former is to cleanse himself from every defilement of either body or spirit (7:1).

Qumran was more interested in describing and defining their opponents with scripture than Paul. Their use of Biblical references to accomplish this end probably reflects their sectarian status. They desired clear lines between being 'in' and 'out'. Paul appears to often be struggling with factions within the Christian community. This does not mean that he was unclear on the definition of a Christian but his concern was a more delicate matter. He desired clear self-understanding but he did not wish to alienate individuals that could be persuaded. This is demonstrated in I Corinthians 10:23-33 where he attempts to give guidance on the issue of food offered to idols. Qumran, on the other hand, was more interested in clear lines of definition and they were quite willing to offend anyone who was not convinced of the beliefs and practices of the community. This is best demonstrated by their description of their opponents.

All who dedicate themselves to do God's ordinances shall...love all the sons of light...and hate all the sons of darkness.
1QS 1.7b-10b

The Conditioning Factor of Scripture:

One of the results of appealing to scripture is that once a text is cited it leaves open the possibility that the scripture will condition the belief or practice. The standard of authority may have direct impact on the attempt to come to self-understanding.

In IQS 5.4b-5 a number of scriptural passages are combined to give definition to the community. No one is to walk in the "stubbornness of his heart" or in "stiffness of neck" but they are to "lay a foundation of truth" for Israel. Scripture is the means for expressing the character of the community. The "foundation of truth" comes from the mosaic of scripture and this first principle leads the writer to declare that this foundation will atone for all those who dedicate themselves to the community (5.6). The atonement for the community comes from the self-understanding of being a foundation of truth. The principle that allows for the declaration that the community will atone relies on the self-definition drawn from scripture. The use of the scriptural texts (foundation of truth) brought about the reciprocating factor (the foundation of truth will atone). The ideas are not in opposition and in fact complement one another. However, the conditioning factor of scripture on the attempt at self-understanding is most apparent.

In IQS 8.13b-14 it is made clear that those who join the community must separate from the ungodly and go into the wilderness. The writer appeals to Isaiah 40:3 for support.

Prepare in the wilderness the way of....
make straight in the desert a path for
our God.

8.14b

The first principle is to make clear that the mandate of the community

is to separate. Their historical situation is made understandable by the appeal to the Isaiah reference. Separation means the establishment of a path. The use of the text leads to a second principle. The "path" is interpreted to refer to the study of Torah so as to do all that was revealed (8.15-16a). Scripture serves not only to support definition but it is the important link for a clearer understanding of what was required of the community. They are not just to separate but they are to study Torah according to the revelations of the community. The use of the Isaiah passage moves the writer from one topic to another. They are not isolated topics and in the Qumran mentality they are complementing beliefs. However, the use of the Biblical text was a conditioning factor in the further clarification of self-understanding.

In the Damascus document (1.4-2.16; 3.7b-8a) the community attempts to pattern itself after the faithful of scripture such as Abraham and Isaac. The latter obeyed the commandments and did not do what seemed right in their own eyes. The unfaithful actions of the sons of Jacob included conspiring against the commandments as well as doing what was right in their own eyes. The case of the scriptural pattern is taken over by the community to such a degree that the sectarians continue to contrast themselves with the unfaithful in scripture. The latter were disobedient in the wilderness by refusing to go into the promise land. This eventually led to the subsequent failures in Israel's history when kings were cut off, mighty heroes perished and Israel was ravaged (3.7b-8a, 9-10a). The identification with the faithful pattern influences the sectarians to view their separation into the land of Damascus as a continuation of the pattern of faithfulness.

(7.15). The influence of the Biblical pattern moves the point of discussion from obedience to commandments to separation into the land of Damascus. The conditioning factor for the change in identification (again, these ideas are not mutually exclusive) is the use of Biblical texts for self-definition.

