

THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS  
(WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE MANUAL OF DISCIPLINE)  
AND ITS RELATION TO THE CHURCH OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

by

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SUMMARY

The essay consists of three main chapters with an introduction and conclusion.

INTRODUCTION

This defines the limits of the essay and explains the methodology, general principles and structure employed.

1. Origins and Background

Archaeological and paleographical evidence limits the period of occupation of Qumran by the sect of the Scrolls to between 150 B.C and A.D 68. The movement is thus seen to have emerged from the crucible of the conflict between Hellenism and Orthodoxy within Judaism which issued in the Maccabean Revolt. Most scholars accept the identification of the sect with the Essenes. A Palestinian origin of the sect from Hasidim who broke with Jonathan Maccabeus when the latter illegitimately assumed the title of both King and High Priest is also accepted by many. However, J. Murphy-O'Connor has plausibly seen a Babylonian origin of the group from Jews of the Exile who returned to Palestine at the time of the Maccabean victories and reacted against lax Palestinian Judaism. Nevertheless, a strong influence on the group must be allowed from dissident conservative Palestinian Jews who joined the group, and from the ousted legitimate High Priest who became their leader. It seems likely that the sect represents a cross-fertilization of conservative orthodox Jews from both Babylon and Judea. Certain general observations and warnings are then given, relating the origins of Qumran and the Christian Church as Jewish sects, not parties.

## 2. The Self-Awareness of the Community

The way the Qumran community saw itself is traced through a detailed examination of its use of three major Old Testament concepts, and these are then compared with passages from the New Testament which shows the primitive Church's use of the same themes:

(i) The New Temple : It is noted that both communities developed the idea of the community itself as the Temple and the deeds of its members as the new and spiritualised sacrificial rites. Both used this concept in opposition to the Jerusalem Temple and cult. Both believed in the fulfilment in this way of the prophecy that God would come to dwell among his people and thus saw the community in an eschatological light. However, it is also observed that the foundation of the "Temple" in Qumran is seen as rigid observance of the Law, whereas in the New Testament the foundation is unequivocally seen as Jesus Christ.

(ii) The New Covenant : Both the Qumran sect and the primitive Church believed that the prophecy of Jeremiah 31:31 had been fulfilled in themselves. In both, admission to the community is conditional on repentance conversion and freewill offering and is viewed in relational not legalistic terms, and admission to the community is admission into the covenant. Both communities stress that they observe the fulness of the Law superior to the observance of their opponents, though this "fulness" is quantitatively understood by Qumran and qualitatively by the early Church. Both have admission ceremonies. However, the Qumran "New Covenant" is essentially a return to an idealised picture of the past and to a fuller observance of

Mosaic Law. The New Testament, on the other hand, sees the "New Covenant" as effected by the Cross of Christ as the blood of the New Covenant and maintained by the Spirit of Christ in his Church.

- (iii) The New Israel : This expression is not found in either group of texts, but in both there appears a self-awareness as the eschatological righteous remnant of Israel, established by God, which will survive the coming end. The Qumran thinking would seem not to be clearly formulated, but it, like Paul, saw the community as having inherited the promises and privileges of old Israel. Neither seem prepared to exclude a future rôle for the historical Israel, however. The distinctive Christian use of this concept lies in the welding of Gentiles as well as Jews into the new Israel in the person of Christ and through his cross.

### 3. Eschatology

The future expectations of the two communities are examined in detail under three sub-sections.

- (i) Dualism and the Holy Spirit : The doctrine of the Spirit in the Scrolls is marked by a thorough-going Iranian dualism which has been assimilated into Hebrew monotheism. Two Spirits, of light and darkness, are seen as continually immanent in man from creation and as determining by their proportion in each man, his ethical behaviour on the Two Ways and his reward in the coming eschaton. However, the presence of the Spirit of Light in the community does seem in some texts to have an eschatological

significance. There seems to be a similar flesh-spirit dualism to that found in Paul. The early Church of the New Testament also seems to envisage a great struggle between Satan and God in which the person and work of Jesus represents the final and decisive victory of God, and in which the individual believer is caught up. It is seen, however, that the Spirit in the Paul and John is always the Spirit of Christ. The figure of Melchizedek in the Scrolls is also examined and seen to fit into their dualism, whereas in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Melchizedek is simply seen as an earthly antitype of Christ.

- (ii) Messianic Expectation : This plays a minor rôle in the Qumran texts. Attempts to see the Teacher of Righteousness as a Messiah figure have proved unfounded though a martyr cult may have grown up around him. There is no agreement in the texts concerning Messianic figures, whether there are one, two or three such figures, nor that they are viewed in any other than the traditional Jewish manner. The New Testament, on the other hand, is Christocentric, and the existence of the Church without Jesus Christ is inconceivable.
- (iii) The Last Things : The Qumran sect believed in a forty year long eschatological war following the Teacher's death, followed by the final judgment, the total destruction of the wicked and the blessing of the righteous. They seem to have believed in some form of resurrection and possibly a hell for the wicked. They envisaged a new Temple and restored Jerusalem and a new existence purified by the Spirit, after the old world had been consumed by fire. The early Church saw itself living in the period of

'Messianic woes' following Jesus' arrival as Messiah and before his return to judge as the Son of Man. For those who believed in him, the victory had already been won, and in his resurrection was the guarantee of the future bodily resurrection of the believer. The one clear feature of the New Testament vision of the after life is that believers will be with Christ.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Both communities originate as sects in opposition to the status quo of Judaism and claim to represent the true people of God with all that entails. The difference between them lies in the central and indispensable position of Jesus Christ in every aspect of the life and thought of the early Church which has no valid parallel in the Scrolls.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this introduction is to define the limits of this essay and to explain and justify the methodology, general principle and structure used.

The scope of our examination of the ideas and beliefs of the Qumran sect and the Church of the New Testament is limited to what contributes to our understanding of the nature of the respective communities. No attempt is made to present a full theological examination of the concepts which arise. The aim is not an exhaustive treatment, but rather to suggest areas where the beliefs of the two communities throw light on each other.

Our method is to begin by establishing the beliefs of the Qumran sect in each case, with particular reference to the Manual of Discipline, and then comparing this with the corresponding concept in the New Testament. This avoids the danger of reading back later Christian ideas into our treatment of the Scrolls. In our examination of the New Testament texts, we shall not assume that they constitute a unity nor that they can be taken at face value, but that they bear the marks of the interests of the early Church and of the conflicting tendencies and practices which marked its development. Consequently the tools of Form, Source and Redaction Criticism are utilized where they can contribute to our purpose.

An over-hasty assumption of direct relationship between Qumran and the early Church is avoided, especially where a common idea can be traced to the Jewish background of both. It may be that beliefs widely current in Judaism of the time have been preserved only in these two sources.

However, we shall not be concerned defensively to emphasise the newness and originality of Christianity against the sect of the Scrolls, since

the New Testament saw Christianity not as new, but as old : the fulfilment and continuation of the heritage of Israel.<sup>1</sup> It is also to be noted that common themes may have been profoundly transformed by the Christian understanding and may not be taken at face value.<sup>2</sup>

Aristotle wrote that every tragedy should have a beginning, a middle and an end.<sup>3</sup> The structure of our essay follows this outline in examining first the origins and background of the respective communities, then their self-awareness of their own status and nature and finally their conception of their goal and the eschaton.

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1. Stendahl, K, "Introduction and Perspective", The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. K. Stendahl, Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn. 1957, p 6f.
  2. Benoit, P., "Qumran and the New Testament", Paul & Qumran, ed. J. Murphy-O'Connor, Chapman, London, 1968, p 18.
  3. Poetics. vii.3

ABBREVIATIONSThe Scrolls:

All abbreviations used of the Scrolls follow the method outlined by J. Fitzmyer in The Dead Sea Scrolls Major Publications and Tools for Study, Scholars Press, Missoula, Montana, 1975, 1977, p 3-8. We set out here the major Scrolls and give the English equivalent used by G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, Penguin, 1962, 1965, 1968, 1975, followed by any other common name for the same Scroll.

- IQS - The Community Rule, The Manual of Discipline, The Rule of the Community, Serek ha-yahad  
 CD - The Damascus Rule, The Damascus Document  
 IQSa- The Messianic Rule, The Rule Annex, Serek ha-edah, The Rule of the Congregation  
 IQSb- The Blessings, The Benedictions, The Book of Blessings  
 IQH - The Hymns, The Thanksgiving Hymns, The Hodayoth  
 IQM - The War Rule, The War Between the Sons/Children of Light and the Sons/Children of Darkness, Milhama  
 4QP.Bless. - The Blessings of Jacob, The Patriarchal Blessings  
 4QpNah - Commentary/Pesher on Nahum  
 1QpHab - Commentary/Pesher on Habakkuk  
 4QpPs37 - Commentaries/Pesherim on Psalm 37  
 4QFlor - A Midrash on the Last Days  
 4QTestim. - A Messianic Anthology  
 4QOrd - Commentary on Biblical Laws  
 4QSirSabb - Angelic Liturgy

Journals:

- BASOR - Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research  
 JTS - Journal of Theological Studies  
 NTS - New Testament Studies  
 RB - Revue Biblique  
 RQ - Revue de Qumran  
 TWB - Kittel's Theological Dictionary of the New Testament  
 VT - Vetus Testamentum  
 ZATW - Zeitung für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

CHAPTER ONEORIGINS AND BACKGROUND

The history and identity of the Qumran community has proved a rich field for intellectual speculation and imagination in recent years in which scholars have sometimes shown more ingenuity than common sense. Their juggling with the slender and ambiguous information available to us is rather reminiscent of the professor in Gulliver's Travels who turns the handle of his frame to produce ever new and arbitrary combinations of the data available.<sup>1</sup> Hence it is with considerable trepidation that we venture on this ground.<sup>2</sup> Some consideration, however, of the historical origins of Qumran, even if the extent is necessarily limited by the scope of this thesis, is necessary to our purpose, since the value and import of the Scrolls for a comparison with the New Testament will be considerably affected by whether they are dated to the Seleucid, Maccabean, early Roman, later Roman or Medieval periods - all of which have been suggested by various scholars.

The evidence linking the Scrolls to the ruins at Qumran during its main period of occupation seems conclusive<sup>3</sup>, so that the safest approach to this question would appear to be through the archaeological evidence. Various factors, especially coins and pottery have enabled Fr Roland de Vaux, who excavated the site, to give a reasonably accurate time-scale to the occupations of the site. A brief eighth century Israelite occupation which founded the site had been long abandoned by the time the community of the Scrolls arrived.<sup>4</sup> This resumed occupation, the first period in the history of the sectarians, de Vaux considers prior to or contemporary with John Hyrcanus (135-104 B.C.), "but we cannot push it back very far because the modest nature of the buildings and the scarcity of archaeological material

attest the fact that this first installation was of short duration."<sup>5</sup>

The next stage saw the buildings much enlarged to an "impressive complex of buildings" which obliterated the old Israelite fort. Its approximate duration was from 135 to 31 B.C., when it was badly damaged by an earthquake and fire and subsequently abandoned.<sup>6</sup> The site was re-occupied

between 9/8 B.C. and 1 B.C./A.D. 1 and flourished until A.D. 68, when it was destroyed by fire, most probably by a Roman attack since their arrowheads have been discovered in this layer.<sup>7</sup> A Roman station was then

established on the site, most probably until the final subjugation of Masada in A.D. 73.<sup>8</sup> Finally, the ruins were used briefly by rebels in the

Second Jewish Revolt of A.D. 132-5.<sup>9</sup> Thus the time-scale into which the texts from Qumran must be fitted is from approximately 150 B.C. to A.D. 68.

This latter date is especially significant since it enables us, with

de Vaux, to discount several theories which date the Scrolls during the Jewish War or much later : "None of the Scrolls can be later than A.D. 68.

Every hypothesis which places either the composition or the copying of the manuscripts after this date is ruled out by the archaeological evidence."<sup>10</sup>

This time-scale is further confirmed by Paleographical studies of the texts.<sup>11</sup>

The identity of the community at Qumran seems to be more securely identifiable from our knowledge of the history of the period. That is, they

almost certainly represent the Essenes, the third of the three Jewish

ⲉⲥⲥⲉⲛⲉⲥ mentioned by Josephus in Bellum Judaicum II.viii.2 (i.e. Pharisees, Saducees and Essenes). Such an important and flourishing community as

Qumran must have left some mark on the history of its time, and the descriptions given by Josephus, Philo and Pliny the Elder, of the Essenes fit

what we know of it, though there are contradictions.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, an

account by Pliny the Elder of the geographical situation of the main Essene

community exactly matches the position of the ruins at Khirbet Qumran.<sup>13</sup> It seems reasonable to conclude that we have in the Qumran texts, the third of the main movements within Judaism at the time of our Lord and at the beginning of the Christian Church, about which so little had previously been known. Much light will thus be shed on the environment in which the early Church was nurtured and developed by the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Further information concerning the origin of the Qumran group must come from the texts themselves, and this is where the real difficulty begins. Our information must be gleaned from enigmatic allusions and the veiled language of the apocalyptic style. Furthermore, the community existed over a period of about two centuries during which, presumably, it underwent considerable modification both of its ideas and its practice and also of its understanding of its own history. The difficulty of working out the history of the early Church from its own texts must surely be a valid parallel. An example would be the difficulty in relating Paul's own account of his activities in his letter with the account given of them in Acts, where the interval between the two is barely thirty years. Further, it can no more be assumed that the Scrolls are a homogenous block of material than that the New Testament is.<sup>14</sup> It is, therefore, only reasonable to assume that there will be inaccuracies of fact as well as internal contradictions among the Scrolls. This must be especially true in the light of the polemical intention of many of them, which leads even Allegro to caution careful use of the texts, "for our authors, as one suspects with certain New Testament writers, are not above changing the events to suit the prophecy, as well as the words of prophecy to suit the events."<sup>15</sup> Events in the community's past may well have been reshaped to make them relevant to its present needs.

The founding of the community seems to be described in the Damascus Rule:

For when they were unfaithful and forsook Him, He hid His face from Israel and His Sanctuary and delivered them up to the sword. But remembering the Covenant of the forefathers, He left a remnant to Israel and did not deliver it up to be destroyed. And in the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the hands of king Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, He visited them, and He caused a plant root to spring from Israel and Aaron to inherit His Land and to prosper on the good things of His earth. And they perceived their iniquity and recognised that they were like blind men groping for the way.

And God observed their deeds, that they sought Him with a whole heart, and He raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. And he made known to the latter generations that which God had done to the latter generation, the congregation of traitors, to those who departed from the way. 16

According to this, the foundation of the sect is in the "age of wrath", 390 years after the fall of Jerusalem in 587/7 B.C. Since Jewish historians were by no means accurate in their dating of the Persian period,<sup>17</sup> it seems safest not to place too much reliance on this date. However, even leaving a large margin of error, the period referred to by the document seems to be the time of the Hellenistic crisis which arose after the accession of the Seleucid ruler, Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Onias III, the rightful and pious High Priest, was deposed and replaced first by his Hellenophil brother Jason and then by the non-Zaddokite Menelaus in 172 B.C. This murderous, avaricious and degenerate man was responsible for the murder of Onias at his place of retreat when the latter objected to his robbing of the Temple vessels in 171 B.C.<sup>18</sup> Menelaus was also credited with inciting Antiochus to desecrate and plunder the Jerusalem Temple on his return from a defeat in Egypt at the hands of the Romans. This inaugurated a programme of enforced Hellenisation which led to the revolt under the Maccabean family. The passage seems to refer to a time of widespread national apostasy, and indeed the Maccabean war was as much a civil war

at its inception as a "freedom struggle".<sup>19</sup> In this struggle between Hellenizers and Judaizers, there arose a group called Hasidim (חסידים), dedicated and fanatical upholders of traditional orthodoxy.<sup>20</sup> They seem to have had a priestly character<sup>21</sup> and to have been intransigent in their implacable hostility to foreign influence so that, "they keep up war, and are seditious, not suffering the kingdom to find tranquility".<sup>22</sup> In other words, the Hasidim were the spear-head of the Maccabean resistance in the field, but their purism led them into opposition to the Hasmonean dynasty when peace was established. A particular crisis must have emerged when Jonathan Maccabeus (166-143 B.C.) took the title High Priest as well as King, having credentials for neither. It seems likely that it was at this point that the sect went into exile in the desert.<sup>23</sup> Although the Hasidim have long been seen as the antecedents of the Pharisees, and perhaps they were allied to them during the early struggle against the Seleucids, it now appears possible that this Hasidean movement contributed to the community at Qumran whose character it resembles. The Hasidim took Nazarite vows of celibacy and asceticism which caused difficulty on more than one occasion to their rulers, and this may be the origin of permanent Nazirite vows in the Qumran sect, who saw themselves as continuing the struggle of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness.<sup>24</sup> When the Hasmonean establishment proved to be unacceptable to some Hasidean purists, they may have become or joined a party in permanent opposition to the Jerusalem "apostates", considering themselves to be the only representatives of the true Israel, Temple and Priesthood.

Recently, however, J. Murphy-O'Connor has challenged the assumption that the main-spring of the Qumran sectarian movement was from Palestinian Judaism.<sup>25</sup> This assumption necessitates giving a purely symbolic reference to the geographical information in the Damascus Rule. In CD 1<sup>3-13</sup>

quoted above, there is no mention of any return to Palestine, but only of the Exile to Babylon and the sect is also indicated by "the converts of Israel who went out of the land of Judah to sojourn in the land of Damascus".<sup>26</sup> This reference to Damascus is problematic if a purely Palestinian origin is posited. De Vaux, for instance, is obliged to say that we should "forget political frontiers" with reference to "Damascus" and "go out from the land of Judah", seeing here instead a symbolic reference to Jeremiah 24<sup>8-10</sup>; 29<sup>16-19</sup> which contrasts the exiles who will be saved with the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judah who will be punished.<sup>27</sup> While it is not to be denied that symbolism played an important part in the use of geography in the texts, it seems more natural to assume, as J. Murphy-O'Connor does, that geography played an important part in the history of the sect and that this directed the choice of symbolism. Hence the "converts of Israel who went out of the land of Judah to sojourn in the land of Damascus" in CD 6<sup>2-11</sup> refers literally to the exile after 586 B.C. - by which, as we have seen, the sect dated their origin - and that Damascus is a symbolic name for Babylon (Cf Amos 5<sup>26-7</sup>). Consequently: "The Essene movement did not originate as a reaction to Hellenism but as the result of inspired reflection on the causes of the divine punishment that was the Exile. Of course, when members of this group returned to Palestine they found themselves in opposition to the Hellenised form of Judaism they found there."<sup>28</sup> Evidence cited for this is that the legislation in the Damascus Rule was obviously intended for Jews in a gentile environment: that IQIs<sup>a</sup> has a correct vocalisation of Assyro-Babylonian words and names, and that many of their customs and beliefs seem to have an Iranian origin - especially their dualism of the Two Spirits<sup>29</sup> - which is inexplicable in a rigidly conservative sect of Palestinian origin<sup>30</sup> but not in a community, however conservative, who had lived in Babylon for nearly four hundred years.

This Babylonian community of the "New Covenant" or more probably a part of it (CD 19<sup>33-34</sup>) returned to Palestine at the time of the Maccabean successes, inspired, no doubt, by apocalyptic fervour and were shocked at the laxity of the Judaism they found there withdrawing to the villages of Judea.<sup>31</sup>

This was the cause of the twenty years of "wandering like blind men groping for the way" until "the High Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness" became their leader.  $\int \text{ןוידן}$  with the definite article was a "titular usage", and would seem to refer to the ousted High Priest of the inter-sacerdotum before Jonathan Maccabeus' assumption of the offices, when the duties would automatically fall on the senior member of the Zadokite dynasty who was never mentioned in records because he never held an official post and yet who would be regarded by the devout as the true High Priest.<sup>32</sup> This unknown High Priest would seem to have been a man of powerful spiritual personality and organising ability who welded the group together in opposition to the official Jerusalem Temple which was now considered defiled and invalid.<sup>33</sup> Presumably the Teacher was followed by some at least of the Jerusalem priesthood and probably by the most conservative of the Hasideans, and the newly formed community then withdrew to the wilderness at Qumran to await the coming eschatological disaster which they foresaw as the inevitable consequence of the wickedness of the nation.<sup>34</sup> Thus the Qumran community is best seen as a product of cross-fertilization between a more widespread Babylonian Judaism and a conservative breakaway group from the Jerusalem priesthood. It is important to remember the small size of the group - no more than fifty initially and a maximum of two hundred at its height.<sup>35</sup> There may also have been a schism within the Babylonian group who returned.<sup>36</sup>

However the evidence is not entirely consistent between texts. The Commentary on Habakkuk<sup>37</sup> seems to indicate a Roman background.

A. Dupont-Somer<sup>38</sup> has argued convincingly for the identification of the "Kittim" with the Romans who sacrifice to their standards: "they sacrifice to their standards and worship their weapons of war"<sup>39</sup> and come "from afar" "from the islands of the sea" to "devour all people".<sup>40</sup>

The description of the Kittim as a universal empire from across the sea scarcely fits the Seleucid rulers. Indeed the leaders of the Kittim are never here described by the Hebrew root  $\gamma\zeta\Delta$ , but by the root  $\zeta\omega\Delta$ , and the rapid turnover of rulers envisaged by the text seems a clear reference to the flux at the end of the Roman Republic.<sup>41</sup> This is further supported by the description of their warfare, which matches Roman rather than Greek methods here as in the War Scroll.<sup>42</sup> The writer clearly envisages the Kittim as the instruments to wreak God's wrath on the apostate Jews in Jerusalem. The Commentary on Nahum also has the Romans as the Kittim who succeed the "kings of Greece" as hegemony in Palestine,<sup>43</sup> finally capturing Jerusalem under Pompey in 63 B.C. There is also in this text a clear reference to an incident recorded in Josephus where the Pharisees, called here the "seekers of smooth things", invited Demetrius III to invade Judaea and remove Alexander Jannaeus and his party (the Sadducees are here called "Manasseh"). When Demetrius tried to enter Jerusalem the Pharisees changed sides and he was forced to retire. The vicious revenge of Alexander Jannaeus in crucifying a thousand Pharisees, a death unheard of and sacrilegious to the Jews, was a scandal and is surely referred to in this text.<sup>44</sup> Yet a simple identification of Alexander Jannaeus with the Wicked Priest<sup>45</sup> will clearly not do, since archaeological evidence precludes the founding of the community at Khirbet Qumran as late as 103-76 B.C.

As we have suggested above, the solution to the problem of inconsistent historical data in the texts may be the result of the long history of the community and their method of interpreting scripture to refer always to contemporary events.<sup>46</sup> Various aspects of the evidence favour successively Menelaus, Jonathan Maccabeus (or his brother Simon) and Alexander Jannaeus as the Wicked Priest. The Teacher of Righteousness suggests Onias III in some texts but a later figure in others.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps the "Teacher of Righteousness" referred to a succession of "pretenders" to the office of High Priest.<sup>48</sup> In view of the dualism running through the texts in the doctrine of the Two Ways or Two Spirits engaged in continual warfare, it seems possible that the "Wicked Priest" also represents a succession of people. There is evidence that some Jews at this time believed in a successive reincarnation of the "Prophet" in every age, culminating in the messianic Prophet.<sup>49</sup> In the sectarian writings of later Jewish Christians, notably in the Pseudo-Clementine Preaching of Peter, there is a developed doctrine of a simultaneous succession of the True Prophet and the False Prophet in every age.<sup>50</sup> Every generation of Qumran sectarians would then be striving to discern the two figures in their own day and relate them to Scripture.

An immediate general point of contact with the primitive Christian community which arises from our consideration of the origin and identity of the Qumran Essenes lies in their being moulded by single and forceful personalities. Initially this led to speculation that the two founders might be the same. However, the manner of their imprint on their followers is very different.<sup>51</sup> For the Teacher of Righteousness did not reject the whole machinery of Temple and Law - rather he and his followers claimed to be the only rightful and pure inheritors of those traditions. Jesus, on the other hand challenged all the externals of the system by appealing to the Spirit which motivated

and originated them - effecting thus a spiritual revolution which would "turn the world upside down".<sup>52</sup> The Teacher of Righteousness found a movement already in existence and gave it a new direction, whereas Jesus, from the beginning, chose and called his own, seeking to imbue them with the spirit of his message, person and work. Obviously both share a common hostility towards the official Judaism of their own day. Yet rather than separate and condemn, Jesus moved deliberately among the very outcasts and sinners which Qumran so heartily hated and rejected.

