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' ETERNAL LIFE ', SHEOL AND OTHER
RELATED BELIEFS IN THE QUMRAN SCROLLS

by

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A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY,
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OF ST. ANDREWS IN FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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1971

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following disseration is based on the results of research carried out by myself, that it is my own composition and that it has never been presented for a Higher Degree.

The research was carried out at the University of St. Andrews.

(JERRY MAC WALLEVAND

S T A T E M E N T

I was admitted to St. Mary's College and the Faculty of Divinity of the University of St. Andrews as a Research Student under Ordinance General No. 12 on 1st October, 1968, and as a candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy under Resolution of the University Court, 1970, No. 1, with retrospective effect to that date. On 1st October 1968 I commenced research on 'Eternal Life', Sheol and Other Related Beliefs in the Qumran Scrolls which is now being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

JERRY MAC WALLEVAND

4TH OCTOBER 1971

CERTIFICATE

I certify that JERRY MAC WALLEVAND has spent nine terms of research at the University of St. Andrews, that he has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court 1970, No. 1 and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AJT</u>	<u>The American Journal of Theology</u>
<u>A&P</u>	<u>R.H. Charles, editor, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</u>
<u>B</u>	<u>Biblica</u>
<u>BASOR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</u>
<u>BDB</u>	<u>F. Brown, S.R. Driver and C.A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</u>
<u>BJRL</u>	<u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</u>
<u>BO</u>	<u>Bibliotheca Orientalis</u>
<u>BPS</u>	<u>Biblica Patristic Studies</u>
<u>BR</u>	<u>Biblical Research</u>
<u>CBQ</u>	<u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>
<u>EWQ</u>	<u>A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran (English translation by G. Vermes)</u>
<u>HTR</u>	<u>Harvard Theological Review</u>
<u>IEJ</u>	<u>Israel Exploration Journal</u>
<u>JBL</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
<u>JNES</u>	<u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</u>
<u>JSS</u>	<u>Journal of Semitic Studies</u>
<u>NT</u>	<u>Novum Testamentum</u>
<u>NTS</u>	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
<u>OS</u>	<u>Oudtestamentliche Studiën</u>
<u>PEQ</u>	<u>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</u>
<u>RB</u>	<u>Revue Biblique</u>
<u>RdQ</u>	<u>Revue de Qumran</u>
<u>QP</u>	<u>Qumran-Probleme</u>
<u>RHR</u>	<u>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</u>
<u>RSR</u>	<u>Revue des Sciences Religieuses</u>
<u>S</u>	<u>Semitica</u>
<u>S-B</u>	<u>H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud and Midrasch I-IV</u>
<u>SE</u>	<u>Studia Evangelica (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literature)</u>
<u>TTQT</u>	<u>F. Nötscher, Zur Theologischen Terminologie der Qumran Texte</u>
<u>TWNT</u>	<u>R. Kittel, editor, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament (Theological Dictionary of the New Testament)</u>
<u>TZ</u>	<u>Theologische Zeitschrift</u>
<u>VT</u>	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>
<u>WZKM</u>	<u>Weiner Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</u>
<u>ZAW</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>
<u>ZRG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte</u>
<u>ZTK</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</u>

CHAPTER I:
INTRODUCTION

Since the publication of the first Qumran Scrolls, which were found in 1947, the impression has been gained that these sectarians believed in some kind of an after-life. While more light may come upon this subject as more and more writings and fragments are published, there remains the major difficulty which is the exact defining of the expressions of an after-life.

The findings of fragments from Daniel and certain pseudepigraphical works, e.g. the books of Enoch, Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, Lamech, suggest that the Scrolls belong to an apocalyptic era where a heaven-hell dualism was beginning to emerge. In this connection, critics in the early stages of Qumran exegesis pointed to remarks

concerning the after-life that Josephus attributed to the Essenes (Bell. Jud. II, viii, 11; Antiq. XVIII, i,5), whom a majority of scholars consider to be represented by the Qumran sectarians.

Bellum Judaicum II, viii, 11: "This doctrine is firmly held by them that the bodies are corruptible (φθαρτὰ ... τὰ σώματα) and what constitutes their matter is not permanent, and the immortal souls (τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους) continue forever; and emanating from the rarest ether they are entwined to the bodies - drawn down as to a prison by a natural spell. When they are released from the bonds of the flesh, as indeed having been set free from a long slavery, (these) suspended (souls) (μετεώρουσ) rejoice and are borne up. As for the good (souls) they, agreeing with the sons of the Greeks, declare that a way of life is reserved beyond the ocean, a place weighed down neither by rain nor snow nor heat, but which an always gentle zephyr blowing from the ocean refreshes. But as for the base (souls) they set apart a gloomy and stormy inner chamber, filled with unceasing punishments (τιμωριῶν ἀδιαλείπτων). The Greeks seem to me, according to the same idea, to set up for their brave men, whom they call heroes and demi-gods, the Islands of the Blessed; but for the souls of the worthless, down into Hades (καθ' ἄδου), a place of the impious, where they mythologize that certain ones are being punished: Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, and Tityus. They¹ were the first ones who hypothesized that souls are eternal (ἀϊδίους ... τὰς ψυχὰς): consequently having an impulse of virtue and an avoidance of wickedness. For the good become stronger in their lifetime by the hope of reward even after death (ἐλπίδι τιμῆς καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν) and the passions of the wicked are hindered by the fear of expecting (even if they escape detection in this life) to suffer perpetual punishment (ἀθάνατου τιμωρίαν) after