In CD 3.19b-4.2a the writer asserts that a sure house has been built in the community. They that hold fast to it are destined for eternal life. The writer cites Ezekiel 44:15 as a point of reference that others have been faithful in Israel's past. The priests, Levites and sons of Zadok were faithful when the rest of Israel went astray. The use of the Ezekiel passage leads the writer to interpret Levites, priests and sons of Zadok as those who depart from the land of Judah. The pattern of thought on page three of CD was the contrast between the friends and enemies of God in scripture. Punishment is the lot of the latter but the former meant that an eternal covenant was established. Since the community fit the pattern of the friends of God (receiving hidden things and being a sure house) one would expect the Ezekiel 44:15 passage to serve as further proof (and pattern) to be followed by the community. However, the writer uses the Biblical text to assert that the faithful are those who depart from Judah. The use of scripture supports the definition of being right as the first principle: obey the commandments and be counted among the faithful. The use of scripture conditions the understanding of the right for another principle: the faithful are those who separate from Judah.

In CD 4.9-13 the writer believes that when the exact number of men of perfection is established and the epoch is completed there will

be no uniting with the land of Judah. Belial will be loosed upon Israel. In 4.14 the writer appeals to Isaiah 24:17, "terror and the pit and the snare are upon you, O'inhabitant of the land". The Biblical text serves as a proof that the faithful should separate to avoid terror, pit, and the snare. The use of the text conditions the direction of the discussion. Scripture is used as a point of departure so that the writer can claim that the faithful should not marry two women in a lifetime. Leaving aside the meaning of the text (whether it refers to polygamy, divorce or divorce and remarriage) it clearly conditions the discussion of the right by moving from claims to separate to a discussion of sectarian view on marriage.

In CD 7.14b-15b the writer cites Amos 5:26 to prove that the community was to take the scriptures and go into Damascus. The peshar that follows gives further clarification of the movement to Damascus. One part of this clarification is that the star (Amos 5:26, "...Kaiwan your star god...") will be the searcher of the law. The reference to star is a key that leads to further qualification that the star will come from Jacob and a sceptre will come from Israel. The writer proceeds to discuss how the sceptre will do violence to the unfaithful. The first thought was concerned with giving expression to the faithful who depart to Damascus. To clarify this idea the writer appeals to proof texts and the use of these texts conditions the thoughts of the writer sufficiently that he moves to a discussion of the unfaithful.

The reflexive conditioning of scripture in Qumran sometimes comes close to the idea of peshar. However, I would follow Bruce in that peshar seems to involve the giving of a mystery that is held in a text. The

mystery that, was revealed was dormant until the coming of the community. One example will demonstrate the point. In 1QpHab 6.12b-16a the writer comments on Habakkuk 2:1-2. In the Biblical passage Habakkuk is commanded to write down the vision that God has revealed. The Qumran interpretation of this text is that the visions contain mysteries that were not known until the Teacher of Righteousness and the eventual establishment of the community. The peshar unlocks the hidden meaning of the Biblical text. Quite often the hidden meaning will be revealed with specific designations. Those that plunder the people (1QpHab 9.3-4a) are understood to refer to the last priests of Jerusalem who will in turn be plundered by the Kittim.

The examples of reflexive conditioning of scripture cited from Qumran appear to be a result of the Biblical text influencing in a subtle manner the attempt to define the community and its opponents. One of the by-products of using a standard for definition is that the standard itself influences how one will ultimately express one's understanding.

This point is also demonstrated in Paul. In Galatians 3:1-9 Paul writes concerning how one is counted among the righteous. Is it by works of the law or by faith? To argue for the latter he appeals to the example of Abraham. Therefore men of faith are counted as sons of Abraham. The use of the scriptural pattern leads Paul to draw another conclusion. God would justify the Gentiles by this pattern of righteousness by faith, for Abraham's faith predates the works of the law.

In order to support his case further he cites Deuteronomy 27:26 to argue that anyone who does not obey all the Torah is cursed. This would appear to give solid argument against the Judaizers in Galatia.

The patriarchal pattern sets the example to be followed by the Gentiles and the Deuteronomy text puts fear in anyone who would be tempted to follow the law. However, in using the Deuteronomy text to support his first principle Paul picks up on the theme of being a curse. Not only are those who do not keep all the law cursed but those who hang on a tree are also a curse. The proof text moves Paul from a discussion of not relying on the law to the redemptive act of Christ through his death and resurrection. He ties it all together in 3:14,

That upon the Gentiles might come
the blessing of Abraham in Jesus Christ,
that we might receive the promise of
the Spirit through faith.