Another essential point of contact between Qumran and the early Church was that they were sects rather than parties within the Judaism of their day. Both saw themselves not simply as pressure groups for change, or as competitors for power, but as communities whose very existence and goal was crucially significant theologically. Stendahl rightly emphasises this important distinction:

The structure of the Pharisees and Sadducees differs from that of the Essenes in one respect which is of crucial importance. The former may adequately be described as parties. From the standpoint of their different opinions they tried to influence the life of the Jews. The Pharisees were apparently better organised than were the Sadducees. It may also be true that the Pharisees took a dim view of the chances for publicans and sinners to have a part in the Age to Come, but there is nothing that leads us to believe that membership in these parties was given a theological or eschatological significance. This was, however, precisely what happened with the Essenes. They did not form a party, they formed the Community of the New Covenant. Through initiation and obedience, they were the elect ones. It is this feature of the Essene Community which makes it important to distinguish it as a sect over against the parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees.<sup>53</sup>

There is thus a similarity between the Essenes and the early Church as sectarian movements in opposition to the status quo, steeped in the Scriptures and reading in them apocalyptic pointers to their own day. The way in which the two communities regarded themselves will be the subject of our next section.

CHAPTER TWOTHE SELF-AWARENESS OF THE COMMUNITY

The way a community regards itself: its nature and its status - that is, its self-concepts, is perhaps the most powerful formative influence on it. The images which determine that understanding are often unconscious or even subconscious, yet they are the most telling traits in the writings, constitutions and language of any community when viewed from outside itself. They are peculiar to that community and are what mark it off from others. Hence it is a logical starting point for our comparison between the Qumran community and the Christian Church of the New Testament. The complexity of any such examination renders a detailed examination of each self-concept impossible. Hence we shall concentrate on the three major concepts and their related ideas: The New Temple; The New Covenant; The New Israel.

1. The New Temple

From what we have said of the origin of the Qumran sect in a rebellion by a combination of conservative Babylonian Jews who had returned to Palestine and the purist priestly party of the ousted High Priest against the profanation of the temple worship under Jonathan Maccabeus<sup>1</sup>, we should expect to see this displayed also in their concept of the nature of their community. If the temple at Jerusalem and its cultic acts were invalid, how were the necessary functions of the temple to be performed? No priestly community could dispense with the need for sacrifices and for cultic atonement on which the right relationship of Israel and her God depended.<sup>2</sup> Leaving aside the question of whether there were actual blood sacrifices performed at Qumran<sup>3</sup>, we shall examine the way in which the temple and its worship were "spiritualised" by the community.<sup>4</sup>

The radical new departure in Qumran's idea of the temple was that they held the community itself to have replaced the temple. Because of the defilement of the Jerusalem temple, the Presence of God,  $\text{ןן'כש}$ , had abandoned the temple.<sup>5</sup> The Presence of God had now instead, taken up its abode in the community itself, which thus represented the eschatological new temple.<sup>6</sup> Hence the presence of the spirit<sup>7</sup> in the community, since the spirit was to some extent analogous to the  $\text{ןן'כש}$  and was believed to indwell the temple. Moreover, the sacrifices of blood offerings have been replaced by the life of the community as a "sweet smell of sacrifice" of the new temple,<sup>8</sup> which works atonement for the whole people of Israel.<sup>9</sup> It is probably this function of atonement as a community for the sins of Israel which led the community to regard itself as the "Suffering Servant" of Deutero-Isaiah which was preparing the way of the Lord in the desert by its suffering.<sup>10</sup> While this concept offers a remarkable parallel with the self-consciousness of John the Baptist and Jesus, we shall not consider it here since the early Church showed no signs of transferring this title to themselves. The atoning sacrificial life of Qumran was essentially works of the Law<sup>11</sup>, a life of rigid obedience to the minutest details of the Law. The blood sacrifice in Israel was often linked with an individual's confession of his sin; so also at Qumran the sacrifice of a life lived in obedience to the Law required also an inward turning to God<sup>12</sup>, usually expressed by the  $\text{כש}$  group which parallels the New Testament use of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\lambda\alpha$  : "the conversion of his life"  $\text{ןן'כש}$ <sup>13</sup>. This concept owes much to the Old Testament prophetic tradition which condemned any use of the cultus which ignored justice and righteousness: IQS 8.<sup>2f</sup> for instance reflects

Micah 6:6-8 and Psalm 51:19. In this way the priests of Qumran and their followers substituted a thorough-going obedience to the Law for the service they owed to the temple<sup>14</sup>. It is interesting to note that later Rabbinic teaching reached the same conclusion via another road: "Even pure oblations" (Mal. 1:11) - this refers to one who studies the Torah in purity ... whosoever occupies himself with the Torah is as though he were offering a burnt offering, a meal offering, a sin offering and a guilt offering".<sup>15</sup> The Torah was also seen as the medium of the divine  $\eta\eta\gamma\omega\psi$ : "If two persons sit together and words of the Law are spoken between them then the  $\eta\eta\gamma\omega\psi$  rests between them."<sup>16</sup>

A few concrete examples of this temple symbolism from the Manual of Discipline should serve to bring out its nature. The purpose of the initiation into the community is given in IQS 5<sup>5ff</sup>:

That they ( $\square\aleph\aleph\aleph$ ) may lay a foundation of truth ( $\eta\Delta\aleph\ \eta\eta\theta'$ ) for Israel for the Community of the everlasting Covenant. They shall atone ( $\gamma\theta\theta$ ) for all those in Aaron who have freely pledged themselves to holiness and for those in Israel who have freely pledged themselves to the House of Truth ( $\eta\Delta\aleph\ \eta\eta\eta$ ) and for those who join them to live in community ( $\eta\eta\eta$ ) and to take part in the trial and judgment and condemnation of all those who transgress the precepts. 17

Taking the community to be the subject of the paragraph, as Vermes does,<sup>18</sup>  $\eta\Delta\aleph\ \eta\eta\theta'$  is a description of the sect.<sup>19</sup> This needs to be seen in the light of widespread speculation in late Judaism concerning the rock on which the temple and especially the Holy of Holies and the altar stood.<sup>20</sup> The basis of this speculation was the prophecy of Isaiah 28:16, which lies behind the Qumran texts.<sup>21</sup> It was also a favourite text of the early Christian community (e.g. Romans 9:33, 10:11, 1 Peter 2:4-6).  $\eta\eta\theta'$  was later used by the Rabbis to refer to the firm foundation of the Torah which had replaced the temple cult after the fall of Jerusalem. Indeed, Law seems also to have been what

the Qumran sect saw as the foundation of their New Temple, since it seems to be what is meant by  $\text{אֱמוּנָה}$  throughout the Scrolls - the Law, that is, as interpreted by the Teacher of Righteousness "according to all which has been revealed".<sup>22</sup> That this use of "foundation" identifies the community with the temple is confirmed by the statement which follows, that the community is to "atone"  $\text{כִּפֹּר}$  for the nation's sins.<sup>23</sup> Atonement was inseparably connected with the Temple sacrifices in Jerusalem after the "Deuteronomic Reform" of the sixth century B.C. Hence the sectarians believed that their community itself, through its complete obedience to the Law, is the temple and fulfils the cultic function of atonement. The division of the community into "Aaron" and "Israel" is related to the temple concept, as we shall see. The passage also describes the community as the source of judgment on disobedient Israel and of all nations - just as, in Jewish tradition, judgment was seen as proceeding from the temple.<sup>24</sup>

The second text we shall take is IQS 8:4-10 which is highly significant for comparison with the New Testament:

When these are in Israel <sup>25</sup>, the Council of the Community ( $\text{עֲצַת הַיְחָד}$ ) shall be established in truth. It shall be an Everlasting Plantation, a House of Holiness for Israel an Assembly of Supreme Holiness for Aaron ( $\text{בֵּית קֹדֶשׁ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$   $\text{וְעֵבֶד קֹדֶשׁ לְאַהֲרֹן}$ ). They shall be witnesses to the truth at the judgment, and shall be the elect of Goodwill who shall atone ( $\text{כִּפֹּר}$ ) for the land and pay to the wicked their reward. It shall be that tried wall ( $\text{הַיָּאֵה הַחֹמַת הַבְּחִי}$ ), that precious cornerstone ( $\text{כִּפְנֵי יֶקֶר}$ ), whose foundations ( $\text{יְסוּדֵי}$ ) shall neither rock nor sway in their place. It shall be a Most Holy Dwelling for Aaron ( $\text{בֵּית קֹדֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ לְאַהֲרֹן}$ ) with everlasting knowledge of the Covenant of justice, and shall offer up sweet fragrance. It shall be a House of Perfection and Truth in Israel that they may establish a Covenant according to everlasting precepts. And they shall be an agreeable offering, atoning for the land and determining the judgement of wickedness and there shall be no more iniquity.<sup>26</sup>

The same traits may be seen here as in IQS 5<sup>5f</sup> and once again, Isaiah 28:16 is the guiding text. Some scholars have taken the  $\text{לְעֵצֵי יְהוָה}$  to refer only to the inner council of twelve men and three priests (8:1), but McKelvey rightly points out that the council would in any case have a representative function for the whole community, standing for the twelve tribes of Israel and the three priestly divisions.<sup>27</sup> It is seen as the precious cornerstone of Isaiah<sup>28</sup>  $\text{פִּינֵי יִקָּר}$ , and a tried wall  $\text{הַיְדִיבֵי הַבְּרִיחַ}$ , (which is not viewed here as a superstructure or building process, but complements the "cornerstone" as an image of stability). The temple image is also linked here with the image of growth and fertility, the "Everlasting Plantation"  $\text{עֹלָם עֹלָם}$  with its connotations of paradise, water of life and tree of life - as in Ezekiel 47 and I Enoch 24-26.<sup>29</sup> The atoning work of the community, their role in Judgement of the wicked are all much the same as in 5<sup>5f</sup>. However, we can see more clearly here the distinction between Aaron and Israel:  $\text{בֵּית קֹדֶשׁ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  and  $\text{בֵּית קֹדֶשׁ קֹדְשֵׁי קֹדְשֵׁי לְאַהֲרֹן}$  are parallel here and so both refer to a building. Hence it seems the distinction is between the 'Court of Priests' seen as the Temple sanctuary and the 'Court of Israel' seen as the outer Temple.<sup>30</sup>

Our final illustration of this theme in the Scrolls come from IQS 9:3-6:

When these become members of the Community of Israel according to all these rules, they shall establish the spirit of holiness according to everlasting truth. They shall atone for guilty rebellion and for sins of unfaithfulness that they may obtain loving-kindness for the Land without the flesh of holocausts and the fat of sacrifice. And prayer rightly offered shall be as an acceptable fragrance of righteousness and perfection of way as a

delectable free-will offering. At that time, the men of the Community shall set apart a House of Holiness for Aaron in order that it may be united to the most holy thing and a House of Community for Israel, for those who walk in perfection.<sup>31</sup>

What this adds to our previous passages is the presence of the  $\Psi\text{QDQ } \Pi\text{O}\Gamma$ , the spirit of holiness, or the holy spirit, whose function is to purify and inspire the members with insight into the mysteries of God ( $\Pi\text{O}\Gamma\text{O}\text{S}\text{O}\text{S}\text{O}\text{S}$ ).<sup>32</sup> Further, "prayer rightly offered"  $\text{O}\text{S}\text{O}\text{S}\text{O}\text{S}\text{O}\text{S}\text{O}\text{S}$  and "perfection of way"  $\text{O}\text{S}\text{O}\text{S}\text{O}\text{S}\text{O}\text{S}$ <sup>33</sup> are seen as the replacement for the blood sacrifices and ritual of the Jerusalem temple and effect the atonement for Israel. Gärtner also cites 4QFlor, 4QIsa and IQpHab 12<sup>1ff</sup> which throw interesting light on this concept, though, because of the fragmentary and uncertain nature of these texts, their value is somewhat questionable.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, we can say for the Manual of Discipline that it contains a consistent temple symbolism. The only caution must be that the belief in the community as the replacement for the Jerusalem temple was an interim arrangement, for there is evidence that the sect did hope for a restoration of the material temple - now purified and glorified - at the eschaton<sup>35</sup>, and this is highly significant for New Testament study.<sup>36</sup>

The Book of Acts shows the early church continuing to worship in the temple, taking part in its ritual though not in its blood sacrifices<sup>37</sup>, and this indicates that there was a period of transition in the thinking of the church concerning the temple. However it also records the hostile attitude of the "Hellenists", Stephen in particular - a group which may have had some link with the Qumran sectarians.<sup>38</sup> However, it is apparent, even in Acts that the early

Church developed as a community in opposition to the status quo and were gradually excluded from the life of the Jewish community. This and the rapid growth of the gentile Christian community meant that the pressures towards the "spiritualisation" of the temple cult were present here as at Qumran. In many places the New Testament reflects a temple doctrine remarkably similar to the Scrolls, yet we shall see that the resemblance is more superficial than fundamental. It is also important to bear in mind McKelvey's warning that "the temple is only one of a whole series of images the apostle uses to describe the church, none of which can be properly studied or understood in isolation from the others." <sup>39</sup>

In the Pauline tradition the most striking parallel to the Qumran doctrine of the temple is II Corinthians 6:14; 7:1 - indeed, it has been called "a Christian reworking of an Essene paragraph which has been introduced into the Pauline letter".<sup>40</sup> While this may be an exaggeration <sup>41</sup>, the passage certainly fits awkwardly into its context, so that verses 11-13 contain an appeal to the Corinthians to open their hearts to Paul and this is continued in 7:2ff with a similar appeal and self-defence. The sharp injunction to separate in verse 14ff seems to have no relevance to this at all, but to be an interruption. The passage contains many striking echoes of the Scrolls, for instance the dualisms: δικαιοσύνη/ἀνομία; φως/σκοτός; Χριστός/βελίαρ.<sup>42</sup> There is also the use of the word μερίς verse 15, which was used at Qumran ( 571λ) to determine every individual's entry and position in the community or among the damned,<sup>43</sup> the exhortation to separateness and purity and the comparison of the Christian community to the temple.

This last parallel is highly significant: *Τίς δὲ συνκατάθεως ναὶ θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδωλῶν; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς θεοῦ ἐσμεν ζῶντος* verse 16. In other words, Christians are the true temple and therefore rigidly separated from unbelievers or renegades who, since they are tainted with idols convey impurity by their very touch. This is clearly intended in a moral sense - if we accept the Christ/Belial opposition as placing it as a Christian text - and parallels the *יבשׁ יבישׁג* the evil impulses which cause a man to disobey the Law in the Scrolls e.g. IQS 2:11 rather than implying any concrete idolatry.<sup>44</sup> The neatly arranged Old Testament passages - freely rendered and joined into a unit in the pesher style which is also characteristic of Qumran - all point to the fact that the Presence of God has now come to dwell with the Christian community as in the last days. Leviticus 26:12 which refers originally to the tabernacle is applied to the Church which has the Presence of God not simply as a shadowy thing (the "walk among" of Leviticus), but as an abiding reality - *ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς* (Paul adds a word not used of God in the Septuagint). This text is combined with Ezekiel 37:27 which refers to the eschatological presence of God with his people.<sup>45</sup> The same theme of separation for purity is behind the quotation from Isaiah 52:11 with the promise of God's blessing on his people from Ezekiel 20:34 and 2 Samuel 7:14. The appeal for purity and holiness in 7:1 is a natural consequence of viewing the community as the temple - as we have seen in our consideration of the Scrolls.

In 1 Corinthians 3:16f in the context of the rivalry at Corinth between followers of Paul and Apollos we find a clear identification of the

Church and the temple: οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν οἴκεῖ; εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθείρῃ τούτου ὁ θεὸς ὁ γὰρ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἅγιος ἐστίν αἵτινες ἐστε ὑμεῖς

The quarrel leads Paul to point out the nature of the Church by comparing it first to a plant which Paul planted, Apollos watered but God gave the growth (verse 5f Cf the founding of the Qumran sect by God as a plant in CD 1.7), then as a building whose foundation is Jesus Christ, laid by Paul and built by others (verses 10-15 Cf the ἱερὸν οἰκισθῆναι of IQS 8:7), and finally as the temple of God. All three symbols are related to the temple image as we have seen in our study of IQS 8:4-10. The οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι seems to imply that the temple doctrine was well known at Corinth and that Paul had previously stressed it.<sup>46</sup> He is referring the Corinthians back to fundamentals. Again the Presence of God is seen as dwelling (οἴκεῖν) in the Church as the new temple in the person of the Spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα). However the superficial similarity to the Scrolls is misleading, for there is a radical transformation: the θεμέλιον of the temple is Christ and no other (verse 10) and the Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, the gift of Christ to his Church and the earnest of what is to come.<sup>47</sup> There is no suggestion in the Scrolls that the Teacher of Righteousness was ever seen in this light - rather the foundation of the sect was the νόμος of the Law rightly interpreted. For Paul, the Spirit constitutes and unifies the community as the temple. It is the Church corporately which constitutes the temple, as the collective ὑμεῖς indicates, and so cannot be divided.<sup>48</sup> At this point Paul is close to his other description of the Church as the Body of Christ which is related to this temple doctrine as we shall see.<sup>49</sup> Finally, the context indicates that the threatened destruction of the temple refers to false teaching which resulted in schism (parallel to the building on the foundation

of Christ which Paul laid); schism is thus seen as a profanation of the temple which will bring its destruction on itself because it violates the holiness of God.<sup>50</sup>

Ephesians has been noted by many scholars to reveal affinities with the Scrolls<sup>51</sup>, and 2:18-22 contains a direct reference to the temple as the community. The context of the text is that the cross of Christ has broken down the dividing wall of hostility between Jew and Gentiles. Here Paul is already seeing the Church as the temple, since the

μεσότοιχον (verse 14) would seem to be a reference to the material wall separating the "court of the Gentiles" at Jerusalem from the temple itself, and which was symbolic of the Law.<sup>52</sup> The cross abolishes the old separation and unites Jew and Gentile believers into a new and higher unity which transcends their differences in "one new man" (εἰς κελὸς ἄνθρωπος verse 15) as one body (ἐν ὄμα verse 16) in one Spirit (ἐν πνεῦμα verse 18). Only thus do they have access to the Father - again a reference to the temple, since

προεπαγωγῆ verse 18 was used in the Septuagint for the presentation of a sacrifice or the personal appearance of the suppliant in the temple.<sup>53</sup> The close identity of the temple image with the body

image in this passage is clear and is very important since, again, it reveals the basis of the understanding of the Church as the temple as Christological. There is some parallel to the emphasis on unity as the mark of the temple community at Qumran in the use of the unusual term 717 to describe it. However, since it is particularly related to fellowship of goods and worship, we shall examine it later in

connection with the New Testament expressions κοινωνία and ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.<sup>54</sup> The Gentiles, having been excluded from the promises to Israel, had been ξένοι and πάροικοι verse 19,

but now are joined with Jewish believers in a new heavenly citizenship as *βυνπολίται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οὐκ ἐῶν τῷ θεοῦ*.<sup>55</sup> The temple image has been combined with the image of the building *οἰκοδομή* in verse 20, so that the dynamic concept of a building still in the process of growing is added to the static idea of the temple. The prophets and apostles are the *θεμέλιον* (representing historical continuity) but Christ is the *ἀκρογωνία*, the Cornerstone and foundation<sup>56</sup>, an image used also at Qumran as we have seen. Yet there it is used entirely ecclesiologically. In Ephesians it is in Christ, that the "whole building" (*πᾶσα οἰκοδομή*) holds together and grows (*αὐξελ* Cf 4:16), like a body. There other comparable texts in the Pauline tradition which would repay study, but which must be excluded from the limited scope of this study e.g. I Timothy 3:15,<sup>57</sup> and I Corinthians 6:19-20<sup>58</sup>. Enough has been said, however, to show that the temple image is deeply rooted in the Pauline tradition.

It is also a widespread concept, showing in all the different strands of New Testament tradition.<sup>59</sup> It finds clear expression in I Peter 2:3-6, where priests and sacrifices are re-interpreted to refer to the Christian life, just as the community is interpreted as the new temple. Christ again is seen as the *ἀκρογωνία* verse 6, of Isaiah 26:16 but, with obvious reference to the Resurrection, also as a *λίθον ζῶντα* verse 4. The natural sense of "living stone" as uncut stone is not uppermost in the image since this is extended to all members of the community (*λίθαι ζῶντες* verse 5) who make up the temple as individual stones (and so presumably cut stones).<sup>60</sup> The feature of this text is that the priesthood has been

extended to all believers who are a *ἱεράτευμα ἄγλων* verse 5  
 Cf verse 9, whose duty is "to offer the spiritual sacrifices"  
 (*ἀνευέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας*). The "spiritual sacrifice"  
 is a morally upright life (Cf 2:1)<sup>61</sup>. This the logical conclusion  
 to the spiritualisation of the temple and its worship: yet it is not  
 one reached by the Qumran sect. Although *פִּיטְרִיָּל* may be a  
 technical term for the whole of the sect in IQS 9:14<sup>62</sup>, and CD 3:19-  
 4:3 seems to identify the term priests with "the penitents of Israel"  
 (*שְׂרָאֵל שְׂרָאֵל*), which is elsewhere a title of the whole  
 community<sup>63</sup> the sect retained a rigid distinction between priests  
 and laity. Many of the Levitical requirements of ritual and moral  
 purity for priests were extended to the people, but the priests still  
 had a special cultic function in the community. It seems likely that  
 the sect's expectation of the eschatological restoration of the purified  
 Jerusalem temple lay behind the continued distinction.

In Hebrews, where there is a thorough-going Christology of Jesus as  
 the High Priest, offering himself as a complete, sufficient sacrifice  
 once for all, there is a picture in 12:18-24 of the unity of the Church  
 with the heavenly Jerusalem and its company in opposition to the old  
 Sinai covenant. "Mount Zion" came to refer to the temple in late  
 Judaism and the temple seems to be intended here. The result of this  
 identification is a demand for purity and holiness in the community.  
 Although the Book of Revelation makes very significant use of the temple  
 image, its thesis is not that the community is the temple, but that  
 there is no longer any need for the "new temple", since in the City  
 of God the Presence is always there and that God himself and the Lamb  
 replace the temple. Finally, by the time of Ignatius of Antioch who  
 was martyred in c 107, we can see that the typological evaluation

of the temple cultus had become customary in the early Church. The place of worship is described by him as the  $\theta\upsilon\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  (lgEph 5:2, lgTrall 7:2, lgMag 7:2, lgPhilad. 4 Cf lgRom 4:2. This is extended also to the individual believer in lgPhilad 7:2 :  $\tau\eta\upsilon \epsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha \delta\mu\omega\upsilon\upsilon \omega\varsigma \nu\alpha\acute{\omicron}\nu \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \tau\eta\rho\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  (Cf 2 Clem 14:3) and the believers are  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\iota$  or  $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\iota$  in lgEph.11:1, lgMag. 12, lgEph 9:2, 15:3.

The breadth of the tradition of the temple in the New Testament indicates that it is very ancient in origin, deriving in some way from Jesus's own understanding of his person and work. The Cleansing of the Temple in the Synoptic Tradition (Mark 11:15-18, Matthew 21:12-16, Luke 19:45-48) seems to represent the work of the Messiah as the renewer of the temple and is linked with the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, an event rich also with messianic connotations, and the rejection of disobedient Israel (the cursing of the Fig Tree in Mark 11:12-14, 20-22, Matthew 21:18-22, Luke 13:6-9). Mark 14:58 records the accusation against Jesus by a "false witness" that he said, "I will destroy this  $\chi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  temple and in three days I will build another  $\alpha\chi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ " (Cf Matthew 12:40 the "sign of Jonah"). The Johannine account of the cleansing of the Temple is seen as inaugurating Jesus's work and represents Jesus as describing his own body as the temple (John 2:18ff) which replaces the defiled Jerusalem temple.<sup>64</sup> Since he is the perfect manifestation of the Father (14:8-11), he replaces the Presence of God in the temple in his own person (Cf 1:14). Yet John seems to be writing also from the perspective of the post-Resurrection worshipping community<sup>65</sup>, so that the "body" of 2:18ff refers also to the community of believers, to the Church, since John seems constantly

to be hinting that the presence of Christ continues in the Church, especially in the Eucharist.<sup>66</sup> In conclusion, it seems that we can see in the Qumran documents and in the words of Jesus a common background of opposition to the Jerusalem temple cult which re-interpreted and spiritualised it. There is, however, no parallel in the Scrolls to the central role of Jesus in the New Testament interpretation of the New Temple.

## 2. The New Covenant

This area of comparison has not as yet been well explored by the critics.

Opinion has been divided as to whether there is an analogous self-understanding with regard to the covenant. Those who do see a correspondence<sup>1</sup> emphasise the similar roles played by the Teacher of Righteousness and Jesus, and the eschatological perspective:

"Die Endzeiterfüllung steht vor der Tür, und der Alte Bund ist nicht aufgehoben; aber eben aufgenommen in dem eschatologischen Neuen Bund, der je in dem beiden Gemeinde realisiert wird."<sup>2</sup> Others assert

that these similarities are merely superficial and that the Qumran "new covenant" is only the renewed and confirmed Old Covenant.<sup>3</sup> In the Christian new covenant, the role played by Jesus is quite different, they claim, since he had already come and brought in the last times whereas Qumran still awaited the end. However, as Braun correctly points out<sup>4</sup>, this difference lies only in the foreground and not de facto, since Qumran had a different understanding of itself to the Old Testament and Judaism and saw itself in a new eschatological situation, while the Christian Church still awaited Jesus' return. The exact relation of the ideas at Qumran to the Church can only be established by a close examination of the relevant texts.