By using the patriarchal example Paul establishes the pattern for the Gentiles. The Deuteronomy reference serves as a stern warning for any Gentile that might be inclined toward works of the law. However, in using the Deuteronomy text self-definition is conditioned to the point that a new topic of discussion (not necessarily unrelated to the first) is introduced. We may be so accustomed to the pattern of argument that we fail to be sensitive to the development of thought and in this case to be aware of the determinative use of scripture on the whole quest for self-definition.

In Romans 3-4 Paul again attempts to answer how one is justified before God (3:21-26). Is it by law or by faith in Jesus as Christ? The appeal for correct self-definition comes once again from the patriarchal pattern of Abraham (Gen. 15:6). Faith is not something earned but it is trust in the sense of a free gift.

Now to one who works, his wages are
not reckoned as a gift but as his

due. And to one who does not work but trusts him who justifies the ungodly, his faith is reckoned as righteousness.

Rom. 4:4-5

In Romans 4:18 Paul is still talking about faith and the example is still Abraham. However, faith is not so much a free gift as it is the confidence in God to do the unexpected. Abraham believed against hope that he would become the father of many nations (4:18) and no distrust in God could make him waver concerning the promise of God (4:20) for he was fully convinced that God was able to do what he had promised (4:21). The meanings of faith are not mutually exclusive for they complement each other. But they are different ideas. Paul does not stay with the second meaning but it would appear that his use of scripture as a method for definition allowed for a shift in meaning. The use of the text conditioned the formulation of self-understanding.

In I Corinthians 8:4-6 Paul attempts to prove that idolatry is wrong. He cannot appeal to prohibitions in the commandments because of the nature of his gospel. In 10:1-4 he takes the exodus and wilderness wanderings as proof that idolatry can effect the relationship between humanity and God. The wilderness congregation had been baptised into Moses (10:2) and they had enjoyed spiritual food and drink (10:3-4). Yet many of them fell from their privileged position because of their idolatry (10:7-8). Having arrived at this point Paul argues by analogy that other characteristics of the wilderness congregation included grumbling and provoking the Lord as well as idolatry.

We must not test the Lord as some of them did and were destroyed by serpents; nor grumble, as some of

them did and were destroyed by the
Destroyer.

10.9-10

Grumbling and provoking the Lord are not part of the list of vices found elsewhere in Paul (i.e. Gal. 5:19; I Cor. 6:9-10). It is possible that their prohibition at this point has been conditioned by Paul's use of scripture. The appeal of scripture against idolatry leads him to condemn other behaviour patterns on the basis of the appeal to scripture not to be idolaters. Thus scripture serves to condition self-definition. It is questionable whether Paul meant to imply that grumblers would suffer the same fate as idolaters. The use of the Biblical texts and the pattern of his argument suggest that scripture does indeed condition the achievement of self-understanding.

In summary I would suggest that both communities indicate a strong drive for self-definition. One of the methods of arriving at that desired end was to appeal to scripture to validate their beliefs and practices. The use of Biblical texts had a profound influence on their self-understanding. This is demonstrated in two ways. The first is that both communities attempted to pattern themselves after the earliest heroes of Israel. This pattern, especially of Abraham, gave each group a sense of direction and established their understanding of how one stands in relation to God. For Qumran the obedience of Abraham defines their own self-definition. For Paul the faith of Abraham is the key to identifying with the redemptive act of Christ.

The second influence of scripture on self-definition is that scripture has a reflexive conditioning factor. When a writer appeals to scripture he is open to the conditioning influence of scripture. This

may lead him to develop a complementary point, to change topics and in the case of Paul in I Corinthians he may end up arguing for something that he did not originally intend. One must be guarded against making wild theories on the last suggestion. The writers of both communities were able to use sacred texts in a most sophisticated manner and they were not drawn into making extreme statements of either belief or practice. However, it is abundantly clear that scripture was a conditioning factor on their attempt at identity.