The concept of covenant in the Old Testament is difficult to define precisely, since to translate אִתְּךָ as "covenant" is already more a paraphrase than a translation. J. Behm defines the two aspects of its meaning as: "the firmly regulated form of fellowship between God and man and man and God" and "the half-legal and half-sacral form of a fellowship between man and man."<sup>5</sup> These two are not opposites but complementary, since God guarantees אִתְּךָ in the covenant relationship

but only if the right relationship  $\eta\pi\tau\sigma/\omega\sigma\omega\delta$  is maintained between man and man within the covenant under the  $\eta\gamma\iota\eta$ . The validation of the covenant on the part of God, moreover, lies in his acts of deliverance in history. Yet the legal aspect of the covenant in which the "equality" of the partners came to be uppermost and to create the illusion that God's protection was simply unconditional and obligatory. Hence the attack by Amos, Hoseah and above all Jeremiah, which sought to re-affirm the relational aspect of the covenant.<sup>6</sup>

Jeremiah was especially influential with his doctrine of an eschatological new covenant which would be "not like the old one" but "I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts; and I will be their God and they shall be my people" (Jeremiah 31:31ff. Cf 32:37-41; Ezekiel 36:25ff; Isaiah 55:3ff). This forms the background of both the Qumran sectarians and the early Church.

The whole of the first section of the Manual of Discipline (1:1-3:12) is concerned with the covenant and seems to contain a description of the feast of the Renewal of the Covenant (1:7-2:19) consisting of prayers of thanksgiving and praise, public confession of sins, a blessing on the "Men of God's lot" and a double curse of the "Men of Belial's lot" (Cf Deut. 27:11-26). This ceremony was re-enacted yearly (2:19f  $\text{כִּכְהָרְבֵי שָׁנָה בְּיָמֵינוּ}$ ) and was the time to re-admit new members according to the rules (6:13ff), to promote or demote existing members (5:24) and for all to renew their covenant vows. It probably took place on the Day of Pentecost or Feast of Weeks which was widely held to be the anniversary of the Sinai covenant in late Judaism.<sup>7</sup> Since there was only one such ceremony a year, Brownlee plausibly suggests this as the reason for the uncertain

length of the probationary period.<sup>8</sup> Possibly this was also the occasion for a convention of sectarians from all over Palestine. The duty of the  $\text{לשכיל}$  (Teacher) in bringing forward candidates for admission is described in 1:7ff.

ולקבץ את כול הנדבבים לעשות חוקי אל בברית קדש  
להוחד בעצת אל ולהתהלך לפניו תמים כול הנגלות  
לאועדי העודות

The expression "to bring into the covenant"  $\text{להביא בברית}$  (Cf CD 19:13f) or "to enter into the covenant"  $\text{לעבורו בברית}$  (1:16f etc) is a terminus technicus at Qumran for entry into the community.<sup>9</sup> Those to be admitted are  $\text{הנדבבים}$ , not just "those who volunteer", but "those who freely offer themselves (that is as a freewill offering)"<sup>10</sup>. We have already examined the nature of sacrificial language at Qumran under the concept of the New Temple, and here, too, the sacrifice is performance of the Law  $\text{לעשות חוקי}$ . The covenant is called  $\text{ברית קדש}$  and this central Old Testament concept of  $\text{ברית}$  implies both love and faithfulness, and describes the quality of the covenantal relationship between God and man. (Cf 2:24, 5:4,26; 8:2; 10:26, Cf 4:5 which cite Micah 6:8  $\text{אהבת קדש}$ ) The sect's use of  $\text{ברית}$  has led Brownlee to suggest this as a ground for connecting it with the Hasidim.<sup>11</sup> In any case, the qualification of  $\text{ברית}$  by  $\text{קדש}$  emphasises the relational aspect of the new covenant as in Jeremiah - though the covenant is only specifically called "new"  $\text{חדש}$  in the Damascus Rule (CD 6:19; 8:21; 19:34; 20:12) in spite of the fact that "renewal" is an important concept in the Scrolls.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the mark of the covenant at Qumran is precisely the fulfilment of the Whole Law as the important expression  $\text{כול}$  so common in the Scrolls indicates (e.g. Law  $\text{לשון עשה}$  IQpHab. 7:11; 8:1; 12:5 and Statutes of God IQS 1:7; 1:15; 3:8; 5:20 Cf. CD 6:4; 7:4f; 19:4).<sup>13</sup> This emphasis on

the Whole Law was in opposition to official Judaism which they regarded as omitting part of the Law and hence as apostate. This technical use of the word  $\Sigma\text{IC}$  is comparable to Matthew's use of  $\Pi\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\delta$  (23:3; 3:15; 5:15; 28:20) evidently in contention against anti-nomian Christians who desire to abolish part of the Law.<sup>14</sup> This polemical intent probably lay behind the opposition of the sect to alleviations of the Law.<sup>15</sup> The result of the fulfilment of the whole Law - which is clearly more rigid and complete than their opponents in contemporary Judaism - is perfection  $\square^{\prime}\Delta\delta\eta$  or perfection of way  $\square^{\prime}\Delta\delta\eta$

$\gamma\gamma\gamma$  (IQS 1:8f, 2:2; 3:3; 4:22; 5:24; 8:1; 9, 18, 20; 9:2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 19; 11:11, 17)<sup>16</sup>. Again, Matthew's Gospel provides a close parallel to this concept in its use of  $\text{Πε}\rho\epsilon\beta\beta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (5:47) and  $\text{Πε}\rho\epsilon\beta\beta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\lambda\upsilon$  (5:20) of the superiority of the disciples over the Pharisees, and of  $\text{Τε}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$  (5:48; 19:21) as the mark of this  $\text{Πε}\rho\epsilon\beta\beta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ . Matthew's use is not paralleled anywhere in the LXX or New Testament, but only in the Scrolls. The use of  $\square^{\prime}\Delta\delta\eta$  in the Scrolls is characterised by special law based on revelation and stricter than official Judaism<sup>17</sup> and by exclusion of any who are outside the community from the  $\square^{\prime}\Delta\delta\eta$  which marks the true people of God and leads to life. It is clear that "more" is understood quantitatively at Qumran and qualitatively in Matthew (not the letter but the spirit). Yet, as Barth points out, both continue the Old Testament understanding of perfection to mean total obedience, and complete dedication to God. This passage also describes entry into the covenant as uniting  $\gamma\pi\eta\delta$  the candidate with the community in a new relationship which is consistently described as a  $\gamma\pi\eta$  one of the most common words in the Scrolls occurring more than 68 times.<sup>18</sup> This unity of fellowship demands a new way of life and standard of conduct  $\square^{\prime}\Delta\delta\eta$   $\gamma\kappa\eta$   $\gamma\kappa\eta$   $\gamma\kappa\eta$  (  $\gamma\kappa\eta$  is used here of conduct as in the Old Testament in Hithpael e.g. Psalm 6:3; 101:2; Proverbs 20:7; 23:31) which is based on a

special new revelation כּוּל הַגְּלוּת and is related to "appointed times" כּוּל יְמֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ. This כּוּל is linked with the love for God (CD 20:21; IQH 14:26; 15:9-10; 16:7,13) and for the brethren (CD 6:21; IQS 2:24; 4:2; 5:3-4; 8:1-2; 10:20) which tempers the legalism of the sect.<sup>19</sup> It is an interesting parallel to the New Testament concept of the fellowship which marks the Jerusalem Church in Acts 2:42, and which is the basis for the sharing of goods and property (2:44; 4:32) which was the external mark of their mutual sharing in divine things with 'one heart and soul'. The 'fellowship' in the Church is also seen as having a practical expression in sharing Paul's collection in the Gentile churches to support the "poor saints" in Jerusalem.<sup>20</sup> This is a remarkable parallel to the communism at Qumran.<sup>21</sup>

It may also be significant that one of the technical descriptions for the Christian meetings for worship is ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (Acts 2:44) and there is a close verbal similarity in προσετίθει τοὺς βωζομένους καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό to the expression כּוּל יְמֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ (e.g. IQS 5:7) describing admission to the community.

However, the parallel must not be emphasised too strongly. J. Maier in his study of the meaning and development of כּוּל in the Scrolls has come to the conclusion that its primary meaning is "ritual-cultic" developing from priestly exclusiveness and only secondarily has an eschatological theme of conversion and covenantal fellowship.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, in the Christian Church, the κοινωνία was essentially based on a common fellowship or partaking in Christ.<sup>23</sup> This is what Paul describes as being ἐν Χριστῷ as the Body of Christ, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.<sup>24</sup> In contrast, there is no evidence that the כּוּל derives in any sense from Qumran Messianism or from the person of the Teacher of Righteousness.<sup>25</sup>

Before entering the covenant, public confession is made accepting the corporate guilt of Israel "under the dominion of Belial" (1:21-6) and the candidate throws himself on the "grace" of God לְדַרְכֵי חַסְדֵי הַיְיָ (2:1). This repentance is crucial to the 30/...

new covenant, for it takes the place of circumcision as the spiritual mark of the covenant:<sup>17</sup> "No longer may they walk in stubbornness of heart" (5:5f בשרירות לבו) but they must "circumcise in the Community the foreskin of evil inclination and stiffness of neck" (5:6 לאמל ביהד עורלות יצר ועורף קשה). This means separation from evil-doers (5:1f להבדל מעצות אנטי העול) to be united into a community (קהל) of people who have freely pledged themselves to holiness (5:5f הטהרת לבים לקודש). This aspect of Qumran as a voluntary company of those who have repented (שוב) is point of contact with the Christian Church also, in contrast to official Judaism and a simple racial qualification.<sup>27</sup>

However, although the Qumran sect considered itself to be fulfilling Jeremiah's prophecy of a new covenant and indeed emphasised the need for an inward conversion so that laws were "written on the heart", the predominant idea is that of returning to an idealised picture of the past rather than something essentially new: The entrant into the new covenant in 5:7-10 takes a binding oath (שבועת אדר) to return שוב with all his heart and soul to every כול 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 God's will". The reference in the hymn which concludes the Manual to entering the covenant day and night is paralleled by reciting God's decrees morning and evening (10:10). Thus the "new covenant" of Qumran is in essence the same as the old covenant and this is clear especially in the Damascus Document in spite of the covenant being called קהש. God called the sect into being because he "remembered the covenant of the forefathers" (1:4 בזכרו ברית לאבותם). It is the old covenant referred to in 3:4, 8:18 (ברית אבות), 16:1 ("God made a covenant

with you and all Israel (כול ישראל), 12:11. (Where a manservant or maidservant of a member may not be sold because "they have been brought by him into the covenant of Abraham (ברית אברהם)") Cf 13:14, 14:2 (ברית א).)

It is clear that ritual lustration formed a highly important part of the life of the Qumran sect, both from the archaeological evidence <sup>28</sup>, from the external literary evidence <sup>29</sup> and the Scrolls themselves. In the latter the water of the community baths is seen as purificatory (הטוהר <sup>30</sup> e.g. IQS 3:9) but only when accompanied by sincere repentance (IQS 5:13-14) and instruction by the community which leads to a cleansing by the Spirit of Holiness (IQS 3:4-9)<sup>31</sup>. However, there is no evidence at all in the Scrolls that this water rite was what constituted admission to the New Covenant as in the Church of the New Testament. Indeed, the rite is essentially repeatable,<sup>32</sup> and it has no relation to any Messianic hopes. Indeed, there is nothing to suggest that the main function of the washing is not ritual purity as it is in the rest of the Judaic tradition.<sup>33</sup> Qumran also held a ritual meal <sup>34</sup> in line with the instruction in IQS 6:2-3. 'They shall eat together (אכלו) and they shall bless together.' This is further outlined in IQS 6:4-6, "And when the table has been prepared for eating, and the new wine for drinking, the Priest shall be the first to stretch out his hand to bless the first-fruits of the bread and new wine."<sup>35</sup> Whether or not this is actually a covenant meal is not clear, but it is highly likely in view of the normal Jewish practice on the Sabbath. Moreover, the Messianic Rule (IQSa 2:19-21) indicates that the sect practiced or anticipated a Messianic Banquet.

We shall consider the relation of this to the Christian Eucharist later.

Although the new covenant *καλη διαθηκη* is not referred to frequently, it is clearly a fundamental assumption on the part of the New Testament writers. In II Corinthians 3:6ff Paul makes a definitive statement of the early Church's attitude in the context of a discussion of his authority. The church members themselves are his "letters of recommendation" *βυβλατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν*, a "letter from Christ delivered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone but on the tablets of human hearts" verse 3. Thus Paul clearly sets the context for a discussion of the new covenant with a reference to Jeremiah 17:1, 31:33 and Ezekiel 11:19, 36:26. It is God who empowers (*ἐκνεύει*) Paul's ministry of the new covenant - since the covenant is from first to last the "disposition" of God. The contrast is made between the old covenant *παλαια διαθηκη* verse 14 which is a written code and kills *τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει* verse 6, and the new covenant *καλη διαθηκη* which is in the Spirit and gives life *τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ*. The Spirit is the Spirit of Christ in Paul, the gift of Christ to his Church and the giver of life: In Romans 8:9-11 Paul teaches that the life is given because the Christian is made one with Christ in his death and so also in his resurrection. The old covenant is characterised by Law which Paul repeatedly sees as leading to death (II Corinthians 3:6, 17; Romans 7:8ff) although it is good (Romans 7:16). Christians, however, have "died to the law through the body of Christ" (Romans 7:4) and so 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" (verse 6). It is not that Paul condemns the old covenant of Law: it is God's *διαθηκη* and has its own *δοξα* (II Corinthians 3:9f; Cf Romans 9:4) and is historically continuous with the new, but its glory is fading (*καταργουμένη* vv7,11) and has now no glory at all because it has been surpassed by the glory of the new covenant (*εἶνεκεν τῆς ὑπερβολώσεως*

δόξης verse 10). The same doctrine of the new covenant is evident in Galatians 4:24ff in the typological story of Sarah and Hagar. The Sinai covenant, represented by Hagar, sets its members in a state of bondage; the heavenly covenant, represented by Sarah sets its members in a state of freedom.<sup>36</sup>

Much the same teaching runs through the Epistle to the Hebrews.

In Chapter 8, comparing Moses's ministry with the "more excellent" heavenly priestly ministry of Jesus (that is, contrasted with the "shadow" ministry of priests on earth according to the law of Moses), the writer sees the old covenant superseded by the new and better covenant mediated by Christ (καὶ κρείττονός ἐστιν διαθήκης μετέτης verse 6). He directly cites Jeremiah 31:31-4 to show the old covenant to be obsolete (τὸ δὲ παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον ἔγγυς ἀφρανεμοῦ verse 13 cf 9:1,15,18). In 9:15-22 the sacrificial death of Christ as the mediator of the new covenant (διαθήκης καινῆς μετέτης verse 15) is compared with the sprinkling of the people and book of the Law with the blood of calves and goats. The writer explains the need for Christ's death in the legal terms (ὁ διαθεμενός, βεβαίως, ἰσχυρῶς, φερεσθαί) of a last will and testament where the death of the party is obviously necessary, and so Christ dies on behalf of God.<sup>37</sup> Here the blood of Christ is emphasised as the seal of the new covenant, in line with this epistle's doctrine of Christ as the heavenly high priest offering himself in atonement for men. Hebrews sees the new covenant in terms of the cult and ritual centred around the temple, but it has the same doctrine of the establishment of a new covenant through the death of Christ effecting atonement for those who enter it.

Baptism is the means of entry into the New Covenant, but this baptism is always into the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (e.g. Romans 6:1-4). Baptism is specifically related to the Covenant in Colossians 2:11f where it seems that it takes the place of circumcision.<sup>38</sup>

In him also you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of flesh in the circumcision of Christ; and you were buried with him in baptism, in which you were raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead.

The symbolic treatment of 'circumcision' is a remarkable parallel with IQS 5:5 which we have already considered,<sup>39</sup> but there is no suggestion there of any connection with a Messianic redeemer.

Further light on the early Church's understanding of the New Covenant is given by the Synoptic tradition in the accounts of the Lord's Supper (Mark 14:24, Matthew 26:28, Luke 22:20 Cf I Corinthians 11:25).

Although Luke uses *δραδυκη* sometimes in the conventional Jewish way (Luke 1:72; Acts 3:25; 7:8) he follows the other evangelists here.

According to Mark, the wine itself represents the blood of the new *δραδυκη*, but in Paul the cup is the new *δραδυκη* in virtue of his blood. It is likely that Paul's account is the earlier and more likely to be authentic:<sup>40</sup> I Corinthians 11:23-26 "For I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks he broke it, and said, "This is my body which is for you. Do this in remembrance of me".

In the same way also the cup, after supper, saying "This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance. For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he come.

1 Corinthians 11:23-26

In the worship of the early Church, the eucharistic meal thus instituted by Jesus himself takes on a unique significance as an  $\alpha\nu\alpha\nu\eta\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ , a 'bringing into the mind again' of the death of Christ which inaugurated the New Covenant. It thus replaces the annual Passover Meal and the weekly Shabbat ritual as the fellowship meal of the New Covenant. Moreover, the Eucharist in the early Church had eschatological dimensions, as the Pauline passage clearly shows : it is a proclamation of the Lord's death, of the coming of the Messiah in the person of Jesus Christ, and also an anticipation of his return, an anticipation of the future Messianic banquet. In other words, however striking the parallel between Qumran and the early Church in their concept of themselves as the new covenant community, their basis for this belief is quite different; in the first it is the old Law re-interpreted; in the second it is the death of Christ which has inaugurated the eschatological new age and sealed a new covenant with his blood.

We have already seen that the Gospel of St Matthew has close affinities with the thinking of Qumran at this point - possibly rooted in a similar polemical intention to preserve the fulness of the Law against attack. Matthew has long been noted as springing from a Jewish environment and as concerned especially to conserve the Jewish heritage of the Church, e.g. 5:18f and 23:2. The most comprehensive and convincing attempt to trace this motivation has been by M.D. Goulder in Midrash and Lektion in Matthew.<sup>42</sup> Although we could not hope to do his thesis justice here, it is that the Gospel was written by a Christian Jewish scribe in the traditional Jewish Midrashic method as an embroidery on Mark and was written to coincide with the Jewish Lektion in such a way as to show that Jesus Christ was the fulfilment of Judaism. An example is the Sermon on the Mount which is based on the Jewish Pentecost lection (i.e. anniversary of the covenant on

Sinai and the giving of the Law), that is Exodus 19-20:23. So Matthew has Jesus gather his first disciples - like Moses<sup>43</sup> - and take them up the mountain and deliver to them the new commandments. Matthew then expounds the ten new commandments starting in reverse order like Moses with the Second Table of commandments concerning man (chapter 5) and continuing with the three antitheses of 6:1-18 concerning God and concluding with the tenth new Christian commandment: the command to the rich young man to go and sell all he has and give to the poor. This giving of the new law is framed by the blessing of the macarisms and the peroration - like Moses - to his people to hear them and do them.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps, therefore, it is not entirely fanciful to see Matthew, as K. Stendahl does<sup>45</sup>, as the flowering of a  $\omega\tau\tau\delta\eta\ \sigma\tau\lambda$  of learned Jewish Christians who laboured like the Qumran scholars to give the Church a Manual of Discipline. Again, however, it is in the form and manner of the Christian document that parallels with the Scrolls can be found: the content of Matthew's new law is radically different, as we have already suggested. What Jesus commands is not a stricter and more rigid interpretation of the Law of Moses, but an absolute acceptance of the spirit which lay behind the commandments in such a way as to fulfill and surpass the old covenant. In this, Matthew is undoubtedly in line with the teaching of the early Church and indeed has dominical sanction: Mark 12:30f, Matthew 22:37-9, Luke 10:27 Cf John 13:34, Romans 13:9, Galatians 5:14, Jas. 2:8, Didache 1:2. Ultimately the new covenant is for Matthew, as for the other writers, Christocentric. It is highly significant that Matthew ends his Gospel with the eleven disciples again withdrawing to a mountain where they worship Jesus and receive his commission: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and lo I am with you always, to the close

of the age" (28:16-20). The commandments are now given an entirely different focus: All authority  $\tilde{\pi}\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\alpha}$   $\tilde{\xi}\tilde{\upsilon}\tilde{\upsilon}\tilde{\sigma}\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}$  has now been given to Jesus, and it is his presence like the  $\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\prime}\tilde{\omega}\tilde{\psi}$  of God which will be with the disciples now to enable them to keep these commandments in the last age.

3. The New Israel

The expression "New Israel" is found in neither the Scrolls nor the New Testament and so the first priority in our discussion must be to establish whether or not the concept is implied in the texts. Perhaps the most appropriate point at which to start is with the account of the founding of the community in CD 1:4-8:

"But remembering the Covenant of the forefathers, He left a remnant (רִשְׁמוֹת אֱלֹהֵינוּ) to Israel and did not deliver it up to be destroyed. And in the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the hand of king Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, He visited them, and He caused a plant root to spring from Israel and Aaron (רִשְׁמוֹת אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְרִשְׁמוֹת אֲהֲרֹן) to inherit His Land and to prosper on the good things of His earth. And they perceived their iniquity and recognised they were guilty men." <sup>1</sup>

The "plant root" seems to derive from the eschatological language of Isaiah 11:1f : "Then a shoot shall grow from the stock of Jesse (וְיִצְאֵן עֵצַק מִגִּזְעֵי יֵשׁוּעַ) and a branch shall spring from his roots (וְיִצְרֹחַ עֵצָה מִשְׁרֹטְתֵי הַיֵּשׁוּעַ). The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, a spirit of wisdom and understanding, a spirit of counsel and power, a spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord." This prophecy seems to be interpreted collectively and applied to the Qumran community. Although the "remnant" (רִשְׁמוֹת) of verse 4 seems to refer to the survivors of Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BC,<sup>2</sup> the context suggests that the "plant root" is also a description of the remnant now identified with the sect and, by implication, the sect represents the true Israel in the process of developing or else the nucleus around which the eschatological Israel will gather.<sup>3</sup> It is God who established the remnant and the plant root and not as J. Coppens suggests <sup>4</sup> the community in its own strength. The remnant is what is set apart from the destruction which overtook the disobedient

nation in 586 B.C. and which will survive the future eschatological destruction of the wicked. It will be heir to the holy land and its bounty in order that the "Covenant of the Forefathers" may not be invalidated and God's purpose in salvation history thwarted. Further, a consequence of this, or rather the mark of this for the elect, is that they repent and confess their sin. In other words, a conversion is required of them.<sup>5</sup>

The same doctrine seems to be evident in CD 2:11f though the root is not used, rather the cognate  $\text{לָּשׁוּב}$ : "And in all of them He raised for Himself men called by His name, that a remnant ( $\text{לְּיָדָיו}$ ) might be left to the Land, and that the face of the earth might be filled with their seed. And He made known His Holy Spirit to them by the hand of His anointed ones, and He proclaimed the truth (to them)".<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that here the remnant concept is accompanied by the gift of the eschatological spirit of prophecy. The "seed" seems also to derive from the  $\text{שְׂרָפָה}$  of Isaiah 6:13 which describes the purified remnant left after the destruction of the nation which represents its future hope.<sup>7</sup> Another example of this is in IQH 6:7-9:

Thou wilt raise up survivors among Thy people  
and a remnant ( $\text{לְּיָדָיו}$ ) within Thine inheritance.  
Thou wilt purify and cleanse them of their sin  
for all their deeds are in Thy truth.  
Thou wilt judge them in Thy great lovingkindness  
and in the multitude of Thy mercies  
and in the abundance of Thy pardon,  
teaching them according to Thy word;  
and Thou wilt establish them in Thy Council <sup>8</sup>  
according to the uprightness of Thy truth.

E.P. Sanders has argued that the sect did not call itself "remnant" during its historical existence and that it refers solely to the future eschatological destruction.<sup>9</sup> This certainly seems to be the case

in IQM 13:8, 14:8f where the context is the eschatological war.

However, in Jewish thinking, and this is true also of Qumran, future hope and present experience are not clearly distinguished - especially in Apocalyptic works. The same duality of reference seems even to be present in the Biblical use of  $\gamma\lambda\psi$ . W.W. Heaton has pointed out the danger of assuming that the concept always points to the future :

" $\gamma\lambda\psi$  primarily directs attention backwards to the whole of which it has been part and the devastation and loss by which it has been brought into being"<sup>10</sup>. Yet it does also contain a promise as well as a threat since it contains the hope of the nation's rebirth after disaster<sup>11</sup>. It is both the judgement of God on the wicked nation and also the mercy of God who spares a remnant after they have been purged by the calamity.<sup>12</sup>

What is new in the way Qumran seems to regard itself is its claim to be a separate and exclusive voluntary community, especially in the Manual of Discipline e.g. 5:1f, 10). The remnant is no longer within Israel and surviving it in the coming disaster, but it is separate and exclusive<sup>13</sup> and if this is so, it is a departure from the Old Testament usage. Entering the community is the sole means of entry into the Covenant of God (1:18- 2:4) in contrast to the traditional concept of Israel and the Covenant where membership is automatic for the nation, even if the blessings are conditional.<sup>14</sup> Repentance now becomes crucial in admittance to the community:

And after them, all those entering the Covenant shall confess and say:

"We have strayed! We have (disobeyed!) We and our fathers before us have sinned and done wickedly in walking (counter to the precepts) of truth and righteousness."<sup>15</sup>

The response of God pronounced by the priests is mercy:

"(And God has) judged us and our fathers also; but He has bestowed His bountiful mercy on us from everlasting to everlasting."<sup>16</sup>

God's judgment refines the remnant with the eschatological spirit of holiness (4:20f, 17) and his mercy is a gracious choice unrelated per se to any merit of its recipients:

As for me,  
 my justification (יְצִדְקֵנִי) is with God  
 In his hand are the perfection of my way  
 and the uprightness of my heart  
 He will wipe out my transgression  
 through his righteousness.<sup>18</sup> 11:2ff

At this point, the Qumran understanding of itself comes very close to the Christian understanding of itself.

G. Vermes has expressed this well, "For the sectary, election was not a matter of birth, an inherited privilege. Every individual, even those born into the Community, was required to take the oath of the Covenant of his own free will because he had been chosen by God from all eternity to become one of his servants."<sup>19</sup>

Three other titles used by the community of itself are relevant to this idea, although they cannot be examined in detail here:

"the Elect", the "Suffering Servant" and "the Saints". The Manual of Discipline and the Hymns call the sect "elect" (בְּרִיבְרִיב):

"elect of God's will (IQS 8:6); of man (11:6); of time (9:14); of righteousness (IQH 2:13). (Cf IQH 14:15, IQS 3:20, 22; 4 QpPs 37.2:24f, 2:5, 3:1, I QpHab 9:12, IQS 11:7). The sectarians seem to be called the Elect, like the members of the early Church, because they are the

ones chosen by God to be spared the coming eschatological destruction and to be formed into the new Israel which is already present in embryo in the purified remnant at Qumran. Related to this is the title "the Saints" (קדושים) which although sometimes used of the angels apparently, is also used to describe the community who will judge the nations - an obvious derivation from Daniel 7:22, where the Son of Man concept is interpreted collectively as the Saints of the Most High" who will judge the nations and then "receive the kingdom". (Cf I Corinthians 6:2). As in Daniel, the title again refers to the righteous remnant. The title "the Suffering Servant" is used in a collective way to refer to the role of the community as the remnant atoning for the land by its rigid and ascetic life in the wilderness and preparing for the coming eschaton. (IQS 8:13, 9:4, Cf 5:6, 8:6, 9:4, 4:20ff, Cf 4 Macc. 17:21). Little is said of the suffering of the Servant.<sup>21</sup>

From this it can be seen that many of the ideas of the title "new Israel" or of "Israel" are implied in the Scrolls. However, E.P. Sanders, in a fresh examination of the evidence, has come to the conclusion that Qumran did not simply appropriate the title but that members were conscious of their status as sectarians, chosen out of Israel and being a forerunner of the eschatological true Israel which God would establish to fight the decisive war.<sup>22</sup> He argues for this by pointing out the partitive sense of שְׁבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל (CD 4:2, 6:4f, 8:16) and אֲנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל (CD 4:3f Cf 4 Qflor 1:19, IQM 12:1) which implies that the sect were conscious of not being all of Israel but the group who repented and joined the covenant.<sup>23</sup> Further, the blessing of the priests on those who enter the covenant is not on "Israel" or the "true Israel", but on "all the men of the lot of God

who walk perfectly in all His ways" (IQS 2:1). Sanders challenges Brownlee's interpretation of the "majority/multitude of Israel" in IQS 5:22 as showing that "the true Israel is to be identified with the sectarian community"<sup>23</sup> by pointing out that it could refer to the majority of those Israelites who join the community as against those who don't<sup>25</sup>. One problem with Sander's argument is that the sect claimed to have inherited the exclusive covenant and it is scarcely conceivable that a Jew could be both an Israelite and outside the Covenant. Also, the terms "every Israelite" in IQS 2:22 and "the seed of Israel" in CD 12:21f seem fairly definitely to refer to the sect. Most probably the thinking of the Qumran group was not clearly formulated in this regard and was inconsistent.

Sanders makes a valid distinction between the War Scroll and the Messianic Rule on the one hand, and the Manual of Discipline and the Hymns on the other. In the latter, the enemies of the community are apostate Jews and the use of the title "Israel" is guarded. In the former, which refer to the eschatological war, the whole of Israel seems to be envisaged as being converted to the community and so it is then properly called the congregation of Israel (קהל ישראל) e.g. 1:19 etc).

This is the Rule for all the congregation of Israel in the last days, when they shall join (the Community to walk according to the law of the sons of Zadok the Priests and of the men of their Covenant who have turned aside (from the) way of the people, the men of His Council who keep His Covenant in the midst of iniquity, offering expiation (for the Land). (IQSa 1:1-6).<sup>26</sup>

In other words, the sect believed, like Paul, that their community would one day include the whole of the people who now refuse to join.

Nevertheless, in their division into priests and laity, with a 'holy of holies' and spiritual sacrifice, their representative council of twelve and three (IQS 8:1 representing the twelve tribes of Israel and the three priestly families) and their claim to a new covenant entered by spiritual circumcision, they do in fact claim to be the true representatives of the New Israel: "In short, the Essenes are a counter Israel organised by a counter priesthood, the 'true Israel' led by the 'legitimate' priesthood."<sup>27</sup>

The title "Israel of God" is specifically claimed for the Christian community by Paul in Galatians 6:13-16:

For even those who receive circumcision do not themselves keep the law, but they desire to have you circumcised that they may glory in your flesh. But far be it from me to glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world. For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but new creation (ΚΑΛΩΝΗ ΚΤΙΣΙΣ). Peace and mercy (ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΕΠ' ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΟΣ) be upon all who walk by this rule (ΚΑΙ ΟΒΟΙ ΤΩ ΚΑΝΟΝΙ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΕΤΟΥΧΗΘΕΝ), upon the Israel of God."

It is clear from this that circumcision - that is the outward and racial mark of a Jew - is no longer a guarantee of membership of God's people. All those who believe in Jesus Christ have now taken their place as the true people of God: "For we are the true circumcision" (Phil. 3:3). The decisive factor is now ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ which brings about a radically new situation, ΚΑΛΩΝΗ ΚΤΙΣΙΣ, which transcends the racial and religious barriers to create a new Israel, an Israel of God (Cf II Corinthians 5:17, Matthew 15:13). The Church thus inherits the promises made to the Old Israel, the ΠΙΣΤΗ and ΓΑΠ (ΕΙΡΗΝΗ and ΕΛΕΟΣ) of the people of God (Cf Psalm 125:5, 128:6). Already in this passage we see both the similarities and the differences between Qumran and the

New Testament use of this term. The two agree in seeing themselves as an eschatological special community which is not co-terminous with the empirical Israel and which excludes those who do not voluntarily join it. Both see this as demanding a new outlook and standard of conduct: indeed, Paul's expression τῷ κενόνε τουτῷ ἐπιχίρουσιν strikingly similar to the characteristic Qumran expressions 75 ן 77 and 77 or 77 ן 77. However, Paul envisages the new Israel as universal in scope, including believing Gentiles, and determined by belief in the crucified Christ. Nevertheless the Christian Church, like Qumran, uses this concept to transfer to itself the tradition, scripture and status of the old Israel and called itself ἐκκλησία just as Qumran had used a similar expression in Hebrew to describe its ultimate apocalyptic goal: 577.

Paul's major exposition of this doctrine is in Romans 9-11, where it is woven into the argument and related to the actual missionary situation of his day - Israel's rejection and the Gentiles' acceptance of the Gospel. Paul, as a good Jew, believed that the privileges and promises of God's Covenant people still must belong to Israel, for God's righteous purpose cannot fail (9:4-6). Paul explains how this can be reconciled with the rejection of the Gospel by most Jews by reference to the idea of the remnant, a distinction between the physical and the true Israel which had always existed, even since the time of the patriarchs (verses 9-18). Paul had already prepared for this by teaching the common guilt of all men before the righteousness of God: ὡ γάρ ἐστιν προσηκολημψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ (2:11). This means a radical re-appraisal of the meaning of the membership of Israel:

The true Jew is not he who is such in externals, neither is the true circumcision the external mark in the flesh. The true Jew is he who is such inwardly, and the true circumcision is of the heart, directed not by written precepts but by the Spirit; such a man receives his commendation not from men but from God. (2:28f Cf 9:7).

Yet God's election of a remnant is the sovereign work of his grace:

ἔρα ὧν οὐ τοῦ θέλουτος οὐδέ του τρέχοντος ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεῶντος / (verse 16),

and this is further illustrated by his choice of the new community consisting of both Jews and Gen tiles, symbols of the dual aspect of the remnant doctrine which we noted above: judgment/wrath and mercy.

Wrath for the unbelieving Jew and mercy for the believing Gentile. <sup>28</sup>

Paul supports this with three quotations from the prophetic tradition:

Hosea 1:10, Isaiah 10:22f and 1:9, all referring to the tradition of

the remnant. Yet in Paul, here as in Galatians 6:13-16, the measure

of the new Israel is Jesus Christ crucified: the Jews are left outside

it because: προέκομην τῷ θεῷ τοῦ προδοκίματος (9:22) - ful-

filling the prophecy in Isaiah 8:14. This standard is again expressed

in I Corinthians 1:23f:

Jews call for miracles, Greeks look for wisdom; but we proclaim Christ - yes, Christ nailed to the cross; and though this is a stumbling-block to Jews and folly to the Greeks, yet to those who have heard his call, Jews and Greeks alike, he is the power of God and the wisdom of God.

The old dispensation is not invalidated: rather Jesus Christ has

fulfilled the Law and in doing so has ended its power and brought

righteousness to those who believe in him: τέλος γὰρ νόμου χριστός εἰς

δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι (10:4). τέλος has here both the

sense of 'fulfilment' and of 'end'. Christ has shown the real

meaning of the Law, which can now only be understood by the means of

Christ. Consequently instead of the written Law being the standard of

life and confession, Christ now is - pointedly expressed by reapplying the references to the Law in Deuteronomy 9:4 and 30:12-14 to Christ.

Confession the "Jesus is Lord" is the only road to salvation now: *ὅτι ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματί σου κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ πιστεύσῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, σωθήσῃ* (10:9). This is the crucial point of departure from the parallel Qumran doctrine.

Yet Paul cannot, any more than the Qumran sect, simply appropriate the title "Israel" to the extent that the historical Israel is forgotten or written. Just as Qumran seemed to believe that God would reconcile all Israel to itself at the end of the age, so Paul refused to believe that God had rejected his people: *λέγω οὖν μὴ ἀπώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ; μὴ γένοιτο* (11:1). God has chosen a remnant by his sovereign grace (*λεῖμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος* verse 7) which includes the Gentiles precisely because Israel has been disobedient: hence through their transgression salvation has come to the Gentiles (*ἀλλὰ τῷ παραπτώματι ἡ σωτηρία τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* verse 11) as part of God's fathomless and wonderful purpose (verses 33-36). The conversion of the Gentiles Paul envisages as stirring racial Jews (*παραζηλώσω μου τὴν ἑρκα*) to emulation so that they too will be saved. (verse 14). For the disobedience of Israel is a deliberate act of God, so that the elect have attained the *λεῖμμα* but the other have been blinded and hardened to the Gospel (*ἡ δὲ ἐκλογὴ ἐπέτυχεν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπαρώσθησαν* 11:7). For this Paul finds scriptural warrant in Deuteronomy 32:21, Isaiah 29:10, Psalm 69:22-23, 35:8. But the hardening is only partial and temporary until the purpose of God is achieved and the full number (*πλήρωμα*) of the Gentiles have entered the eschatological Israel and then the whole of the natural Israel will also be saved: *ὅτι πύρωσις ἀπο μέρους τῷ Ἰσραὴλ γέγονεν ἄχρις οὗ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ, καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται*.

"It is here plain that the remnant concept is provisional for Paul. The remnant will become the totality. It is thus a productive number, not an unchangeable minority."<sup>29</sup> Paul's image of the cultivated olive tree into which the Gentiles as "wild olive branches" have been grafted while the disobedient natural branches have been broken off (verses 16-24) points in the same direction. It emphasises the continuity of the natural Israel and the miracle of the inclusion of the Gentiles by God's grace.

Hence the distance between Paul and Qumran in their attitude to the traditional and racial Jew is not as great as has sometimes been claimed. The great difference between them is the universalism of the Christian Gospel - though there may have been some struggle to establish it -<sup>30</sup> and the cross of Christ as the standard of belief and condition of entry of the eschatological new Israel, rather than the Torah.

CHAPTER THREEESCHATOLOGY

Related to the way a community sees itself is the goal it envisages for itself and its environment. More especially for Jews in the "Intertestamental" period, with their intense longing for religious and national restoration, was this true. We have already seen that the major self-concepts of the Qumran sect all had an eschatological reference: the New Temple as the wonderful, final creation, by God himself, of a fit dwelling place in the midst of his people - none other than the community itself; the New Covenant referring to the new, reconciled relationship with newly interpreted Laws, which God was establishing with his people in the last days, and the New Israel, seminally present in the eschatological remnant which God had spared from his disobedient people, which would be victorious over its enemies. It remains to examine the content of the sect's future hope and their role in it in more detail. One of the problems with this is that, although the Scrolls claimed special new insight into the mysteries וְיָרָא of the future, based on the revelations granted to the Teacher of Righteousness, they reveal considerable diversity on more precise details of that revelation - reflecting in fact something of the multifariousness of their Jewish eschatological heritage: "As in Judaism at large, there were no doubt many different ideas in circulation with no effort to reduce them to a system. It cannot be assumed that ideas found in one book were shared by writers of all the other books."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, there is a characteristic general emphasis of Qumran eschatology, which we shall endeavour to trace and compare with the early Christian community's view of its goal and purpose.

We shall examine firstly the dualism of the sect and its relation to the concept of spirit, secondly the messianic expectation and lastly the Last Things according to the Apocalyptic of Qumran. It should be noted here that our main purpose in this section is not a study of the eschatology in itself, but purely for the light it throws on the nature of the extraordinary community which settled on the shores of the Dead Sea, and on the nature of the early Christian Church.

### 1. Dualism and the Holy Spirit

The general view of the Spirit of God in the Old Testament may be briefly summarised as the power of God which had a moral emphasis and impinged on Israel as the power of God in history to transform the nation. Further, it was seen as a dynamic and creative principle and, lastly, as the means of specific empowering of individual leaders and prophets. It was the "purposeful and deliberate operation of God's personal power."<sup>2</sup> The belief gradually evolved of a future outpouring of this Spirit in the Last Times.<sup>3</sup> The Rabbinic tradition testifies to the belief that after the last prophets - Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi - the Holy Spirit left Israel and is no more available.<sup>4</sup> It will only return in the Last Days to rest upon the Messiah and to be given to the ransomed righteous who will be morally purified by it.<sup>5</sup> Similar beliefs are attested by the words of John the Baptist.<sup>6</sup>

The Christian Church, as we shall see, believed itself to have inherited the promise of the Spirit of God in the Last Days, and this belief had been thought to be unparalleled. The discovery that the Qumran sect also frequently describes the "spirit of Truth" or equivalent expression as at work in the community

naturally caused great excitement. Many scholars have assumed that  $\text{פְּרוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ}$  is the eschatological Spirit of God rather uncritically, but it must seriously be questioned whether such a simple identification is possible.<sup>7</sup>

The most significant passage in this respect is IQS 3:13 - 4:26, (Cf the Untitled 4Q181 Vermes p 251) which contains the definitive exposition of the sect's doctrine of the two spirits which motivate mankind. (4Q280-2 4Q286-7 Blessings and Curses p 253f). It contains a thorough-going Iranian dualism<sup>8</sup> which is wedded to Old Testament monotheism so that, "Not man through his original choice, but God has decided the allegiance of each man to one or the other side before his existence, and, as a result of this, has established his deeds and his end irrevocably".<sup>9</sup> The exposition follows a logical pattern of catechetical instruction ( $\text{לְשֵׁנֵי הַבְּרִיָּה}$ )<sup>10</sup>:

First, God created all things and planned their course:

From the God of Knowledge comes all that is and shall be. Before ever they existed He established their design, and when, as ordained for them, they come into being, it is in accord with His glorious design that they accomplish their task without change. The laws of all things are in His hand and He provided them with all their needs. (3:15-18).<sup>11</sup>

Thus the dualism has been assimilated into Hebraic monotheism: God created both the Spirit of Truth ( $\text{רוּחַ הַאֱמֶת}$ ) or holiness ( $\text{רוּחַ גְּדוּלָה}$ )<sup>12</sup> (Cf Wisdom in 4Q185, Vermes, *op cit*, p 257ff) or Prince of Lights ( $\text{אֱלֹהֵי הַיְּמִינִים}$ <sup>13</sup>) or Angel of His Truth ( $\text{מַלְאָכְךָ אֱמֶת}$ )<sup>14</sup>, and also the Spirit of Error ( $\text{רוּחַ עוֹשֵׂה הַחַטָּא}$ )<sup>15</sup> or Belial ( $\text{בְּלִיַּעַל}$ )<sup>16</sup> or Angel of Darkness ( $\text{מַלְאָכְךָ חֹשֶׁךְ}$ )<sup>17</sup> Cf the Seductress in 4Q184, Vermes, *op cit*, p 255ff. (Cf Isaiah 45:7). It would seem that there is no distinction



between the terms ('Spirit', 'Prince' and 'Angel' as titles for the two opposing forces: 'Spirit of Truth = 'Angel of Truth'; 'Prince of Light(s)' = 'Spirit of Light' (IQS 3:25). Second, in creating man, he imbued him with varying proportions of the two Spirits:

He has created man to govern the world, and has appointed for him two spirits in which to walk until the time of his visitation: the spirits of truth and falsehood  $\text{הַנְּסִיחַת הַיְּמִינִי וְהַיְּמִינִי}$  . (3:18 - 4:1).<sup>18</sup>

Third, there follows a list of the counsels or "ways" of the two spirits (4:2-11 Cf Galatians 5:16-24)<sup>19</sup> . Fourth, there is a description of the blessed reward of those who walk in the spirit of light, and the terrifying punishment of those who walk in the spirit of darkness. (4:6-14). Fifth, all men have a varying portion of these spirits (verse 15) and the balance determines their nature. Recently discovered horoscopes describe the proportion of evil to good and relate them to physical characteristics (4Q 86(1),(2), 4Q (Aram) Mess. Horos. See Vermes, *op cit.*, p 268 ff). Between these spirits is everlasting hatred and warfare in which man is caught up (verses 16-18). Sixth, God has ordained an end to falsehood and judgement of those who follow it, "in the mysteries of His understanding and in His glorious wisdom". (verses 18-20). Likewise he has ordained that the righteous will be purged by the spirit of holiness at the end time:

God will then purify  $\text{כָּל}$  every deed of Man  $\text{כָּל}$  with His truth; He will refine  $\text{כָּל}$  for Himself the human frame by rooting out all spirit of falsehood from the bounds of his flesh. He will cleanse  $\text{כָּל}$  him of all

wicked deeds with the spirit of holiness  $\psi$ רוח קודש; like purifying waters He will shed upon him the spirit of truth  $\gamma$ רוח אמת (to cleanse him) of all abomination and falsehood. And he shall be plunged into the spirit of purification that he may instruct the upright in the knowledge of the Most High and teach the wisdom of the sons of heaven to the perfect of way. For God has chosen them for an everlasting Covenant and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs. There shall be no more lies and all the works of falsehood shall be put to shame. (4:20-23).<sup>20</sup>

Brownlee suggests that the "Man" ( $\gamma$ אדם) may refer to the prophet-Messiah upon whom God will shed his Holy Spirit, and cites

CD 2:12f to support this:  $\square$ קודש  $\psi$ רוח קודש וחויה אמת.

However this latter expression  $\psi$ רוח comes in the context of God raising up prophets in the past to preserve for himself a remnant from his disobedient people and most commentators emend it to  $\psi$ רוח referring to the prophets of old as a scribal error.<sup>21</sup>

The  $\gamma$ אדם in our passage seems to mean no more than that each one of the community will receive the purifying Spirit in the last time. The whole section ends with a reaffirmation of God's role in setting the spirits in "equal measure" ( $\gamma$ אדם  $\gamma$ אדם) until the end and apportioning them to each man (23-26).

Thus the two spirits are seen as indwelling each man in a immanent rather than an invasive or transcendent way as two "constant currents" in conflict<sup>22</sup> until the spirit of truth finally triumphs and purifies the elect. Is not this the eschatological Holy Spirit promised by Joel and present now in the Qumran community, just as the early Church also claimed about itself? Several difficulties, however, occur with this theory. The emphasis is on a continuous presence of both spirits since creation rather than on a final outpouring of power on the eschatological community.<sup>23</sup> The one clear reference to the purifying eschatological spirit seems to point forward to the End which is not yet.<sup>24</sup>

Yet several texts in the Manual of Discipline seem to indicate a different understanding. Firstly 3:7-12, in the context of the admission of new members to the community, seems to teach that the member will be cleansed now "by the spirit of uprightness and humility" ( ברוח יושר וטובה ), which expiates ( תכופר ) his iniquity. This seems to be in conjunction with the lustrational practices of the sect which may bear some resemblance to Christian baptism.<sup>25</sup> In other words, the eschatological spirit of 4:20f seems to be envisaged as already operative in the community. Further, in IQS 9:3ff : בהיות אלה בישראל ככול (the sect is seen as a "foundation" or "institution" of Holy Spirit - though the meaning of the passage is disputed. The expression ברוח אלה בישראל seems to mean, "When these things come to pass"<sup>26</sup> and to refer to what is already happening in the community, since the context of the expression in 8:4 refers it to the inner council of twelve plus three priests (Cf fragments of 'A Commentary on Biblical Laws, Vermes, op cit, p 252. This throws interesting light on Acts 1:15-26), which presumably is already operative in the community, and 8:12 refers it to the withdrawal of the community to the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord, which has definitely taken place already. The expression גיבס may be translated either "institution"<sup>27</sup> or "foundation"<sup>28</sup>. In the first case the sect claims the Holy Spirit on the grounds of its fulfilment of the Law in the right way as Rabbinic tradition taught (although they believed that such inspiration was past now until the Messiah should come); "Whoever submits to a command in faith is worthy that the Holy Spirit should rest upon him" (R. Nehemiah); "Whoever studies (the Torah) with intent to perform it earns the gift of the Holy Spirit".<sup>29</sup> In the second, the upright life of

the community constitutes the basis on which the Spirit will be given when the Messianic age has come.<sup>30</sup> This second option seems to be a distortion of the natural sense of the passage. Wernberg-Moller emends  $\gamma\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}$  to  $\gamma\tau\tau\acute{\iota}$  on the model of 8:12 and 3:7, but this seems unwarranted.<sup>31</sup> Finally, the expression may refer either to the human spirit or the disposition of a person as "spiritual holiness" (Cf CD 5:11, 7:4) or else to the Holy Spirit of God (Cf 4:21, 8:16, CD 2:12)<sup>32</sup>. However, in view of the Qumran doctrine of the immanence of the two spirits as the motivating forces of human conduct and existence, this distinction does not seem to detract from the idea of the presence of the Holy Spirit now. Since contemporary Judaism believed that the presence of the Holy Spirit had been withdrawn until the End, it seems that however this passage is read, the sect were making claims that the community was already living in the last times. Perhaps there is some parallel here with Paul's concept of the Spirit as the earnest or  $\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\nu$  of things to come.<sup>33</sup> The sect received the active and purifying Spirit of God now on the grounds of their "perfection of way" as a foretaste of what was to come when the evil spirit and his followers were vanquished.

Thus the Qumran sect saw the world as a battleground between the opposing forces of Light and Darkness: a war which was to be finally settled in an eschatological battle lasting forty years,<sup>34</sup> but which was already being waged in the lives of men now.