On points of comparison between Qumran and Paul there are a couple of observations. One must be guarded in comparative analysis for we do not know what length of time or how many writers are represented in the scrolls. However, both communities share the common characteristics of proof texts, appeal to scriptural patterns, and the reflexive conditioning of scripture. But the use of scripture is for different purposes. Qumran gives the impression that they want to limit the number of their membership. Scripture is used to be exclusive and selective. They spend a great deal of effort contrasting themselves with their opponents so that there would not be intrusion by anyone who would lessen their standards. If one acknowledges certain points of belief (separation, hidden things) their efforts are successful. The use of scripture is determinative in establishing exclusive self-definition. Proof texts and patterns of scripture establish the belief that God has selected a faithful few. The reflexive conditioning of scripture supports such exclusive ideas as separation from the land of Judah and the atoning power of the foundation of truth established at Qumran.

Paul, however, stands in sharp contrast to the objectives of Qumran. He wants to be inclusive (after the essential acknowledgement of Jesus as Christ) and he uses scripture to achieve that end. He wants to expand the horizons of Christianity so that it is not confined only to Judaism. Proof texts and the pattern of scripture indicate for Paul that faith (in Christ) is the key to inclusive self-definition. Two of the three examples given in the conditioning influence of scripture support the thesis that Christianity is open to the Gentiles without conditional Torah observance. Both communities use the same standard in a similar manner and successfully achieve different goals. This would seem to suggest that the use of sacred texts to come to self-understanding could be as divergent as the number of groups using the texts.

One of the points that emerges from my study is that scripture does not appear to be the initial point for self-identity. It was not clear that a writer arrived at a particular belief or practice as a result of starting with a text and progressing to an ultimate conclusion that resulted in belief or practice. In fact, the opposite seemed to be the norm. Scripture's role in self-definition was a source of appeal rather than the initial stage in the claim to being right. This does not mean that scripture functioned strictly in a "proof text" context, for it had a much more profound influence on the attempt for identity. But scripture was not the first step in the drive for definition.

The period at the turn of the common era is looked upon as definitive for the development of Judaism and Christianity, for rabbinic Judaism and the new religion of Christianity would both emerge. The beliefs and practices that were established at this point would thus

have profound influence on subsequent periods. Yet the individuals who were responsible for the Qumran literature and Paul pushed for clear identity as a result of their experience, opponents and the attempt to articulate beliefs and practices for their followers. Scripture was one of the certain authorities that would be recognized by most Jews at the turn of the common era. It should be pointed out that five hundred years earlier scripture might not have been able to command such a central role. In the first century the conditions were such that sacred texts within Judaism were available and they had a recognized status. Furthermore, writers felt comfortable to use scripture as proof for their particular stance. They used the texts (often the same texts) in a variety of ways. The Jewish scriptures served as a method and means of dealing with experience, beliefs and opponents. It is evident that the Qumran writers and Paul were well versed in scripture but it is essential to realize that their use of them met a practical purpose. The main motivation in studying the scriptures was the ultimate appropriation of the texts to their own experience. The fact that the first century writers stand at the beginning of new developments in western religion sometimes means that they are idealized. It is important to note, however, that the role of scripture served a pragmatic purpose and the understanding of scripture reflected factors such as religious experience and opponents. With a variety of experience and opponents there would be a variety of uses of scripture and subsequently an infinite number of applications of scripture to new identities. Subsequent generations might be tempted to regard the use of scripture in the first century as having loftier meaning and therefore be willing to pattern themselves after

these first century writers.

The attempt to achieve a clear identity and the use of Jewish scriptures has a curious development within these two groups. Paul and Qumran believed that their self-definition was not only correct but they were also a completion of the Judaism that preceded them. Taking Smith's definition⁵ (which seems correct) that normative Judaism involved some sort of allegiance to Temple, Torah and the belief in one God, Qumran and Paul broke with that definition and established new orders. In the case of Qumran, the members withdrew from Jerusalem (and the Temple) and established new rules for living according to the council of the community and the hidden things that were received by the community. Paul would have the followers of Jesus recognize that Christ is the end of the law. Christians were no longer subject to the commandments of Sinai and anyone who would impose Torah obedience on Gentile Christians was to be cursed. It would appear that despite general norms for being Jewish, Qumran and Paul managed to put their followers outside even this broadest definition of a descendant of Abraham.