Although there is a real understanding, as we have seen, that this was all pre-determined even from birth, in fact the sect expected and admitted converts and believed in the necessity of good works

aided by God's Angel of Truth or Spirit of Truth: "But the God of Israel and His Angel of Truth will succour all the sons of Light" <sup>35</sup> (IQS 4:25 Cf IQM 1:5). So the delineated: "Thus the Now and the Then, the life of the pious here in this world and the apocalyptic end, are not all separated from each other, in terms of the weight of divine interference. The Now develops into the Then continuously. In this sense the sect knows itself to be an eschatological company of warriors, the People of God of the last days." <sup>36</sup> Hence all men are divided into two opposing armies: the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness each distinguished by their works. Thus the Qumran dualism is both ethical - as we have seen in the lists of the counsels of the Two Ways - and eschatologically motivated. The content of  $\text{ךרדאס}$  is rigid observance of the Law as interpreted by the community, and its dynamic is the eschatological Holy Spirit. The moral behaviour of the members is set in the context of the eschatological final battle between God's Holy Spirit and Belial. There is also something of the nature of an interim ethic about this austerity, since it is seen as operating only 'until the coming of the prophet and the Messiah' (IQS 9:11).

It remains only to point out that, while the ethical dualism of Qumran is expressed primarily in terms of the two spirits, it does also find expression in terms of "flesh" ( $\text{רש}$ ) and "spirit" ( $\text{רוח}$ ). <sup>37</sup> The Rabbis always described man as "flesh and blood", but Qumran use simply "flesh". This may describe simply man as a physical entity, <sup>38</sup> or his frailty and mortality <sup>39</sup> or the morally lower nature of man which needs to be purged or

destroyed by God's truth.<sup>40</sup> Flesh is not evil in the Greek sense where the need is to escape from it, but rather the sphere where evil takes root - the poet in IQS 11, as Davies points out, can while in the flesh still belong to the chosen of God, "sons of heaven", "lot of the holy ones" and worship with the angels.<sup>41</sup> Flesh is the sphere of the "I" of the hymns which is not meant individually, but is "gnomic, descriptive of human existence"<sup>42</sup> as in the Psalmist. In other words Qumran uses the "flesh" - "spirit" language when talking of the experiential side of evil.<sup>43</sup>

It is not easy to work out a comparison between this eschatological self-awareness of dualism and the Spirit in the Qumran texts with the New Testament. The spectrum of the latter is too broad to speak in generalities. Perhaps the best starting point is that of K.G. Kuhn, the cryptic saying of our Lord to the disciples in Gethsemane,<sup>44</sup> Mark 14:38:

ἰρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε ἵνα μὴ ἔλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν  
τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον ἢ δὲ σαρκὶς ἀδυναμίας

Kuhn observes that the πειρασμός does not originate from God, but from Satan.<sup>45</sup> Further, it must be understood in the context of apocalyptic thought concerning the great decisive struggle of Satan against God in which the whole world is embroiled and which ends with the victory of God and the destruction of Satan as in Revelation 3:10.

This also reflected in the struggle within every believer now, as Satan attempts to lead him to apostasy and sin - a theme found throughout the New Testament traditions.<sup>46</sup> Hence there is a need to watch

(ἰρηγορεῖν) and pray (προσεύχεσθαι) constantly like a soldier at his post, armed with faith, love and hope in readiness for Satan's

attack: νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε. ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τινα καταπιεῖν ᾧ ἀντίσῆτε στερεοὶ τῆ πίστει  
(I Peter 5:8).<sup>47</sup>

In other words, there is discernable throughout the writings of the early Church a doctrine of eschatological conflict between God and Satan in which the believer is caught up, which is similar in many respects to the dualism of Qumran. The Christian community is also described as the Way in many instances, and this must now be seen to have an ethical and eschatological reference.<sup>48</sup> However, where Qumran sees the struggle as in "equal measure" and the victory of Light over Darkness as wholly future, the early Church saw the struggle as already decisively determined by the act of God in Christ Jesus. Thus Mark's Gospel portrays Jesus as beginning his mission by casting out demons (1:23-7, 34, 39; 3:11f), and when his power over the demons is called demonic power Jesus describes this as blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, an unforgiveable sin (3:21-30). In the light of Qumran theology, this would seem to imply that in Jesus the Holy Spirit is definitively present in its final conflict against Beelzebul or Satan, the spirit of darkness - as indeed the Spirit descended upon Jesus as the Christ at his Baptism. The Cross represents the crux of this conflict (When Peter dissuades Jesus from the Cross, he does the work of Satan, 8:38) and the Resurrection is the validation by God of its victory.<sup>49</sup> In other words, the early Christian community was conscious that they were living after the decisive intervention of God in Christ Jesus in which Satan has been decisively defeated already. Hence the note of joy and triumph throughout the New Testament; it is the "good news" of Jesus Christ crucified and risen. This leads to the confidence of believers in walking on the Way (only one Way is emphasised in the New Testament), for they are

"following Jesus on the Way" (Mark 10:52). Furthermore, they are empowered by the Holy Spirit which Jesus has poured out on the Church. (Acts 2:1-4, John 20:22). This use of the 'Two Way' terminology to describe the Christian life is still determinative in the thinking of Hermas (cl10-40).<sup>50</sup>

Paul reflects this "Two Way" thinking in similar "flesh" - "spirit" terminology to the Qumran usage we have already noted. Flesh in Paul  $\epsilon\alpha\rho\varsigma$  may have a simple physical connotation<sup>51</sup> or a moral connotation of man in his rebellion against God living solely in the "sphere" of the flesh, - for the world only - as opposed to the "sphere" of the spirit of man reconciled to God.<sup>52</sup> Like the sectarians, Paul tends to use this terminology particularly for his personal experience of the power of sin - where his use of "I" to describe his struggle against his lower nature have a similar representative function we have already seen in the Qumran hymns.<sup>53</sup> It is interesting to note that Paul seems to use this terminology also against an Essene-type heresy in Colossians 2:11-23.<sup>54</sup> More usually Paul contrasts the power of God in Christ Jesus with the power of Sin as the evil power controlling the present aeon and mankind. Sin is a power which reigns in man's body, enslaving him and bringing death as its wages (Romans 5:12-14, 6:12-23). Against this is the free gift of God ( $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ ). Reception of this is determined by the grace of God ( $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ ) and by faith on the part of the believer not by works. According to the will of God, men are under either one power or the other, and there is spiritual combat between the two powers until the appointed end and the return of Christ in judgment. Yet this dualism in Paul is radically different from

that at Qumran, precisely because of the decisive act of God in the crucified and risen Jesus Christ. By baptism (6:1-11) Cf Colossians 2:12 men partake in that death and resurrection and become new men who have passed out of the old aeon and the power of Sin into the new aeon, "So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus" verse 11. The Spirit is not something which believers possess according to a pre-ordained order, but is the free gift of God received in baptism when the believer accepts the good news of Jesus Christ by faith. As Kuhn has said, "this predestination is broken through" <sup>55</sup> by the act of God in Christ Jesus "reconciling the world to himself" (II Corinthians 5:19). The Spirit in Paul is emphatically connected with Christ:

For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free from the law of sin and death ..... But you are in the Spirit, if in fact the Spirit of God dwells in you. Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him. But if Christ is in you, although your bodies are dead because of sin, your spirits are alive because of righteousness. 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 this Spirit which dwells in you. (Romans 8:2, 9-11).

Leaving aside the acute exegetical problems raised by this passage which uses - it seems - "Spirit of God", "Spirit of Christ", "Christ", "Spirit" and "the Spirit of Him who raised Christ Jesus", it can be seen that Paul firmly links the Spirit of God which is the power of God with the decisive intervention of God in Christ and sees it as present in the Christian community as the presence of the risen Christ, The Messiah has already come and inaugurated the Messianic age and poured out his Holy Spirit upon the elect.

The Spirit remains with the community to help it and intercede for it to God (Romans 8:26f), making those who are led by it to become sons of God (8:14f, 19, 21) and making them Christ-like (Ephesians 4:13): "With Paul, the "Spirit" has a Christological motivation; its manifestations as well as its effect is rooted in the historical act of salvation of Jesus Christ, the eschatological Saviour. <sup>56</sup>

It is not possible here to examine fully the parallels between John's Gospel and the Scrolls, but it has been noted by many scholars that there is a close relationship between them. <sup>57</sup>

This is particularly evident in the Prologue to the Gospel, which reveals a striking dualism between light and darkness: *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. ὁ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν* (1:3ff). This passage is particularly reminiscent of IQS 3:15ff

which we have already examined, where the Qumran dualism is also expressed in terms of *גיא* and *גון* the Hebrew equivalents of *φῶς* and *σκοτία*. *φαίνει* in the present tense suggests the eternal nature of presence of the Light - which indeed is implied by the context of the eternal presence of the *Λογος* with the Father, and its role in creation. *κατέλαβεν* presents the concept of a struggle between the Light and darkness in which the Light is victorious - the word has a double reference as in the English word "comprehend", which is probably deliberate; the darkness is able neither to understand the light (Note the emphasis on knowledge in John e.g. 1:10 which is close to the

Qumran emphasis) nor to overcome it (in the eschatological battle). Thus there is a measure of dualism in John which we now know to originate not from Gnosticism or Hellenism as used to be thought, but from the background of Jewish sectarian thinking which we find reflected in the Scrolls. Nevertheless, it is crucial to remember that the climax of the Prologue is verse 14: *καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῶν*. It is the Incarnation which provides the power for men to become "sons of God" (*τέκνα θεῶν* = sons of Light?) and their acceptance of the Light when it comes into the world (*ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον* verse 9). Further, in 3:18-21, John seems to see men reacting to Jesus as the Light according to their natures - perhaps reflecting the Qumran doctrine of the division of men into sons of Light and sons of Darkness according to the proportion of the two spirits in them:

He who believes in him is not condemned; he who does not believe is condemned already, because he has not believed in the name of the only Son of God. And this is the judgment, that the light has come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one who does evil hates the light, and does not come to the light, lest his deeds should be exposed. But he who does what is true comes to the light, that it may be clearly seen that his deeds have been wrought in God.

Yet even this must be set in the context of John's statement that God's purpose was to save the world because he loved it, and not to condemn it 3:16f, which alters the emphasis completely and leaves the hope for conversion open.

The Spirit is clearly understood in John as the eschatological Spirit of God which descends (*καταβαλεῖν*) upon Jesus as the Messiah and which remains on him (*ἔμελεν ἐπ' αὐτόν*) at his Baptism (1:33-4). The aorist tense of *ἔμελεν* emphasises

that the Spirit remains permanently with Jesus and that this is no pneumatic or charismatic empowering in the traditional Old Testament sense, but a continuing relationship. The descent of the Spirit is not an adoption or cause, of Jesus's sonship but simply a proof of it.<sup>58</sup> The Spirit is the gift of God to his people through his Son also, but this cannot be given before the Son is glorified - which in John is a synonym for the Crucifixion (7:39). By this supreme act of obedience to the Father and the Father's reciprocal acknowledgment of him in the Resurrection, Jesus is enthroned in glory. So in his resurrection appearance to his disciples, which may be intended as an "Ascension" appearance, Jesus breathes the Spirit onto his disciples (20:22). The close relation of the Father and the Son in the Spirit is now established between Jesus and his disciples in the Spirit: reconciliation is made effective. (17:1-25). The Father gives those who love Jesus "another comforter" ( ἄλλον Παράκλητον 14:15f) who is the Spirit of Truth ( πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας note the resemblance with the favourite Qumran expression 3D27 Π17 ). It is this Spirit which gives knowledge to believers (verse 17, 25) and "convicts the world concerning sin and righteousness and judgment" (16:7-11).<sup>59</sup> The use of the term παράκλητος to describe the Spirit may be compared with the Qumran belief that the Angel or Spirit of Light was constantly assisting the sectarians in their battle with Belial. John's Gospel also sets the role of the Spirit in the context of the worship of the Church initiated by Jesus, which will be in "spirit and in truth" ( ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθεία ) 4:21-6 as opposed to the worship at Gerizim and Zion.<sup>60</sup> It is connected by John with baptism (3:25-36) and the



Moses to his children. <sup>66</sup> Two "Watchers" are described, each having three names: Only the name  $\text{לשך אלהים}$  of the "Lord of Darkness" remains legible, but it is a reasonable assumption that one of the names of the "Lord of Light" would have been  $\text{אשר אלהים}$  its opposite. The titles would thus take their place in the dualistic theology of the sect which we have already described. The title  $\text{אשר אלהים}$  can thus not be taken as a Messianic title in the usual sense, though it bears some relation to the Son of Man figure of the New Testament, the descending heavenly judge of the End, especially if one sees  $\text{אשר אלהים}$  as having an earthly reign as well as a heavenly one.

M. de Jonge and A.S. van der Woude take Melchizedek in Hebrews as an analogous figure: an angelic figure slightly lower than Christ:

Without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning nor end of life, and being made like unto the Son of God, he remains a priest unto perpetuity. (7:3).

However Horton has argued convincingly that the author does not see Melchizedek as an angel at all, since he sees no need at all to subordinate him to Christ - as he does the angels in Chapter 1-2 and Moses in 3:1-5. <sup>67</sup> Rather the author is simply selecting Melchizedek as the earthly antitype of which Christ is the heavenly type: he has no antecedents, is not of the priestly clan and yet is the recipient of the homage of the Levitical priesthood in the loins of Abraham, and he has no successors - unlike the Rabbinic exegesis which derives the Levitical priesthood from him. <sup>68</sup> The importance of Melchizedek, according to Horton, is that he is the first priest mentioned in the Torah and this is

the origin of speculation about him, not his obscurity.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, it seems unlikely that the author of Hebrews was aware of the Qumran Melchizedek tradition, since if he had been, it would have been difficult for him to avoid the subordination of Christ to Melchizedek, at least without explanation. In any case, the paucity of reference to the Melchizedek figure in the Scrolls, where it seems confined to late documents, gives some justification for considering it part of late "fringe" speculation in the sect.

## 2. Messianic Expectation

In contrast to the pervasive influence in the Scrolls of the idea of the dualism between Light and Darkness, reference to messianic hope in the Scrolls is rather limited. K.G. Kuhn lists only 14 occurrences<sup>of משיח</sup> not all of which refer to or else not unambiguously to an eschatological figure.<sup>1</sup> In a corpus of literature this size, this is indeed a remarkable feature. It would seem to indicate, from the start, that the doctrine is not central to the Qumran community's identity and goal. It would be well to beware of reading back into our texts later Christian thinking on the Messiah, heeding the objections of certain Jewish scholars.<sup>2</sup> The content of the term, Messiah, still has primary reference to the concept of anointing  $\text{מָשַׁח}$  in the Scrolls, and only secondarily to the eschatological figure(s) who is anointed.<sup>3</sup> Thus the heavenly figure of the Angel or Spirit of Truth or Melchizedek is not truly a Messianic figure, though it does undoubtedly have an important role to play in the eschatological drama. Furthermore, within this small number of references there is, as we shall see, a remarkable diversity of conflicting evidence, which again suggests that the whole subject was a matter for speculation and debate within the community rather than a matter of fixed dogma like the Two Ways theology. We shall avoid a highly detailed investigation of the problem on which so much has been written, concentrating on the relation of the theory to the community's self-awareness.

In the first place, attempts have been made by some scholars to interpret the Teacher of Righteousness as an eschatological Messiah. Thus in his pioneer work, The Dead Sea Scrolls, A. Dupont-Somer interpreted an obscure and mutilated passage,

1QpHab 9:2: "From all the evidence this passage alludes to the Passion of the Master of Justice; he was judged, condemned, tortured. He suffered in "his body of Flesh": without doubt he was a divine being who "became flesh" to live and die as a man."<sup>4</sup> He concludes that Jesus was "in many respects ... ..an astonishing re-incarnation of the Master of Justice."<sup>5</sup> However, this kind of thinking cannot stand up to investigation. For the passage cited in fact has reference, not to the Teacher at all as the sufferer, but to the Wicked Priest's punishment.<sup>6</sup> Similar misunderstanding and distortion surrounds IQpPs 37:4<sup>8f</sup> which simply states that the wicked Priest tried to kill the Teacher but that God "will not abandon him". Nor is  $\text{YQIN}$  in 1QpHab 11:7 a description of a Resurrection appearance of the Teacher, but a simple reference to the Wicked Priest appearing in a natural way at Qumran. Further, the reference in 8:2f to deliverance "through faith in the Teacher of Righteousness" does not refer to faith in his "person and works" in a Christological sense: we have already seen that it refers to obedience to his esoteric interpretation of the Law.<sup>7</sup> Nor is there any unambiguous evidence for believing him to have been martyred, especially since there is a reference to him being "gathered up"  $\text{QD}$  (CD 19:35), which usually describes a peaceful death.<sup>8</sup> The historic Teacher of Righteousness can scarcely be seen as a Messiah figure in the technical sense.

Yet, when all this has been said, it must be observed that the sect regarded his revelation of secret knowledge - a new way of

interpreting the Scriptures and the Law - as having inaugurated a new and seemingly final phase in the struggle of Light against Darkness. The Teacher may have become the focus of a Jewish martyr cult if he was indeed martyred or persecuted: there is evidence of some such concept of the atoning value of the death of heroes and saints in IV Maccabees 17:22. His personality and spiritual stature must have been considerable, since it has stamped itself indelibly on the community,<sup>10</sup> and thus the hopes of the community may have envisaged that in the Last Days the Lord would raise up someone similar to explain all things to them: "the arising of him who will teach righteousness in the end of days" who will stand beside the "Messiah of Israel" (CD 6:12f Cf 4QFlor 1:11). Since he was most probably a pretender to the High Priestly office, he may likewise have added emphasis to the expectation of a future priestly "Messiah of Aaron". It may well be that the title Teacher of Righteousness describes an office, as we have seen, in which case, it would have been hoped that the last occupant of the office would repeat the qualities of the founder of the community. Yet there is surely a vast difference between this kind of influence of a great teacher and leader and that of the role of Jesus Christ in the Church.

The messianic doctrine of Qumran is, as we have said, confused and confusing. 4QP Bless speaks of the "Branch of David" as the "Messiah of Righteousness" (משׁיח הצדק צמח דוד), as does 4QFlor 1:11 which adds the figure of the "Interpreter of the Law" who will arise with him: הוֹאֵה צִמַח דָּוִד הַפּוֹמֵד עִם דָּוִד הַתּוֹרָה [בְּצִיּוֹן בְּיָמֵינוּ]. Here the traditional Jewish concept of a

kingly Davidic Messiah seems to be uppermost. Yet the "Interpreter of the Law" is a figure further attested by Cd 6:7, where he is distinguished again from the historic "Staff", the Teacher of Righteousness who founded the community. CD 7:18ff seems to envisage two figures: the "Star" who is an interpreter of the Law and the "Sceptre" who is Prince of the whole congregation:  $\text{הַשֵּׁבֶט הוּא נְשִׂיא כֹּהֵן הַעֲדִיָּה}$ . This would fit in well with the reference in IQS 9:10f: "They shall be ruled by the primitive precepts in which the men of the Community were first instructed until there shall come the Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel (  $\text{עוֹד בּוֹא נְבִיא וְאַשְׁמֹדִי אֶהְרִיץ וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  )".<sup>11</sup>

That is, the community expected both a priestly and a royal messiah<sup>12</sup>, as seems to be the position already in Zechariah 4:14 (Cf Ezekiel 44-6), and which can still be traced in the Second Jewish Revolt of AD 132-5, where Eleazar the High Priest stands beside Simon bar Kochbar the Davidic pretender: "The entire structure of post-exilic Israel shows the side by side position of the priestly hierarchy and a worldly political leadership."<sup>13</sup>

This concept seems also to be found in the Testament of the Patriarchs, though not consistently, and where the priestly messiah seems to have priority.<sup>14</sup> The Messianic Rule, IQSa, which depicts the organisation of the eschatological Israel, describes the eschatological meal ( and envisages the priority of the priest in blessing over the Messiah of Israel (2:18ff) and although the "Messiah of Aaron" is not specified the definite article  $\text{הַכֹּהֵן}$  implies the High Priest, who was, like the king, anointed and so a  $\text{מָשִׁח}$ . The blessings in IQSb seem to yield

the same order of priority, though they are too fragmentary to allow certainty. M. Black may be right in interpreting the eschatological meal in the light of Ezekiel 44:3 as taking place in the new eschatological temple in the new Jerusalem, so that the priority would be perfectly natural:<sup>15</sup> However, in view of the sacerdotal nature of the Qumran community, it seems not unlikely that the Priestly figure was regarded as superior.

The problem is complicated by the addition of משיח to the dual Messiahs in IQS 9:11, since משיח was itself a Messianic title in late Judaism<sup>16</sup> where the Spirit of prophecy had departed until the End what "a prophet like unto Moses" would appear as promised in Deuteronomy 18:18f. It is significant that in the group of Messianic texts in the testimonial 4QTest, this text is quoted (joined to Deuteronomy 5:28-9) along with a Davidic proof text (Numbers 24:15-17) and a Levitic proof text (Deuteronomy 33:8-11). This also seems to envisage the three figures side by side. In 11QMelchizedek 18ff Melchizedek is said to anoint a Messenger with (God's) spirit in a peshar on Isaiah 52:7: קדש בשר  
[ח]והוה משיח [א ה א]וה Cf Isaiah 61:1, CD 2:12. What follows appears to be indistinguishable: G. Vermes reconstructs a quotation from Daniel 9:25, "Until an anointed one, a prince", but only the א is certain .. ... א א א א א so that this Davidic reference is unlikely. The only function described is that of proclaiming the message of Isaiah, and he would thus seem to be the eschatological prophet.<sup>17</sup> A further obfuscation is that the Damascus Document speaks of the coming of a single Messiah of Aaron and Israel: 12:23, 14:19, 19:10 Cf 20:1.

K.G. Kuhn saw the singular as a medieval correction after the dual Messiah concept had been forgotten,<sup>18</sup> but this cannot be maintained since the singular is present also in the oldest fragments of the text (14:19) recovered from Cave IV (4QDb) dating from c75-50 BC.<sup>19</sup> If this does represent an emendation by a scribe, then it was done during the existence of the community. This is a possibility since, as we have seen, CD 7:18ff seems to see two figures and may represent an earlier stratum of the text.

The evidence of the War Scrolls is not clear either, since it envisages participation in the war by angelic figures such as the Prince of Light and Michael. Its main emphasis is priestly, a concern to ensure that the holy war will be carried out in accordance with the priestly code.<sup>20</sup> The High Priest takes an important place in the action, passing in front of the ranks and addressing the army and blessing them (13:18 ), yet no mention is made of any Messiah of Aaron. The only reference to the root  $\Pi\psi\Delta$  comes in 11:7 which almost certainly refers to the prophets.<sup>21</sup> Yet the War Scroll does seem to envisage a glorious warrior Deliverer in the repeated song of 12:10-18 and 19:2-8, who is most likely to be the conventional Davidic messiah - though there is the possibility that this refers to an angelic figure. A further uncertain reference to a Messiah-figure comes in the Horoscope of the Messiah from Cave IV<sup>22</sup> which describes his education in the "three Books" and his wisdom and knowledge and the success of his designs as the "elect of God". The description would be more appropriate to a Davidic than an Aaronic Messiah.

Thus there seems to have been little incentive to orthodoxy at Qumran, and their expectation may well have been modified several

times.<sup>23</sup> It is not unlikely that the sect hoped for the restoration of the old state of Israel - now idealised - with a Davidic ruler born in the community (IQH 37-12) (though not a  $\gamma\delta$  since only the term  $\text{קָדוֹשׁ}$  is used of him as in Ezekiel and perhaps in the old Northern tradition),<sup>24</sup> an anointed High Priest of legitimate descent from Aaron (and naturally from the ranks of the priests at Qumran especially if the office of High Priest (Pretender) were continued in the community) and prophets since the Spirit would be restored - or more likely a single eschatological prophet who would, like the historical Teacher of Righteousness make all things clear. It may be that the role of the Aaronic Messiah assimilated the eschatological prophet under the influence of the Teacher of Righteousness who was both priest and prophet. The Davidic Messiah was probably closely related to the sect's hopes for a victorious battle against the Kittim, the Romans. Both Messiahs appear to be "this-worldly" and "in time" in the Rabbinic tradition and not "of the coming age" which is "out of time"<sup>25</sup> unlike the angelic beings described in the various scrolls. The Qumran sect is decidedly not Christocentric.

It is unnecessary to go deeply into the New Testament to show the deep contrast here with Qumran. For, unlike the Scrolls, the person and work of Jesus are central to the life and expectations of the Church. The central documents of the New Testament are four Gospels whose "good news" is specifically "the good news of Jesus Christ, the Son of God" which fulfils the Scriptures:

$\alpha\rho\chi\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\ \text{Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰς γέγραπτα}$  Mark 1:1f:

Matthew and Luke begin with genealogies of Jesus and accounts of his birth as a matter of great importance. His person and his works are regarded as of vital relevance to the community now, not just a matter of communal history. Even these four Gospels are only a small proportion of what was circulating in the community: John 21:25, Luke 1:1-4 Cf several ancient apocryphal gospels which are still extant such as the Gospel of Thomas.

The preaching of the primitive Church was the preaching of Christ: e.g. Acts 2:14-36, I Corinthians 2:1f. To be in the Church is to be "in Christ" ( ἐν Χριστῷ ) to be members of his body through baptism in his name. Christians are only sons of God through adoption through the true Son of God. The goal of the Church is to be "with Christ" (e.g. John 14:2), to join round the Father's throne in worship of the Lamb who was slain (e.g. Revelation 5:8, 12, 13 Cf Phil. 2:10). He is the only foundation of the Church e.g. I Corinthians 3:11) and his role does not pass away with the world, but is eternal.

While it is conceivable to talk of the Qumran community without mentioning the Teacher of Righteousness, indeed being ignorant of his identity, and without being certain of their Messianic expectations, it is not conceivable to imagine the Christian Church of the New Testament without Jesus Christ. The sect of the "New Covenant" was already in existence as a remnant before the Teacher was "raised up" for them, albeit "like blind men groping on their way" (CE 1:4-10), but the disciples were specifically called out by Jesus, formed and taught by Jesus, commissioned and empowered by Jesus.

Without the Resurrection there would have been no Church, and the gift of the Spirit is specifically from Jesus. His death is seen as having a unique atoning significance appropriated by belief in his person and work. He is enthroned in glory and will return as the heavenly eschatological Judge, the Son of Man. As R.E. Brown concluded, "As far as we can judge from the literature already published, in the question of messianism, taken alone and strictly understood, Qumran is not noticeably closer to Christianity than are the other branches of late Judaism." <sup>26</sup>

The closest parallels to the way Jesus was regarded in the early Church seem to be in the heavenly figure of the sect's Dualism.

3. The Last Things

We have seen that the Qumran sect saw their daily life as a battle between the forces of good and evil, but the whole was transmuted by their belief in a final victorious battle at the End. In spite of the fact that angels and heavenly beings take part in the battle and that their foe is Belial and his followers<sup>1</sup>, the indications are that their interest in it was very practical. There is little of the fascination with the cosmic drama itself which may be seen in other Apocalyptic literature of the time - as in that surrounding Enoch. M. Burrows has claimed that, "the conflict in which they were engaged was "a struggle on two planes", it was not historical but it included history. The major characters in their literature were both historical individuals and personifications of principles"<sup>2</sup>. While there is much truth in this, there is no clear evidence for the kind of transcendental eschatology this suggests. The earth is the sphere of the struggle Qumran envisages,<sup>3</sup> hence the interest in the accoutrement of the army, and it is conceived as an historical battle.<sup>4</sup> The general scheme in IQM seems to be quite clear: there will be forty years of struggle and war of increasing intensity after the death of the Teacher<sup>5</sup>. Probably the forty years were taken as a symbol of the post-Sinai wanderings. The army of the elect, led by the Messiah of Israel and blessed by legitimate High Priest and assisted by the heavenly Prince of Light and his company of angels of Light conduct a strictly regulated war: they take six years of preparation and 24 years of campaigns against foreign nations one by one, with every seventh year a year of sabbath rest.

The first phase of the war involves extermination of Israel's traditional enemies (the 'obligatory conquest' of the Rabbis) and the second involves triumph over the Kittim, here almost certainly seen as the Romans.<sup>6</sup> Before this final phase begins the sect at some stage in its evolution envisaged, as we have seen,<sup>7</sup> the wholesale conversion of those Jews who have remained outside the New Covenant, after which there will be no mercy for those outside the community (CD 4:10ff)<sup>8</sup> but the battle will be fought out to the end between the forces of Light and Darkness. Light will finally triumph to inaugurate the judgment to the destruction of the wicked and the bliss of the righteous.

This Last Judgment is described by the word פקודה<sup>9</sup> a word equivalent to  $\xi\pi\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta$  in the Septuagint. Significantly there appears to be also an officer in the community with the title פקיד<sup>10</sup> probably the same as the דבקר. Thus the enforcement of discipline in the community is perhaps given an eschatological significance like the moral conduct itself.<sup>11</sup> This word appears to have a technical meaning to describe the end God has set for the battle between Light and Darkness:

"And as for the visitation (פקודה) of all who walk in this spirit of truth it shall be healing, great peace (רב שלום) in long life (באורך ימים) and fruitfulness (פרות זרע) together with every everlasting blessing, (כול ברכות עד) and eternal joy (שמחת עולם) in life without end (בהי נצח), a crown of glory (כבוד) and a garment of majesty in unending light. (4:6-8).

And the visitation (פקודה) of all who walk in this spirit shall be a multitude of plagues (לרוב נקיעים) by the hand of all the destroying angels, (ביד כול מלאכי חבל) everlasting damnation (לשחת עולם) by the avenging wrath of the fury of God, eternal torment and endless disgrace together with shameful extinction in the fire of the dark regions (עם כלמות כלם באש מהשכים) The times of all their generations shall be spent in sorrowful mourning and in bitter misery and in calamities of darkness until they are destroyed without remnant or survivor. (4:11-14).



possible to add a Nûn from the lacuna to read נקם from נקם  
to read the avengers of the earth" which makes equally good sense.<sup>18</sup>  
IQH 6:34f has also been held to support this view:<sup>19</sup>

Hoist a banner, הרימו דגל  
O you who lie in the dust! אשוכבי עפר  
O bodies gnawed by worms, ותולדות אדם  
raise up an energy (the destruction of wickedness) [ ] נשא נס לח  
(The sinful shall) be destroyed [ ] כרתו  
in the battles against the ungodly. במלחמות זדים

However, again the text is too mutilated to be sure of this or to  
know whether this is anything other than poetic language or even  
whether this refers to the living or the dead.<sup>20</sup> However,  
in view of the continual emphasis on promises of eternal bliss  
and long life (באורך ימים) and especially life without end (חיי נצח)  
in the passage quoted above (IQS 4:6-8) it is difficult to avoid  
the conclusion that some kind of resurrection was envisaged.

The fate at the Judgment of the wicked is even less clear, though  
there are many references to torment and destruction. It is not  
clear whether the punishment is in this life or in a future existence.  
IQ2:8 speaks of "the shadowy place of everlasting fire!"<sup>21</sup> באפסות  
אש עולם and also of the everlasting pit שחת עולם, 4:12  
the wicked are 'sons of the Pit' אנשי השחת in 9:16,22, (10:19).  
Cf IQH 3:18 where 'the doors of the pit' שחת דלתות close  
on the symbolic woman pregnant with Perversity. Yet the Hymns also  
seem to use the old doctrine of שאול which might imply simply  
oblivion for the wicked<sup>22</sup> cut off "without remnant or survivor." (4:14)  
Indeed it is not unlikely that the sect saw both the rewards and the  
punishments simply in terms of earthly existence: an extended one for  
the blessed and physical annihilation of the wicked.

Nevertheless it will be a new earth on which they will live, with a new Temple in a restored Jerusalem,<sup>23</sup> after they themselves have been purified and re-created by the Holy Spirit.<sup>24</sup> Thus IQS 4:23, IQH 12:15 CD 3:20 talk of restoring 'all the glory of Adam' and IQH 11:12-14 seems to see a renewal of all things to which the saints are raised to be with the angels (spirits of holiness):

that the bodies gnawed by worms may be raised from the dust  
to the counsel (of thy truth),  
and that the perverse spirit (may be lifted)  
to the understanding (which comes from Thee);  
that he may stand before Thee  
with the everlasting host  
and with (Thy) spirits (of holiness)  
to be renewed together with all the living  
and to rejoice together with them than know.<sup>25</sup>

The old world is seen in the Hymns as passing away in a universal conflagration (Cf 2 Peter 3:7):

The torrents of Satan shall reach  
to all ends of the world,  
In all their channels  
a consuming fire shall destroy  
every tree, green and barren, on their banks;  
unto the end of their courses  
it shall scourge with flames of fire,  
and shall consume the foundations of the earth  
and the expanse of dry land.  
The bases of the mountains shall blaze  
and the roots of the rock shall turn  
to torrents of pitch  
it shall devour as far as the great Abyss.<sup>26</sup> (3:29-32).

Nevertheless the sect seem to have still seen the recreated world in very physical terms. The Temple Scrolls, according to reports<sup>27</sup>, contains a most detailed and practical account of the restored temple.

While there is considerable variation in the details of the early Church's picture of the End, which we shall be obliged to ignore for our study, there is unanimity on the main outlines of it. Firstly, the community understood itself to be living in the days of the 'Messianic woes', as the Rabbis called them, when there would be an upsurge of wickedness, violence and persecution immediately preceding the coming of the Messiah - interpreted by Christians as the return of Christ. This is especially clear in Mark 13:1-37 where Jesus says, "Take heed that no one leads you astray. Many will come in my name, saying, 'I am he!' and they will lead many astray. And when you hear of wars and rumours of wars, do not be alarmed; this must take place but the end is not yet .... this is but the beginning of the birthpangs" <sup>28</sup> (verse 5-8). What is to be the climax of this distress is the return of the Son of Man who is identified, by the evangelists at least, with the Jesus of history: 'the Son of Man coming in clouds with power and glory' (Daniel 7:13-14). The same idea is present in 1 Peter 1:6f, "In this you rejoice (ἀγαλλιάσθε), though now for a little while you may have to suffer various trials (ποικίλους πειρασμούς) so that the genuineness of your faith, more precious than gold which though perishable is tested by fire, may redound your glory and honour at the revelation of Jesus Christ (ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ)." We have already noted that Πειρασμός has connotations of the great struggle between Good and Evil, but again, the Christian response is joy - ἀγαλλιάσθαι is a strong word - because the battle has already been won in Jesus Christ and the time will be short before he returns or is 'revealed'. This is graphically conveyed in the great battle of Michael and his angels against the dragon Satan in Revelations 12: the dragon has already been defeated, "the accuser of our brethren has been thrown down," verse 10 by the

Cross of Christ, "And they have conquered him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony" verse 11. While this victory is certain, its immediate effect is to increase the trials (Πειρασμοῖ ) of the faithful and disasters on earth until Christ's imminent return: "Rejoice then, O heaven and you that dwell therein! But woe to you, O earth and sea, for the devil has come down to you in great wrath, because he knows that his time is short." (verse 12).

When Christ does return, it will be as eschatological judge or Son of Man, and his judgment will be in accordance with men's response to the Jesus of the Incarnation (Mark 8:38), who is seen as having claimed the title (Mark 14:62=). Yet the New Testament combines the term with the figure of the Suffering Servant (עַבְדַּ יְהוָה) of Isaiah, "The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders and the chief priests and the scribes and be killed (Mark 8:31). Matthew 25:31-46 pictures the Son of Man enthroned in glory with the angels judging all the nations and separating them into sheep and goats. It is interesting however, that even here the figure is combined with the עַבְדַּ יְהוָה since the Son of Man is identified with the suffering of 'the least of his brethren'. Here it is important to note that the 'brethren' (ἀδελφοί ) almost certainly refers to the Christian community and that the judgment is of the unbelieving nations (τὰ ἔθνη ). I Peter sees the Christian community as exempt from judgment, since the present tribulation is already the judgment which has begun with 'the household of faith' (4:17). The close identity of Christ and his community is present here also 'rejoice in so far as you share Christ's sufferings' τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν in the fiery ordeal which comes upon you to prove you' (verse 12f) (τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν γεννηθῆναι).

The goal which the early Church envisaged for itself was unequivocally the resurrection of the body and eternal life.<sup>30</sup> This is so central to the belief and life of the Church that Paul could say: "Now if Christ is preached as raised from the dead, how can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there is no resurrection of the dead, then Christ has not been raised, if Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain." (I Corinthians 15:12-14, Cf 2 Timothy 2:18f). The confidence of the Christian in the resurrection is that Jesus has already been raised as the 'first fruits' (ἀπαρχή) and has given life to those who believe in him 'in Christ shall all be made alive' (ζωοποιήσονται verse 22f Cf John 11:25) destroying death itself.<sup>31</sup> Paul in this passage (15:12-38) gives an account of the kind of resurrection this will be: the old perishable body of flesh and blood will be changed into a 'spiritual body' (σῶμα πνευματικόν verse 44) like a seed dying to gain new life in the plant (verse 36f). Without going deeply into this,<sup>32</sup> it is clear that resurrection of the body is essential to Christian belief and that it is founded on the Resurrection of Christ himself.

Finally, the vision of the after-life in the early Church. This is, understandably, varied and uncertain. However, one thing does stand out: to die is to go to be with Christ', My desire is to depart and be with Christ, *σοὺ Χριστῷ*, for that is far better' (Phil 1:23). The believer already has a measure of unity with his Lord in the Church below *ἐν Χριστῷ* which is as close as the marriage bond (Ephesians 5:32) especially in the sacrament of the Eucharist (I Corinthians 11:23-26), but this will be consummated

then in mutual knowledge (I Corinthians 13:12). The great Messianic banquet of which the Eucharist is a foretaste will be inaugurated then as the 'marriage supper of the Lamb' (Revelations 19:9). The worship of God and of the Lamb will be the task of the saints who have been purified and decked with 'fine linnen bright and pure' (Revelations 19:1-8). It will take place in a new heaven and a new earth in the holy city of Jerusalem and the renewed Temple (Revelations 21-22) where there is no need of sun or moon because 'the glory of God is its light and its lamp is the Lamb.' (21:23). The writer of Revelations makes use of all the traditional Jewish images concerning the eschatological renewed Temple (especially from Ezekiel and Isaiah), but what is new is the Christocentric scheme to which he subordinates them.

CONCLUSION:

From what we have examined of the nature of the communities of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament we can now see where the essential points of contact and of difference lie.

The two communities both originate in opposition to the status quo of Palestinian Judaism as 'sects' rather than as parties: they claim to embody the true people of God with all that entails : promises, responsibilities, and Scripture. They do not seek to work from within the old national structures, but call people out of them to repent and join the new eschatological community, chosen by God, in the face of the coming judgment. They are both special and exclusive communities with a high assessment of their own importance. A consequence of this common background of dissenting Judaism, is that both groups tend to spiritualise the cult and institutions of the old nation in interpreting them to apply exclusively to themselves. Both see this as a fulfilment of scripture and prophecy and the inauguration of the Last Times.

We have also seen that while both communities bear the impress of original and deeply spiritual personalities in the Teacher of Righteousness and Jesus of Nazareth, the manner of that influence is radically different. For the Qumran Essense were a distinct group even before the advent of their leader and their move into the wilderness. He taught them how to interpret and apply the scriptures; both law and prophecy; he gave them direction and confidence and he would seem to have given them a genuine and attractive spirituality. He may even have become the centre of a martyr cult and have stimulated certain ideas of what the future

eschatological priestly teacher would be like. However, he does not in any way hold the central position in the doctrine of the community as he does in its history. Atonement remains essentially something done by the community by works of law. Law continues to hold the central and all-embracing position in this sect which it held for official Judaism, albeit offset here by a new sense of personal unworthiness and of the grace of God, as well as of a new depth of fellowship within the community. Moreover, the sect never breaks out of the confines of Jewish nationalism. Instead of offering the "truth" it claims to preserve in the community to an ever wider circle, it narrows it more and more to hide it from the world. The faith of Qumran, ultimately, was a fragile hot-house plant which could not be transplanted and which could not survive the catastrophe of the destruction of the little community sheltering under the cliffs along the Dead Sea in AD 68.

For the Christian Church, on the other hand, there could be no foundation other than Jesus Christ 'and him crucified'. The origin of the Christian Church without Jesus Christ is inconceivable, and its continuance without the sense of his continued presence and power in the Church as his Body is likewise unimaginable. He is its origin, motivation and goal. L.S. Thornton captured this essential Christocentric nature of the Church some years before the Scrolls were discovered.

"If, then, we tried to abstract the essential form of the Church from its Christocentric relations, what we supposed we had abstracted would disappear. There would remain something fitly symbolised by a corpse, yet even so incomplete. For apart from Christ the Church would cease to be a human society

in any distinctive sociological sense. It would be a fortuitous collection of individuals, without any special bonds of unity."<sup>1</sup>

In contrast, it is perfectly possible to examine the nature of the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls without taking the Teacher of Righteousness into account at all. Moreover, the early Christian community held the burning conviction that what God had done in Christ Jesus had transcended all the old barriers of Jew and Gentile and was Good News for the whole world to which they were commissioned to preach it.

So the similarity of the two communities lies in their common origin within Judaism and their common milieu. Their difference is essentially the person of Jesus Christ. While this might seem an obvious conclusion and only to be expected, it cannot be stressed enough. We have seen only too many attempts to distill the "essence of Christianity" apart from the person of Jesus Christ and to build a community on other foundations and the result has always been a corpse instead of a Church. There continue to be attempts to refute the message of the Christian 'good news' by comparing it with the claims of Qumran, but we have seen that this cannot stand: the person of Jesus Christ remains the rock of the Christian community as he is a stumbling block to its opponents.

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1. Thornton, *The Common Life in the Body of Christ*, p 47f.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Swift, Jonathan, Gulliver's Travels, Penguin edition, p 227-30.
2. Most of the recent works on Qumran concentrate on the wider doctrinal issues raised by the sect and their relation to the New Testament. The historical question seems in abeyance at present.
3. De Vaux, R, Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls, OUP, London, 1973, p 95-102. Cf J.T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea, SCM, London, 1959. p 46-52.
4. De Vaux, Ibid, p 1-3, 91-94.
5. Ibid, p 5 (Period Ia)
6. Ibid, p5-24. (Period Ib). The earthquake is attested in Josephus, Antiquities XV.v. 121-147; Bell. Jud. I.xix. 370-80.
7. Ibid. p 24-41, (Period II).
8. Ibid. p 41-4, (Period III).
9. Ibid. p 45.
10. Ibid. p 126. Specifically this excludes the theory of G.R. Driver, The Judaean Scrolls and a Solution, 1965 (Cf C. Roth, The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls), that the settlement was a Zealot stronghold of the first half of the first century A.D., and that the events referred to in the Scrolls refer to the events of the First Jewish Revolt. Likewise the theory of J.L. Teicher that the sectarians were Judaeo-Christians must be rejected on the same grounds. (Journal of Jewish Studies, II-IV, 1951-4; "The Essenes".
11. Cross, F.M., The Ancient Library of Qumran, Duckworth, London, 1958, p 87-90.
12. De Vaux, op cit. p 128-138.
13. "Ab occidente litora Esseni fugiunt usque qua nocent, gens sola et in toto orbe praeter ceteras mira, sine ulla femina, omni venere abdicata, sine pecunia, socia palmarum in diem ex aequo convenarum turba renascitur large frequentantibus quos vita fessos ad mores eorum fortuna fluctibus agit. ita per saeculorum milia - incredibile dictu- gens aeterna est, in qua nemo nascitur. tam fecunda illis aliorum vitae paenitentia est! infra hos Engada oppidum fuit, secundum ab Hierosolymis fertilitate palmetorumque memoribus, nunc alterum bustum. inde Masada castellum in rupe, et ipsum haut procul Asphaltite, et hactenus Judaea est." Historia naturalis V.15 (cit ap de Vaux, op cit, p 134 "On the West bank" of the Dead Sea and north of En Geddi (taking infra hos in the sense of "downstream") and sufficiently far from the shore to avoid the "noxious exhalations of the sea", does precisely fit our site. Moreover, allowing for some inaccuracy in Pliny's information, the passage recognisably describes the ascetic life of the community. (De Vaux, Ibid, p 133-8).
14. Murphy-O'Connor, J., "The Essenes and their history", RB 81, 1974, p 21-6.

15. Allegro, J, The Dead Sea Scrolls , Penguin, 1956, 1964, p 104.
16. CD. 1<sup>3-13</sup>. All quotations from the Scrolls in English will be from G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, Penguin, 1962, unless otherwise indicated. This particular document had been known to scholars before the discoveries at Qumran, since two incomplete medieval copies were found in the geniza of an old Karaite synagogue in Cairo in 1896-7 and probably derive from early discoveries in the caves recorded by Arab historians which led to a revival of Jewish Sectarianism. Fragments of several copies from caves IV, V, VI have been recovered, the oldest dating from between 75 and 50 B.C. See J.T. Milik, Ten Years, op cit, p 38f.
17. Milik, J.T., Ten Years, op cit, p 58; Vermes, G. op cit. p 62.
18. II Maccabees 4<sup>30</sup>. The accuracy of this is contested by some scholars e.g. M. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, Nelson, London, 1961, p 20 n3.
19. "Stress needs to be laid on this element in the earlier part of the Maccabean struggle, for it is not always sufficiently realised, viz. that the antagonists were not only Jews against Syrians, but Jews against Jews." Oesterly, W.O.E., A History of Israel Vol. II, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1932, p 259.
20. "Then were there gathered unto them a company of Chasidim, mighty men of Israel, who willingly offered themselves for the Law, every one of them. And all they that fled from the evils were added unto them, and re-inforced them. And they mustered a host and smote sinners in their anger, and lawless men in their wrath, and the rest fled to the gentiles to save themselves." II Macc. 2:42-4. The text used for these writings is R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, Clarendon, Oxford, 1913.
21. I Macc. 7:12-16.
22. II Macc. 14:6.
23. This is indicated by 1 Q test 21-36, 1 QpHab 8:8-13, 9:10. Many scholars see Jonathan Maccabeus as the Wicked Priest: e.g. J.T. Milik, op cit., p 84-7; G. Vermes, op cit., p 63f; J. Murphy-O'Connor, op cit. p 229f.
24. The Hasidim were probably not a homogenous group and developed in several directions after the success of the Maccabean Revolt. W.O.E. Oesterly, op cit., p 315-24.
25. "The Essenes and their history", op cit., passim.
26. CD 6:19, Cf 7:17-19; 8:21; 19:33-4.
27. Op cit. p 112-4.

28. J. Murphy-O'Connor, op cit, p 222.
29. See below p 50-57.
30. J. Murphy-O'Connor, op cit. p 222f.
31. Philo of Alexandria, Quod omnis probusliber sit, cit op M-O'Connor, op cit, p227.
32. J. Murphy-O'Connor, Ibid p 229f.
33. It seems likely that the Teacher of Righteousness wrote at least some of the remarkable Hymns of the sect (1QH) and part perhaps of the Manual of Discipline.
34. See below p 76-80.
35. De Vaux, op cit., p 3-24.
36. J. Murphy-O'Connor, op cit., p 233-8.
37. "We should note that all manuscripts that contain pesher-type material come from the later period of the Qumran community and no one work seems to have existed in more than one copy. These isolated exemplars would then be ephemeral compositions preserved in the author's own copy and are to be connected with the expositions of the Bible that were given in the sect's meetings for worship." Milik, op cit., p 41 cf p 58.
38. Dupont-Somer, A., The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, Macmillan, NY, 1955, p 14-37.
39. 1QpHab 6:3-5.
40. 1QpHab 3:9-14.
41. 1QpHab 4:10-12.
42. Yadin, Y., The Message of the Scrolls, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1957, p 163-73. Milik argues that this scroll owes much to a pseudo-Roman military manual (possibly used by Herod) which has been developed into a priest's guide to the Holy War. Ten Years, op cit., p 39-40.
43. 4QpNah. 1:3, See Burrows, M., More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, NY., Viking, 1958. p 191-203.
44. 4QpNah. 1:6-8.
45. J. Coomiguac, W.H. Brownlee, M.H. Segal, M. Delcor, J. van der Ploey, J. Allegro and F.F. Bruce, cit ap Murphy-O'Connor, p 216.