The method of achieving this end was the appeal to a central feature within Judaism. Sacred texts that were intended to give definition for being Jewish were interpreted and used to arrive at a point substantially different from Smith's basic characteristics for turn of the common era Judaism. This suggests that even the widest definition for Judaism does not seem to be settled at this period. Qumran and Paul

⁵M. Smith, "The Dead Sea Sect in Relation to Ancient Judaism", NTS, 7, (1960-61), pp. 347-360.

may not have thought of themselves as stepping outside the boundaries of Judaism but rather leading it in the direction that God had chosen. Further, there does not appear to be an established method of controlling the interpretation and the use of sacred texts. Qumran and Paul used the Abraham accounts to arrive at very different ends. Thus two groups existed contemporary with each other and used similar approaches to scripture to achieve different identities. One can imagine that others were using the Abraham accounts to achieve their own identification.

It is essential to recognize the influence that scripture had on first century Judaism and Christianity. It allowed the religious claims of Qumran and Paul to be an acceptable alternative within the context of many groups offering different religious possibilities. The source for clarification of such claims was sacred texts that served to document that the experience of Paul or Qumran was essentially the continuation of what was understood to be a legitimate religious experience recorded in scripture. The best examples were the early patriarchal heroes of Israel. Both communities appear to make the point that they were establishing a present day application of the meaning of the past. The experiences of the patriarchal era were idealized in their writings and then appropriated to their present situation to suggest that they were a continuation of the idealized past. This would suggest that the power of scriptural events and experience exercised significant influence on writers at the turn of the common era. They were not only willing to take the experiences of scripture as examples but they charged those past accounts with meaning for their contemporary situations and identities. The full implication of patriarchal obedience could only be

realized in faith identification with Jesus Christ or the obedience to the commandments at Qumran. I would propose that the first century appropriation of scripture becomes part of the tradition that is carried on and influences the consciousness of later Judaism and Christianity.

The use of scripture as an accepted point of reference at the turn of the common era sets the tone for subsequent developments within Judaism and Christianity. Scripture would continue to play an integral role in the development of both religions as the authority for correct belief and practice. The application of scripture in first century would be normative in later centuries. Christians would take Paul's use of the Abraham account as the correct understanding concerning Torah obedience. It would become an established principle within Christian theology. The letters of Paul that expressed his understanding of religious experience (an understanding which governed such questions as Torah obedience) and the appeal to scripture become part of the sacred texts of Christianity. Qumran would lose its audience. However, my study has indicated that both groups not only made similar uses of scripture but that the reciprocating influence of scripture was similar. If the use of scripture and the reflexive influence was common to two groups it is possible to suggest that both factors had a much broader influence on self-understanding at the turn of the common era.

I suggested earlier that part of the application of scripture by Paul and Qumran was the belief that they were carrying on the divine activity that was evident during the patriarchal period. Both communities indicate that they believed the acts of God would continue with their members until their eschatological expectations were fulfilled. The

appropriation of scriptural example was not only for the present but it was projected into the future. Since the first century of the common era sets the tone for Judaism and Christianity, it is possible to suggest that both religions would embrace the view that they were continuing the ideal experiences of scripture. They would be open to the use of scripture for their own particular identity and they would be open to the reflexive conditioning of scripture on their own self-understanding. The use of sacred texts for self-definition and the reciprocating influence of scripture becomes part of the Judeo-Christian heritage.

The place of scripture in the achievement of identity was understood to be legitimate because the Qumranian and Pauline applications did not just tell about God's activity in the past, but their present communities were part of God's continuing involvement with humanity. The eschatological expectations of each community allowed this first century self-definition to be projected into future generations as a guide, support and stimulation for further definition. The use of scripture for self-understanding in the first century stands at the beginning of the chronological sequence of God's acts in these two new communities. The examples from this period would have tremendous influence in later generations to trigger new possibilities of using scripture for their own self-definition. The use of scripture in the first century would continue to interact with later generations as source and correction for doctrine and practice, for it would serve as the basic structure for subsequent communities.

Clearly there has been and continues to be a re-examination and

reapplication of scripture in both Judaism and Christianity. However, the use of scripture for self-definition at the turn of the common era was of great consequence for the development of these two western religions. It also raises the possibility of the influence of scripture and its conditioning factor on the appeal to being right within Judaism and Christianity to the present day.

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