46. "The absence of written chronicles shows that for knowledge of its history, the Qumran sect depended uniquely on its oral tradition. Accordingly, in the latter days of the sect's existence, a certain blur in the details of historical information can be detected." Milik, op cit, p 57.
47. Initially I favoured the martyred Onias III as the original Teacher of Righteousness (and rightful pretender to the position of High Priest) who inspired and rallied the Hasidim though he did not originate them. In II Macc. 15:12-14, where Judas Maccabeus exhorts his men to courage in the crucial battle with Nicanor at Samaria, he recounts a vision: "This was what he had seen: Onias, the former high priest, a good and great man, of stately bearing yet gracious in manner, well-spoken and trained from childhood in all points of virtue - Onias with outstretched hands invoking blessings on the whole body of the Jews." Yet, as we have seen, the actual move to Qumran seems to favour Jonathan as the Wicked Priest who "was called by the name of truth when he first arose" but turned traitor (1QpHab 8:8-13). Moreover, the argument of J. Murphy-O'Connor for a Babylonian origin of the sect seems to me to need to be taken into account.
48. Black, M., The Dead Sea Scrolls in Christian Doctrine, London, p 6-10. This is not to deny the importance and profound insight of the original Teacher of Righteousness who moulded the sect, but simply to suggest that the 'High Priestly succession' which he represented in opposition to the Jerusalem Temple was continued within the community at Qumran.
49. Cullmann, O., The Christology of the New Testament, SCM, 1959, 1963, p 14-38.
50. Ibid, p 38-42.
51. See below p 67-75.
52. Acts 17:6.
53. Stendahl, K., "Introduction and Perspective", The Scrolls and the New Testament, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1957, p7f. J. Maier also regards the Qumran group as a sect, "Als einzig mögliche Umkehr, also einziger Ort der Wahrung des Bundes, Schliesslich als symbolisches, allein sühnendes Templeheiligtum". "Zum Begriff in den Texten von Qumran", ZATW 72, 1960, p 163 n82.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO - SECTION I

1. See above p 1-9.
2. This necessity is rightly emphasised by H. Stegemann, cit ap J. Murphy-O'Connor, op cit, p 230.
3. There is archaeological evidence for some such ritual in the careful burial of animal bones in pots found at the Khirbet Qumran. See de Vaux, op cit, pp 12f, 27, 86, 111, 120.
4. There is a similar "spiritualisation" in the attitude to the temple of Philo of Alexandria and Josephus (See Kittel, TWB III Hieros by G. Schrenk, p 233 and IV Naos by O. Michel, p 881), but the emphasis is quite different. They "spiritualise" in revulsion against a too literal understanding of blood-sacrifices. A more analogous "spiritualisation" of the temple was in the growth of the idea in late Judaism of the perfect heavenly temple which would come down to earth, when God came to dwell with his people, and to which access was possible on earth through worship. See R.J. McKelvey, The New Temple OUP, 1969, p 40-57. The Qumran sect clearly believed in this, as their belief in the present of angels at worship shows (IQSa 2:3-9 Cf p97 Note 55, though even this presence maybe related to their belief that the community had replaced the temple, since angels were believed to be present in the Jerusalem temple.
5. As it had abandoned it before the Fall of Jerusalem in 587/6 B.C. for its pollution by idol worship (Ezekiel 10:2-18, 11:23).
6. For the eschatological nature of the community see below p 49-84.
7. See below p 50-66.
8. IQS 8:9.
9. IQS 8:9; 9:3f. Bertil Gärtner rightly points out, "These are not merely images and symbols; they express a reality. Since the community has taken over the holiness and functions of the temple, it is now in point of fact the only means of maintaining the holiness of Israel, and making atonement for sin. It is necessary that atonement should be made for the sins of the people, the desecration of the official temple has rendered it useless for these ends; there must be a substitute and that substitute is the life of the community, lived in perfect obedience to all the precepts of the Law, all its commandments, purifications and prayers." The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament, C.U.P., 1965, p 44.
10. IQS 8:13f. (W.H. Brownlees, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament," NTS 3, 1956/7, p 12ff). The figure of the Suffering Servant was so important that an 'X' sign was placed in the margin on the Isaiah Scroll by 32:1-2, 41:7-11, 25, 43:25-6, 49:7, 54:11-14, 55:3-4, 57:10, 66:5. M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, Secker & Warburg, London, 1956, p 266f.

11. "He has commanded that a Sanctuary of men be built for Himself (□ṬṚ ᵎṬṘΔ) that they may send up, like the smoke of incense, the works of the Law." 4QFlor 1:6f. I have followed Vermes translation (op cit p 246 of Gärtner op cit p 45), though many scholars have preferred to translate □ṬṚ ᵎṬṘΔ as "a temple among men", having reference to a material eschatological temple (McKelvey, op cit, p 51). J. Allegro translates it "a man-made sanctuary" (fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrasim", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 77, 1958, p 352; Dupon-Somer, "a sanctuary (made by the hands of man" (*The Essene Writings from Qumran*, p 312). However, some reference to the community as the temple is almost certainly present here - especially in the light of IQS 8:4-10, 9:3-6.
12. Gärtner, op cit, p 45.
13. Vermes, op cit, p 74. This expression gains poignancy if, as Murphy-O'Connor suggests, it is used also to refer to their actual return to Palestine from Babylon, op cit, p 225. However, its usual usage is for "repentance", the equivalent of the New Testament μετανοια (See below p 29f ).
14. "The former service in the temple they replaced by a general Ṭ(Ṭ) a life according to the Law, a righteousness demanded of each and every member of the community", Gärtner, op cit, p 46.
15. B. Men. 110a, in McKelvey, op cit, p 45.
16. Aboth 3:2 Cf 3:6, Ibid, p 46. McKelvey sees this process as accelerated by the disaster of AD 70, after which there is a thorough-going spiritualisation of temple in terms of prayer, fasting, alms-giving and suffering patiently borne.
17. Vermes, op cit, p 78-9.
18. As is usual in the Scrolls, with its preponderance of infinitival constructions, the subject is not always clear. W.H. Brownlee takes the letters □ṚṚ| of verse 5 to be a reverential abbreviation for □ṚṚ|ṬṚṚ| [□ṚṚ|ṬṚṚ|ṬṚṚ|] i.e. EAM in accordance with the title for ṬṚṚ| in Deuteronomy 10:16f and 30:6, which the author has in mind. (Brownlee, W.H., The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline, BASOR, Suff. 10-12, 1951, p 18 n18, p 49f.) However, it seems more likely, since there is no other precedent for this, and there is difficulty in distinguishing the Yodh and Waw in these texts, that the □ṚṚ| should be amended to □Ṛ ṚṚ| as Sukeink suggested and most translators have followed (e.g. Ed. Lohse, Die Texte aus Qumran, Kosel-Verlag, München, p 16-17; P. Wernberg-Moller, The Manual of Discipline, 1957, p 28; G. Vermes p 78)
19. ṬṚṚ: IQS 3:25, 5:9, 9:12, IQS 63:21, 4QJS 1, 2, CD 2:7;  
ṬṚṚ: IQS 7:17, 18; 8:5, 8, 10; 9:3, 11:8, IQH 3:31, 12:8, IQSa 1:12  
CD 4:21, 10:6, 19:4.
20. Jeremias, J., Golgotha, Angelos I, Leipzig, 1926 (G Matthew 16:18  
O. Cullmann, Peter, SCM, London, 1953, p 185-7).

21. "Behold I am laying in Zion a foundation stone, a precious cornerstone, of a sure foundation". All quotations from the Bible in this essay will be from the Revised Standard Version unless otherwise stated.

22. Thus  $\text{אֱלֹהִים}$  is found in construct forms with Law e.g. IQS 1:12 and is related to actions e.g. IQS 1:5  $\text{אֱלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ}$  yet it is also related to the secret knowledge of the sect e.g. IQS 4:6  $\text{אֱלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ אֱלֹהִים}$  which is related to their dualism of the Spirits of Truth and Falsehood. This word is one of the most frequently occurring words in the Scrolls - See Kulm, Koukordanz, p 18f, "Nachtrage," p 180. J. Murphy-O'Connor, in his study of the use of  $\text{אֱלֹהִים}$  in the Scrolls concludes: "This (the opposition of the sect to official Judaism) suggests that every mention of the 'truth' has polemic overtones. It was inevitable in these circumstances that at every hands turn it should be emphasised that the interpretation of the Law current in the community was 'truth' and that the pattern of behaviour based on this teaching was also 'truth' - the implication being that neither the 'official' teaching nor the conduct it inspired could be anything other than deceit". "Paul and Qumran : Truth", Paul and Qumran, p 185f.

Thus the 'foundation' of the community is Law which is as central to Qumran belief as it was to all Jewish parties : "Obedience to the Law, as interpreted by its own traditions, was the rationale of its whole existence and in many ways, especially with respect to laws concerning purity, the sabbath and exclusiveness, it surpassed the casuistry of the Pharisees." R. Banks, Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition, CUP, 1975, p 56.

23.  $\text{אֱלֹהִים}$ : IQS 5:6, 8:6,10, 9:4, 11:14, IQM 2:5, IQH 4:37, 17:12, CD 2:5, 3:18, 4:6,9,10, 14:19, 20:34.

24. Zech. 8:3, Isaiah 2:3, Ezekiel 47, Eccclus. 24:10ff, Cf IQ 14 Commentary on Micah. There is an interesting parallel in the Christian community's belief that they would judge the nations and even the angels. e.g. I Corinthians 6:2f.

25. See below p 54, p 105 note 26

26. Vermes, op cit, p 85.

27. McKelvey, op cit, p 48. The oscillation between the individual and the group is a well-known phenomena in Judaism (e.g. the Suffering Servant or the Son of Man).

28. Jeremias, J. Golgotha, op cit.

29. Cf IQS 11:8; IQH 6:15f; 8:6,9,10

30. Brownlee, op cit, p 21, Gærtner, op cit, p 23, Wernberg-Moller, op cit, p 28, Burrows, op cit, p 38, against G. Vermes, op cit, p 85, Dupont-Somer, op cit, p 91.

31. Vermes, op cit, p 87.

32. See below p 50-57.
33. The same expression ( ὁ ὄσος ) is a very important description of the Church in the New Testament also : Mark 10:52; John 14:6; Acts 9:2; 16:17; 18:25; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14; Hebrews 10:20; 2 Peter 2:2, 15, 21, Cf I Corinthians 12:31. See below p 50-66.
34. Gärtner, op cit, p 30-44; Cf McKelvey, op cit, p 50ff who rejects these texts but adds IQH 6:25-7, 7:8-9 as comparable texts, though they refer rather to the city than to the temple as such.
35. CD 4:1ff, IQM 2:1ff, 12:12ff, 19:5ff. The same hope of a physical and material return to the Jerusalem temple is revealed by The Temple Scroll (e.d. Y. Yadin, The Israel Exploration Society, 1977 and by the "Mishmarot" or "courses" which set out the rota of service for priestly families according to the solar and lunar calendars, cited by J.T. Milik, op cit, p 41.
36. "That there were Jews of Palestine who believed that atonement for sin outside Jerusalem was possible and regarded a spiritual temple and cult as a satisfactory alternative for the traditional temple and cult was of the greatest significance not only for the rise of Christianity, but for the future of Judaism. At the same time, is plain that the spiritualising undertaken by Qumran, for all its radical and thorough-going character, does not mean that the material temple and cult were rejected for good. All the evidence goes to show that the hope of a new and restored temple at Jerusalem was cherished just as ardently by these Jews as by other Jews. It would appear that here as elsewhere in the late post-exilic Judaism the new temple concept acted as an inhibiting influence, preventing Jewry from regarding the spiritualised cultus as a satisfactory permanent substitute for the material cultus." McKelvey, op cit, p 53.
37. Acts 2:46; 3:1-10; 22:17; 5:12, 20f, 25, 42; 25:26; 24:6,12,18.
38. Acts 6-7. Oscar Cullmann has developed the thesis in a number of places e.g. "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the beginnings of Christianity", JBL 74, Pt IV, 1955 p 213ff.  
 "L'Opposition contre le Temple de Jerusalem Motif Comrum de la Theologie Johannique et du Moude Ambient", NTS 5, 1959, p 157ff.  
 "A New Approach to the Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel", ET7, 1959 p 39-65 and most recently in The Johannine Circle, SCM, 1976.  
 His thesis is that the Hellenists are to be identified with converts from Qumran. He takes ἑλληνοβίτους to refer to heterodox and ἑβραίοι to refer to orthodox Judaism. Thus the ὄχλος τῶν ἑρῶν ὑπηκούον τῆ πλεστη refers to the priestly Qumranites. Attractive as his thesis may be, it is very far from being conclusive (especially this interpretation of ἑλληνοβίτους ). G.M. Black, op cit, p 75-81 who argues the opposite, that the ἑβραίοι represent the sectarians.

39. McKelvey, op cit, p 92.
40. Fitzmyer, J., "Qumran and the Interpolated Paragraph in II Corinthians 6:14 - 7:1", Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 23, 1961, p 271 ff.  
Cf Guilka, J, "II Corinthians VI 14 - VII:1 in the light of the Qumran texts and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs", Paul & Qumran p 48-68.
41. It is possible to argue that the passage belongs in its context e.g. C.K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, Black, London, 1973 p 194f. However the evidence is not convincing.
42. βελιάρ is not a word found elsewhere in the New Testament, and is not used in a personal sense in the Old Testament or Septuagint, but is a favourite term at Qumran : IQS 1:18, 23, 2:5 etc; IQM 13:11f, CD 4:13, 5:18, 12:2; 4QFlor 8f. Yet in the Scrolls the adversary of שׁוֹשׁוּר is never the messiah but God himself. The opposition of Christ to Beliar here radically transforms the nature of the dualisms it climaxes. The basis of Paul's doctrine here is Christological.
43. This technical use of שׁוֹשׁוּר is evident throughout the Scrolls. vid Kühn, K.G. Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Rubrecht, 1960, p 43f (e.g. of rank IQS 1:10, 2:2,23, of decisions IQS 2:17, 6:16).
44. Also CD 20:9 Cf IQS 2:17, 4:5, IQH 6:15,19. Here I follow Gärtner op cit, p 51-2 against O. Michel, TWB IV p 891.
45. McKelvey, op cit, p 94-5. N.B. Paul's word ἐνοικύω precisely parallels the root of the Hebrew נִיבְּשׁוּ i.e. נִבְּשׁוּ to dwell.
46. McKelvey, who inclines to the idea of II Corinthians 6:14 - 7:1 as the "previous letter" of I Corinthians 3:9, sees this οὐκ οὐδ'ατε as a reference to that letter. op cit, p 100.
47. i.e. ἀρραβών II Corinthians 1:22, 5:5; Ephesians 1:14.
48. McKelvey, op cit, p 101.
49. See below p 28f.
50. Ibid, p 101-2.
51. K.G. Kühn, "The Epistle to the Ephesians in the Light of the Qumran texts", Paul and Qumran, p 115-131; F. Müssner, "Contributions made by Qumran to the understanding of the Epistle to the Ephesians; Ibid, p 139-178. Müssner notes the similar doctrines of "mystery", the bond between the community and heaven, the temple and re-creation.
52. See McKelvey, op cit, p 109-10.
53. Gärtner, op cit, p 61.
54. See below p 28f.

55. Gärtner sees the  $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$  as a reference to angelic beings, so that the heavenly temple is referred to "virtually a heavenly edifice". p 64. This is possible since Qumran also emphasises the presence of angels at the "temple" of the community and its link with the heavenly temple. See below p 92 n.4 (Cf the light thrown on I Corinthians 11:10 by this: J.A. Fitzmyer, "A feature of Qumran angelology and the angels of I Corinthians 11:10 Paul and Qumran" p 31-47) Cf the specific exclusion of  $\gamma\iota\delta\delta/\gamma\kappa\gamma$  and  $\gamma\lambda$  from the Qumran temple in 4QFlor 1:3ff.
56. McKelvey, R.J. "Christ the Cornerstone", NTS 8, 1961-2 p 352-9 (App. C. The Temple, op cit, p 195-204), rejects Jeremias thesis, TWB IV, p 277-83, of the  $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\nu\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  as the cope-stone or top stone, since Qumran so clearly identifies  $\gamma\iota\delta$  with the concept of foundation. So does Isaiah 28:16 which underlies the use of the  $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\nu\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  here.
57. The particular value of this text is in providing a parallel with the concept of  $\gamma\varsigma\eta\eta\eta$  (Cf.  $\xi\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\phi\epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda$ ) as a "technical term referring to the spiritual dimensions of the life of the community in conformity to the Law, as well as for the outward order which characterised the holy fellowship." Gärtner, op cit, p 67.
58. This text brings out particularly the relationship of the image with the temple image. See McKelvey, op cit, p 102-6.
59. It "appears to go back to an early Christian doctrinal tradition traces of which are to be found in the various theological traditions of the young Church." Gärtner, op cit, p 72.
60. Cf IQH 6:25f, IQS 8:4ff, 4QpIsa.
61. Cf Hebrews 13:15ff where the "sacrifice" is "praise". This concept of spiritual sacrifices has a long history in the Psalms and prophets. Its purpose was to ensure that the cult was supplemented by  $\eta\eta\tau\zeta$  and  $\mu\theta\omega\delta$  on which God's approval for the blood sacrifices depended.
62. This should in all probability be amended to  $\eta\eta\tau\zeta$  as in the fragment of the Manual of Discipline found in Cave 4: 4QSe.  $\eta\eta\tau\zeta$  could easily be a scribal error, since it has been found nowhere else in the Scrolls to refer to the whole community.
63. Or rather the root  $\eta\theta$  is used in this way of the whole community. See K.G. Kühn, Konkordanz, p 217f.
64. Cf I Buse, "The Cleansing of the Temple in John", Expos. Times, LXX, 1958-9, p 22-4.
65. Cullmann, O., Early Christian Worship, SCM, London, 1953, p 37-119.
66. Ibid., especially, p 93-102.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO - SECTION TWO

1. i.e. Adler, N., "Die Bedeutung der Qumran - Texte für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft," MTh2b, 1955, p 286-301. Cullmann, O., "The Significance of the Qumran texts for Research into the beginnings of Christianity," e.d. Stendahl, op cit, p 20f, Johnson, S.E. "Paul and the Manual of Discipline", HTh R 48, 1955, p 158; Howlett, The Essenes and Christianity. An Interpretation of the Dead Sea Scrolls, NY, 1957, p 173-93, 202f; Burrows, M., Mehr Klarheit über die Schriftrollen, München, 1958, 96-102 in Braun, H., Qumran und das NT., II, JCB Mor (P. Siebeck), Tübingen, 1966 p 145.
2. Braun, H., ibid.
3. i.e. Coppens, J., "Les Documents du Désert de Judea et les Origines du Christianisme," Au Lov. II, 39, 1953, 28-32; Graystone, G., "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," The Irish Theological Quarterly, 22, 1955, p 331-7; Bruce, F.F., Die Handschriften von Toten Meer, Munich, 1957, 169f. ~~H. Braun~~ Ibid, cit ap.
4. Braun, H., Ibid.
5. Behm, J., Diatheke, TWB II, p 106-34 : Here cited p 109.
6. G. von Rad sees Jeremiah as wrestling with the problem of how man can avoid falling into the same sinfulness as before if God renews his communion with him and as concluding that God himself must change man's heart and will: "The answer which Jeremiah received to this question was the promise that God would himself change the human heart and so bring about perfect obedience. No prophet before Jeremiah was so much at pains to provide a basis for the human side of God's saving event". Old Testament Theology, Vol. II, p 217.
7. Milik, op cit, p 117f, but the possibility of the day being the Day of the Atonement cannot be ruled out. See Brownlee, op cit, Appendix G, p 53.
8. Brownlee, op cit, p 53.
9. K.G. Kuhn, Konkordanz, p 36f, "Nachträge", p 184f. It is interesting that כִּבְרִית is used in the Old Testament only of a covenant between men (I Samuel 20:8; II Chron. 15:12).
10. Brownlee, Ibid, p 7. For the frequent occurrence of this root see K.G. Kuhn, Konkordanz, p 141. Cf Ezekiel 3:5, I Chronicles 29:17, II Chronicles 17:16, Psalm 110:3.
11. Ibid, p 48f Appendix B. "The Meaning of Hesed and its importance for DSD". It has been plausibly suggested that the name "Essene" also evolved out of the root תָּבַן (See M. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, p14f ). For the use of תָּבַן in the Scrolls see Kuhn, Konkordanz, p 746, "Nachträge," p 194.
12. See especially IQH 3:19-23, 11:8-14 where F. Mussner sees a threefold pattern of delivery from sin or corruption, re-creation from the dust and entry into the heavenly community. "Contributions made by Qumran to the understanding of the Epistle to the Ephesians", Paul and Qumran, p 159-178 (vid p 174f). While this pattern is not much in evidence in the remainder of the Scrolls, the use of the root lends Mussner's theory support. K.G. Kuhn, Konkordanz p. 67f, "Nachträge", p 193.



28. de Vaux, op cit, p 9f, 27f, 131f.
29. Josephus, Bell. Jud. 11:8, 5 para. 134.
30. Kuhn, Konkordanz, p 121; "Nachträge", p 205.
31. See below p 50-57 Cf Dupont-Somer, A., The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, p 97ff.
32. Cf Cullmann, O., "The Significance of Qumran for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," The Scrolls and the New Testament, p 24.
33. It is not possible in the short scope of this thesis to compare the 'baptismal' practices of the sect and the early Church in detail. Certainly, the archaeology of Qumran confirms the high importance the sect attached to ritual washing (though de Vaux is cautious, op cit, p 9f, p 131f but others have allotted greater significance to it e.g. R.K. Harrison, 'The Rites and Customs of Qumran' in The Scrolls and Christianity, e.d. M. Black, SPCK, London, 1969, p 31f. W.H. Brownlee, In the Baptism, Stendahl, op cit, p 38f. The customs at Qumran had a low partition on the long wide steps down into them which seem to be designed to prevent 'contamination' of those coming out of the bath by those coming in. Similar baths have been found in Jerusalem which make de Vaux sceptical of their sectarian use, but the evidence has been turned the other way by B. Pixner who has made a close study of the South Western area of old Jerusalem (the so-called modern Mount Zion) and the ancient walls of the city. He asserts the possibility of an Essene Quarter there in 'An Essene Quarter on Mount Zion, Franciscan Printing Press, 1976 and sees these baths as indicating an Essene presence (p 269-74). IQS 5:13-14 indicates that true spiritual repentance was required before ritual washing was effective (Cf 3:4-9). Harrison suggests that this was based on Ezekiel 36:25-27 and that the lustration was the basis for the description of the community as the 'purity of the many' (טהרת הרב) though Vermes interprets this as a reference to the meal of the community. (op cit, p27). There seems to be some justification for a comparison of the practice at Qumran and the baptism of John, but there is no suggestion that this rite was understood at Qumran as a formal 'baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins'. Especially the rite seems to have been a repeated custom from which one could be excluded. (See IQS 3:4-9. Cf The Use of טהרת הרב for exclusion as a punishment in IQS 6:24-7:25. Cf Josephus, BJ. II.VIII 5 Cf B.J. II. VIII. 3 and 10): "Though the sectarians probably had some kind of baptism of initiation, their primary emphasis was on the regular, repeated washing which formed an important part of the life of the sect" (C.H.H. Scobie, 'John the Baptist' The Scrolls and Christianity, op cit, p 85 ) rather than on a symbolic clean break with the past once for all. In other words, lustration does not seem to be specifically connected with admittance into the community of the New Covenant, rather with the "waters for un purity" of Numbers 19, an expression used in IQS 3:4,9. Nevertheless it may be connected with the practice of proselyte baptism (though we have no evidence when this practice began - See Cullmann) and be related to the sect's rejection of the rest of Israel as apostate. Brownlee's comment on John's baptism (and he sees John as brought up by Qumran p 35f) he extends also to

Qumran baths: "The originality of John would be in his insistence that this rite be applied, not only to proselytes, but to persons who were born Jews. If so, this would imply that the whole nation was apostate and sinful and if it was to become the people of God it must enter the society of God's people through repentance and baptism" (W.H. Brownlee, 'John the Baptist', ed. Stendahl, op cit, p. 37). Certainly, IQS 5:13f seems to imply that washing in this ritual way was a pre-requisite of life in the community and Brownlee asserts that 'one's full admission into the community was probably marked by a bath which marked him off henceforth as belonging to the 'holy men'. Anyone joining the true Israel had to come that way" (Ibid p 39). There is also a possible parallel to the early Church (and John the Baptist) in the Qumran insistence on turning back to God's laws or repentance (IQS 3:3-9): the commonest word used to describe it is  $\alpha\iota\omega$  Kuhn, Konkordanz, p 217f, "Nachträge" p. 229.

34. Josephus, Bell. Jud. ii, 8,5, 129-132.
35. Vermes, op cit, p 81.
36. Cf Galatians 5:1, 4:6f, Romans 8:15, II Corinthians 3:17, Behm, op cit, TWB II, p 131.
37. Though, as Behm points out, the author of Hebrews comes close to a contradiction.
38. Cullmann, O., Baptism in the New Testament, SCM, 1950 p 56, 59, 68, 69. His thesis is not, however, accepted by all scholars.
39. See above p 13f.
40. "The saying in the Pauline form is to the effect that the blood (or death) of Jesus establishes the new covenant, and that the wine in the Lord's supper is thus a representation of the new covenant." Behm, op cit, p 133. Mark assimilates the saying to Exodus 24:28.
41. Ibid.
42. Goulder, M.D., Midrash and Lction in Matthew, SPCK, London, 1974.
43. Though Cf Kümmel, "There is really no foundation for the notion that Matthew tries to portray Jesus as the 'New Moses'" Introduction to the New Testament, SCM, London, 1966.
44. Goulder, op cit, p 129-31.
45. Stendahl, K., The School of Matthew, Uppsala, 1954.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO - SECTION THREE

1. Vermes, op cit, p 97.
2. Dupont-Somer, A., The Essene Writings from Qumran, Blackwell, Oxford, 1961, p 121., Sanders, E.P., Paul and Palestinian Judaism, SCM, London, 1977, p 250 n 35.
3. Gärtner, op cit, p 37f; Joubert, La Notion d'alliance sans le Judaïsme, Paris, 1963, p 162f; 120; 138; 211 cit ap Sanders, op cit, p 251
4. Coppens, J., "Les documents du Désert de Juda et les Origines du Christianisme," p 28-32. cit ap Braun, op cit, p 145f.
5. Though one does Qumran an injustice if one regards this conversion as a "work" in the Pauline sense, since the election of the remnant is always the work of God here as in the Old Testament and Schrenk's comment is valid here too: "If the establishment of the remnant has its basis in the gracious action of God, the conversion of men cannot be the essential presupposition of the remnant. In fact the primary reference is always to the deliverance of the remnant with no condition as a basis and only then do we read of its conversion or faith". TWB IV (194-214) p 206.
6. Vermes, op cit, p 98.
7. "The "holy seed" is holy only after the cleansing experience brought about by a confrontation with the divine holiness analogous to the confrontation and cleansing experience of Israel. After the annihilation of the nation a holy people will sprout out of the remaining root stock It will be holy, for it has experie nced cleansing judgment. Because of this experience it will stand in the right relationship of faith and trust and obiedience to Yahveh. It will then be the carrier of election". G.F. Hazel, The Remnant, Andrews University Press, Beriem Springs, Michigan, 1972, p 247. See also Gärtner, op cit, p 37f who also sees the terms "shoot of David (דָּוִד פִּיטוּל) and his seed" (פִּיטוּל דָּוִד) as referring to the community as a remnant throughout.
8. Vermes, op cit, p 169.
9. Sanders, op cit, p 250f.
10. Heaton, W.W., VTS III (New Series), 1952, 27 ff, "The Root קָנָשׁ and the doctrine of the Remnant."
11. The concept originates in the practice of genocidal warfare, where the aim was total annihilation and any members of a defeated nation who survived, while they lived in abject misery, yet represented the people's hope of rebirth. Von Rad, G., op cit, p 21f.
12. John Bright, Covenant and Promise, SCM, London, 1977, p 105f.
13. See discussion below p'71-80.
14. See above p 25f.
15. IQS 1:24ff. Vermes, op cit, p 73.

16. IQS 1:26-2:1 - Ibid.
17. At least the Qumran community which understood itself as the eschatological remnant of Israel knows that it is endowed with God's "spirit of holiness". This is the reason why prophecy occurs in the community. Walter Grundnay "The Teacher of Righteousness and the question of justification by faith in the theology of the Apostle Paul", Paul and Qumran, op cit, p 109, see below p 50-57.
18. Vermes, op cit, p 42 Cf IQH 1:25-27, 4:30-7, 7:16, 12:19, 16:11; CD 20:27-34.
19. Vermes, op cit, p 39, Cf M. Black, The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Doctrine, p 22ff.
20. IQS 11:8; IQM 1:16 ; 6:6, 9:8, 10:10,12; 12:1,4,7, Cf Braun, op cit, p 146.
21. See above p 92 note 10; Gärtner, op cit, p 126, L. Mowry, op cit, p 46f.
22. Sanders, E.P., op cit, p 245-55. "In short, in spite of confident scholarly assertions that the sectarians considered themselves to be the only true Israelites, and in spite of the substantial truth in that statement, the sectarians did consider that only they knew the entirety of the covenant and that those outside their covenant were "wicked" - they generally refrained from simply calling themselves "Israel". They seem to have retained the consciousness of being a specially chosen part of Israel, a consciousness which must have been re-inforced by the fact that one could not be a full member of the sect until adulthood (IQ Sa 1:8f)" p 247.
23. Ibid., p 245f.
24. Brownlee, op cit, p 22. He compares the phrase with 5:22 "the majority of the men of the community" and takes them as parallel.
25. Cf IQS 6:13f "every man from Israel" i.e. One who is already an Israelite joins the covenant.
26. Vermes, op cit, p 118.
27. Cross, F.M., op cit, p 116-7.
28. Schrenk, op cit, TWB IV, p 210.
29. Ibid, p 212.
30. As Braun suggests against J. Coppens, op cit, p 145. However, we shall not enter this famous controversy here.

## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE - SECTION ONE

1. M. Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Becker and Warburg, London, 1958, p 342.
2. Schweizer, E., Pneuma, TWB VI, P 332ff.
3. Ezekiel; Joel 3:1-2.
4. Schweizer, op cit, p 332-55.
5. Ibid, "Moral renewal is expected as the result of a change in the spirit and heart of a man", p 12.
6. Mark 1:8, Cf John 1:33.
7. W. Grandman, "The opinion that in Jewish theology post-pentecostal Christianity is the first to become aware of the reception of the Holy Spirit, cannot be maintained in this form. At least the Qumran community, which understood itself as the eschatological remnant of Israel, knows that it is endowed with God's Holy Spirit. This is the reason why prophecy occurs in the community." "The Teacher of Righteousness and the Question of Justification, by Faith in the Theology of the Apostle Paul". Paul and Qumran, op cit, p 109.
8. Dupont-Somer, A., The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, p 120, "Although closely related in doctrine and language with the other parts of the collection it yet forms a comparatively independent development, written with unusual care and composed in a remarkable way. No other fragment of teaching in the Manual even approaches it in firm construction." There may be some question as to whether it is inserted. N.B. The Title  $\text{סָוִוֹד}$  (3:13) may derive from Dan. 11:33 Cf 12:3. Wernberg-Moller takes this to indicate a general usage of the term to refer to every member of the community as 'wise' or pious in line with the Pseudepigraphical tradition. (p 66 op cit). However in view of the frequent use of this expression at the head of important material, presumable for instruction of postulants to the community, Brownlee's explanation remains, for me, the most convincing explanation. "Being of Hiphil formation, the word means not so much one who is wise in and of himself but one who is able to teach wisdom". op cit p 13. n 21.
9. So W.H. Brownlee, op cit, p 13 n 21; Dupont-Somer, op cit, p 118-20 who gives some remarkable parallels from the Zoroastrian Gâthâs, and G. Kuhn, "New Light on Temptation, Sin and Flesh in the New Testament", (Stendahl, op cit) p 98.
10. Kuhn, G. op cit, p 98.
11. IQS 3:15ff, Vermes p 75, Cf John 1:3. "All things were made through him, and without him was not anything made that was made." Cf IQS 3:75.
12. IQS 3:7, 4:21, 8:16, 9:3; IQH ( $\text{הַוְוֹדָר}$ ) 7:6, (8:12), 9:32, 12:12, 14:13, 16:2,3,7,12; IQSb 2:24, CD 2:12, (5:11), 7:4.
13. IQS 3:20, <sup>1</sup>QM 13:10, CD 5:18.

14. IQS 3:24, Cf פניך פניך IQSb 4:25.
15. e.g. IQS3:18, 4:9, (4:10 תורת), 4:20, (4:22 נהגה), 4:23, (5:26, 10:18 רשע).
16. Kuhn, Konkordanz, p33, "Nachträge", p 184.
17. IQS 3:20,21 ( שבח 4:12 IQM 13:12) ( הטטה IQM 13:11, Cd 16:5)
18. Vermes, op cit, p 75.
19. See Davies, 'Paul on Flesh and Spirit', The Scrolls and the New Testament, p 169-71.
20. Vermes, op cit, p 77.
21. Brownlee, op cit, p 43 vv Lohse p 68f, Vermes, p 98, Rabin (cit ap Davies, op cit, p 175.
22. "Nevertheless the emphasis in the Scrolls is not on the invasive transcendent character of the two spirits, but on their enduring presence and persistence until the End. They suggest not an inrush of specially given energy, but, if we may so express it, two constant currents of good and evil forces in conflict." W.D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls : Flesh and Spirit," ed. Stendahl, op cit, p 173.
23. Cf CD 5:17f The Prince of Lights שן האור (בד) = Spirit of Truth was already active in raising Moses and Aaron, as Satan was in raising James and his brother.
24. IQS 4:20f.
25. See above p 33, 100.
26. So Brownlee, op cit, p 32, Wernberg-Moller, op cit, p 91; Lohse, op cit, Dupont-Somer, p 93, p 29 as against Vermes, "When these become members of the community in which refers it simply to initiation (Cf Vermes 8:4 "When these are in Israel", 8:7 "When these become members of the Community in Israel".)
27. e.g. Brownlee, op cit, p 34, Dupont-Somer, op cit, p 93.
28. e.g. Löhse, op cit, p 33 (Grundlage).
29. E. Schweizer, op cit p 383-6.
30. So W.D. Davies, op cit, p 17 "Either the community in the days immediately preceding the End is to be in possession of the Holy Spirit, on the grounds of its fulfilment of the Laws in the right way or the strict discipline of the sect becomes a foundation on which, when the Messianic Age has come, the Holy Spirit will be given."
31. Wernberg-Moller, op cit, p 34f, p 132f.
32. Brownlee, p 35, W.H. Davies, op cit, p 176f, Cf E. Schweizer, op cit, p 413 sees the Spirit in Qumran as equivalent to the 'Self'. ~~Cf Das Leben des Hoerum der Genoudeu liron Diensten, cit ap Davies p 177.~~
33. II Corinthians 1:22, 5:5, Ephesians 1:14. Cf p 57-66.

34. IQM, see below p 76-80.
35. Vermes, op cit, p 76.
36. G. Kuhn, op cit, p 110.
37. This is discussed especially in Kuhn, op cit, p 100-4 and Davies op cit, p 157 ff.
38. IQS 9:4, Cd 7:1, 8:6.
39. IQpHab 4:29.
40. So IQS 3:6f, 4:20, 11:7-10,12, IQH 4:9, IQM 4:3.
41. Davies, op cit, p 162, Cf Kuhn "Temptation, Sin and Flesh", op cit, p 101 "Thus flesh becomes a contrast to the 'spirit' which rules the pious man and determines his good actions and dwells within him, consequently 'flesh' becomes the area of weakness through the natural inclinations of man; it becomes almost synonymous with evil."
42. Kuhn, op cit, p 102. I take this line against E. Schweizer who sees the "I" as replacing the personal identity which had been lost when 'spirit' was generalised, op cit, p 389-91. Cf Paul's use of 'I' in Romans 7:14,24.
43. Davies, W.D. "Paul on Flesh and Spirit", op cit, p 163 f.
44. Kuhn, "Temptation, Sin and Flesh", op cit, p 94f.
45. Gen. 22. LXX Cf Heb. 11:17, I Cor. 7:5, I Thes. 3:5, Mark 4:3 Luke 8:13, Rev. 2:10, Jas. 1:2,12,13,
46. I Thess 3:6, I Cor. 7:5, Gal. 6:1, Cf I Cor. 10:13, Luke 8:13, Heb. 2:18, 4:15, I Peter 1:6, 4:12f, 5:8.
47. Cf I Thes. 5:6ff, Ephesians 6:11, I Cor. 16:13, Cf Romans 6:12-23.
48. Mark 10:52, John 14:6, Acts 9:2, 16:17, 18:25, 19:9,23, 22:4, 24:1f, Hebrews 10:20, 2 Peter 2:2,15,21 Cf I Cor. 12:31 Cf Didache 1:1f.
49. This is such a constant theme: I cite only Peter's speech in Acts 2:22-4:36, Cf Romans 6 below.
50. Herm. Maud v-xii 2 esp. vi.2:1-10. See Snyder, G.F., The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. 6, Nelson, Camden, N.J. 1968, p 32. Cf Test. Judah 20:1-2 (Two Spirits); Test. Asher 3:3-9 (Two Ways) Barnabus 18:1f. Cf A.R.C. Leanly, The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning, Philadelphia, 1966, p 48-50.
51. Romans 1:3, 2:25, 3:20, 4:1, 9:3,5,8, I Corinthians 1:26,29, 5:5, 6:16, 7:28, 10:18, 15:39,50, 2 Corinthians 4:11, 7:5, 12:7, Galatians 1:16, 2:16, 20, 3:3, 4:13,14,23,29, 6:12,13, Ephesians 2:11,14, 5:29,31, 6:5,12, Phil. 1:22,24, 3:13,14, Col. 1:22,24, 2:1,5,23, 3:22, Phil. 16.

52. Romans 6:19, 7:5,18,25, 8:3,4,5,6,7,8,9,12,13; II Corinthians 1:17, 5:16, 7:1, 10:2, 11:18, Galatians 5:13,16,17,19,24, 6:8, Ephesians 2:3, Colossians 2:11,13,18. See J.A.T. Robinson, 'Flesh represents mere man, man in contrast with God - hence man in his weakness and mortality ..... Flesh stands for man, in the solidarity of creation, in his distance from God .... the could describe the situation by saying that flesh as neutral is man living in the world, flesh as sinful is man living for the world, The Body, p 19, 25, 31. (Cit ap Davies).
53. Davies, op cit, p 163 f.
54. Ibid, p 166-9. Specifically Davies cites the references to 'body of flesh', calendrical niceties, sabbath regulations, meat and drink prohibitions, wisdom and knowledge, worship of angels, 'intruding into those things which he has not seen', Belial etc., and he concludes, "What is noteworthy is that it is precisely where Paul has most clearly to combat what seem to be influences of the Qumran type of idea that there emerges in his epistles the use of the term 'flesh' with a moral connotation" p 168f. Cf Galatians 5:13-21 where the list of desires of the flesh are directed mainly against 'heretical' tendencies to disunite in a similar context.
55. Op cit, p 161.
56. G. Kuhn, op cit, p 105f.
57. Charlesworth, J., (ed), John and Qumran, Chapman, London, 1972.
58. E. Schweizer, 'Pneuma ', TWB Vol. VI, p 438.
59. ARC Leaney, "The Johannine Paraclete and the Qumran Scrolls," Charlesworth, op cit, p 45f compares John's use of convict, ἐλέγχειν with the use of the Hebrew נָסַח in the Scrolls e.g. IQS 5:24, 6, CD 9:3,7,f, 18, 20:4.
60. We have already pointed out the closeness of this identification of 'Spirit' and 'Truth' in John to Qumran. It is opposite to false worship of those who reject Jesus (identified clearly in John's Gospel with official Judaism e.g. John 11:47 "So the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered together in council" motivated by Satan like Judas (13:2,27).
61. The Hebrew text was first published by M. de Jonge and A.S. van der Woude in "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament", NTS 12, 1965-6, p 301-26. This is the text I have followed. There is wide agreement on the palaeographical evidence, and few scholars are prepared to date the text much earlier. "Without further evidence there is no reason to think that our copy is anything other than the autograph and datable in the middle of the first century AD. "F.L. Horton, The Melchizedek Tradition, Cambridge U.P. 1976, p 81 Cf p 72f; 80f.

62. Jonge and van der Woude, op cit, p 306.
63. Ibid, p 304f; Horton, op cit, p 75ff Cf Vermes translation of verse 25: "Your ELOHIM is Melchizedek who will save you from the hand of Satan "p 268, but this is conjectural; The text reads וְאֵלֹהִים הוּא הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ for this of אֱלֹהִים see 1 Samuel 5:7; Judges 11:24; 1 Kings 28:13 Cf 1 Samuel 28:13; Exodus 4:16, 7:1.
64. See below p 71.
65. Some Rabbinic sources identify Michael and Melchizedek - so Jonge and van der Woude, op cit p 305f.
66. Vermes, op cit, p 260f.
67. Horton, op cit, p 152-72.
68. Ibid, p 161 f, "We grow in understanding of Christ's priesthood the eternal heavenly priesthood, by understanding the features of the earthly perpetual priesthood of Melchizedek. Each significant feature of the antitype is to be found in its true form in the type."
69. Ibid, p 157 ff i.e. on the principle of quod non in thora non in mundi, his prior mention in the Torah means also his prior existence. Horton examines also the speculation in Josephus, Philo and the Genesis Apocryphon : "The author of Hebrews has not selected just any figure without genealogy from the Old Testament; rather, the first priest on earth is not given any genealogy in the Torah, a fact which underscores his originality. The absence of genealogy, the failure to mention birth and death are unimportant deficiencies for unimportant figures, but for the first priest such omissions take on significance." p 160.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE - SECTION TWO

1. K.G. Kuhn, Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten, Göttingen Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960 p 135 : IQS 9:11, IQM 11:7, IQSa 2:12, 2:14, 20, 7QS 30:1, 2, 4QPB 3, 6Q QD 3,4, CD 2:12, 6, 12:23, 14:19, 19:10, 20:1. ~~To this must be added later discoveries: see K.G. Kuhn "Nachträge zur 'Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten'", op cit, e.g. 11Q Meleh. 18.~~
2. e.g. L.H. Silbermann, La Sor NTS 19, 1966-7, p 211 -39, cit an M. Burrows, More Light, op cit, p 297f.
3. Thus the prophets can also be described as 'anointed with His Holy Spirit' CD2:12. See above IV.i p 3+ n15.
4. A. Dupont-Somer, The Dead Sea Scrolls, Blackwell, Oxford, 1952, p 34 Cf p 44.
5. p 99f. This position he subsequently modified: The Jewish Sect of Qumran, op cit, p 150f.
6. e.g. Vermes, op cit, p 240.
7. See above p13f, 94, n22 & M. Burrows, "All this implies, however, is that in order to obey the Law correctly, the Teacher's inspired interpretation must be accepted. Like the prophets he was the recipient of a revelation, but that did not make him more than human". More Light, p 338.
8. Gen. 25:8,17; 35:29; 49:29,33. There is no evidence that the Teacher suffered a violent death at the hand of his enemies, much less that he was crucified. The suggestion that the Teacher was raised from the dead is pure fantasy". R.E. Brown, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the Messiah(s)" ed. Black, The Scrolls and Christianity, p 41, Cf M. Burrows, More Light, op cit, p 324-41, Pryke, Scrolls and Christianity, p 53ff.
9. M. Black, Scrolls, p 162. "The Rabbinic idea of the propitiatory power of the shed blood of the heroes and saints of Israel has also roots which lie deeply buried in pre-Christian antiquity: already in I Maccabees an atoning efficacy is attributed to the deaths of the Martyrs."
10. Possibly parts of the Hymns and parts of the Manual of Discipline derive from him as Jeremias and J. Murphy-O'Connor suggest, but this cannot be stated with certainty.
11. This passage is absent from the earliest copy of the Manual of Discipline 4QSe where 9:12 follows 8:16. Perhaps this represents a later phase in the thinking of the community as suggested by J.T. Milik, op cit, p 123.

12. The plural is unequivocal in the text, K.G. Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel," ed. Stendahl, op cit, p 54. J.T. Milik sees it as 'grammatically the only possible interpretation', op cit, p 123-8. Attempts to explain this away linguistically are unconvincing.
13. Ibid, p 60.
14. e.g. Text Rub. 6:7-12, Text Jud. 21:2-5, "To me (Judah) God has given the kingship to him (Lavi) the priesthood; and the kingship he has subordinated to the priesthood".
15. "The fact that the High Priest takes precedence over the Messiah of Israel may mean very little; presumably he would do so in any Temple rite or priestly function, but this does not mean that we are to regard the High Priest as in the strict sense a Messianic figure". M. Black, Scrolls and Christian Origins, p 147.
16. O. Cullmann, Christology of the New Testament, p 14-30; Cf The Samaritan 'Taeb' : M. Black, Scrolls and Christian Origins, p 159f; M. de Jonge, "Messianic expectations and the Fourth Gospel", NTS 19, 1972-3, p 266-70.
17. de Jonge and van der Woude, op cit, p 306f; Horton, op cit, p 78.
18. Kuhn, 'The Two Messiahs', op cit, p 59f.
19. Milik, op cit, p 123-8.
20. M. Black claims, 'the whole account is a tour de force of priestly imagination, out-romancing the chronicler himself in some of his military operations," Scrolls and Christian Origins, p 153. See below p.
21. See above p 53.
22. Vermes, op cit, p 270.
23. Some scholars have tried to chart such a pattern of change, but it must remain conjectural.
24. As in Joshua 8:22. See Buber, M. "The Kingship of God,"
25. In the vocabulary of Silbermann, cit ad, Burrows, More Light, p 299.
26. R.E. Brown, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the Messiah(s)", Scrolls and Christianity, p 44.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE - SECTION THREE

1. See above. Cf Paul, "Our fight is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers etc."
2. Burrows, op cit, More Light, p 343.
3. Is there a parallel here with the New Testament picture of Satan as the 'Prince of this world/aeon'.
4. J. Pryke, "Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls," Black ed., op cit, p 45-57 questions whether there is anything other than Historical Eschatology to be found in the Scrolls. Cf Y. Yadin's analysis.
5. CD 20:13ff  

"At first, this figure must have been accepted as a real one, but with the passage of time it doubtless came merely to symbolise the forty years of wandering in the wilderness before Israel entered the Promised Land." Vermes, p 48.
6. As Burrows points out this had come to mean a general term for Israel's enemies or the Gentiles, op cit, p 350, but in the War Scrolls the Kittim have come to be identified with the Romans (See Yadin).
7. See above p 43.
8. "But when the age is completed, according to the number of those years, there shall be no more joining the house of Judah, but each man shall stand on his watchtower" Vermes, p 101 Cf p 48.
9. IQS 3:14,18; 4:6,11,19,26; IQH 1:17, 13:10, f 37:1; 4QpJsb 2:2; 4QpHosb 1:10 CD 7:21, 19:10,11 Cf IQH 1:21f; 15:10.
10. IQS 6:14.
11. See above p 54f.
12. Vermes, op cit, p 76f.
13. IQS 3:20; IQM 13:10 CD 5:18.
14. IQM 9:15,16; 17:6,7.
15. Cit an Burrows,op cit, p 51f.
16. Lohse text, op cit, p 206. agrees largely with Dupont-Somer: "zur Machtentfaltung der Hand im Kriege, (um niederzubeugen) die Gegner des Lande durch die Fülle deiner Gerichte" p 207.
17. Dupont-Somer, The Essene Writings from Qumran, op cit, p 187 Cf Yadin, cit an Burrows, op cit, p 345.

18. So Carmignac, cit ap Burrows, Ibid, Cf Vermes, op cit p 139 "that they may be mighty in battle (and smite) the rebels of the earth by Thy great judgments."
19. Mansoor, cit ap Burrows p 345 Cf Job 7:21, 20:11, 21:26.
20. Vermes, G., op cit, p 51, "But it is not impossible that the phraseology is metaphorical. On the other hand, considering the belief and expectations of the sect as a whole, it is difficult to conceive that the members would have denied their dead brethren and the saint of the past a full share in the eternal joys of the Messianic Kingdom."
21. Ibid, p 73 Brownlee has "in the gloom of eternal fire". He considers emending to וַעַן אֵשׁוֹרֵךְ as 'fuel of fire' Cf Isaiah 9:4,18, Ezekiel 15:6 but rejects this by comparing it to IQS 4:13, 1 Enoch 103:8 and New Testament: Matthew 8:12, 22:13, 2 Peter 2:4, Jude 6, op cit fll Cf also Test, Jud 25:3, Test Zeb 10:3, cit op, Wernberg Moller, op cit p 53 n 21.
22. IQH 3:9,16,19; 6:17; 8:28; 9:4, 10:34; 17:13 Cf Abaddon IQH 3:16,19, 3:32; IQMf 9:3. Cit ap Kuhn, Konkordanz p 215, p 1.
23. "The general type of eschatology would appear to be that of an expected Kingdom of God (or New Creation) of eternal duration on the present earth, with Jerusalem (and the Temple) as its centre". Burrows, op cit, p 136.
24. See above p 54f.
25. Vermes, op cit, p 186 Cf IQH 13:11f (Cf Isaiah 43:19, 48:6-7).
26. Ibid, p 159f Cf 2 Peter 3:7 Hippolytus also credits the Essenes with this belief, cit ap Burrows, op cit, p 141f.
27. I have not yet managed to get hold of a copy of this newly published text.
28. One is reminded of IQH 3 with its symbolic 'birthpangs'.
29. The content of this term in contemporary Judaism and in the New Testament is discussed in Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, p 137-92, "In the New Testament as well as in the late Jewish texts (especially in the Ethiopian Enoch) the primary eschatological function of the coming Son of Man is that of judgment" p 157.
30. Mark 12:18=, 12:23=, John 5:29, 11:24,25, Acts 4:2, 17:18,82, 23:6,8, 24:15,21, Romans 1:4, 6:5, I Corinthians 15:12-42, 2 Timothy 2:18 Hebrews 6:2, 11:35, Revelations 20:5f.
31. For Paul in I Corinthians 15, the Resurrection is important because of who Jesus Christ is: not a supernatural figure or leader, but the corporate personality of mankind: "As in Adam all die, so in Christ all are made alive". (ICorinthians 15:22 Cf Romans 5:12-17). What happened to Christ happens to all Christians since they are involved in it, hence their identification with his death and resurrection.
32. There are indications of a different understanding also e.g. Matthew 22:30.

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