1. Among the Jews? Josephus perhaps refers to the early Greeks immediately preceding. Cf. Antiq. XVIII, i, 5, below.

dissolution (of the body). These (views) the Essenes theologize concerning the soul, setting an irresistible bait for those who have once tasted their philosophy."¹

Antiquitas Judaica XVIII, i, 5: "As for the Essenes (their) doctrine is wont to leave all things to God. They consider souls immortal (ἀθανατίζουσιν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς), regarding the approach (πρόσοδον)² of the just as highly prized ..."

These recorded beliefs of the Essenes by Josephus have been challenged in every quarter. The greatest objection, of course, is the claim that what is 'Greek dress' has not presented the beliefs of a Jewish sect which appears firmly grounded in Old Testament cosmology, psychology, and eschatology. Particularly the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is objected to. Indeed, an absolute dualism of body and soul is clearly described by Josephus, and this is a sharp contradiction to the unity of personality which characterises Old Testament belief. Yet an eschatological individual retribution is mentioned by Josephus. It would be difficult for him to appreciate the theological subtleties involved in this distinction. His knowledge of how cheerfully these Essenes gave up their souls to their Roman executioners as though they were about to receive

1. Translated from the Loeb edition.

2. Cf. J. Strugnell, "Flavius Josephus: 'Antiquities' XVIII. 18-22," JBL 77 (1958), p. 109.

them again readily would suggest to him some type of immortality.¹ Josephus even identifies their way of life with the practices taught by Pythagoras to the Greeks.² So behind the 'Greek dress' we can suspect a belief in an after-life, if the Qumran sectarians truly represented the Essene beliefs which Josephus described. However, the Qumran writings must be allowed to speak for themselves. Josephus has really only disguised the Essene beliefs regarding an after-life.

Another writer of antiquity has attributed an after-life to the Essenes. The early third-century church father Hippolytus in his Refutatio Omnium Haeresium IX.27³ credits them with a belief in the resurrection, in a conflagration and the eternal punishment of the wicked:

"Also the matter of the resurrection is firmly held by them. For they profess that even the flesh shall rise and be immortal (καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἀναστήσεσθαι καὶ ἕσεσθαι ἀθάνατον), as formerly the soul is already immortal, which when separated is even now at a fresh and bright place to rest until the judgement - which place the Greeks who have heard of it called the Islands of the Blessed. But also many of the Greeks having appropriated other doctrines of theirs commended (them) as their own teaching. ... And (the Essenes) say that there will be a judgement and a conflagration of all things (κρίσιν ἕσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἐκπύρωσιν), and the unjust will be punished eternally (τοὺς ἀδίκους κολασθήσεσθαι εἰσαεί). Prophecy and foretelling the future are practised among them.⁴

1. Bell. Jud. II, viii, 10

2. Antiq. XV, x, 4.

3. Cf. Bell. Jud. II, viii, 11.

4. Hippolytus Werke: Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, 3. Band, herausg. von P. Wendland.

J. van der Ploeg has suggested that some of the phrases in the Scrolls recall certain expressions in the canonical Psalter, in particular Psalm 16.9-11, 49.15f and 73.23-28.¹ In order to lay some Hebrew basis for defining a possible Qumran belief in an after-life which will lead to positive conclusions, we will examine the above psalm sections as suggested by van der Ploeg.

In Psalm 16 the counsel of God causes the author to exclaim:-

- 9 Therefore my heart is glad and my glory rejoices; Also my flesh dwells securely.
10 For thou dost not abandon my soul to Sheol; Thou dost not permit thy pious one to see corruption.
11 Thou dost show me the path of life; Full satisfaction of joy is with thy presence; Delightful things are perpetually in thy right hand.

E. König, C.A. Briggs et al. translate the imperfects תַּעֲזֹב 'thou dost abandon' and תִּתֵּן 'thou dost permit' (verse 10) and תִּדְרֹשׁני 'thou dost show me' (verse 11a) by the future tense. But for König תִּדְרֹשׁני lifts the meaning of the salvation experience into the eschaton: beyond death. When these imperfects are translated by a present tense the metaphors for the realm of death² (verse 10) are seen as already

1. "L'Immortalité de l'homme d'après les textes de la Mer Morte," VT 2 (1952), p. 175.

2. Sheol and corruption (שְׁהוֹל :- LXX; Vulgate).

possessing the author.¹ The poet is expressing his assurance that God will not suffer him to die prematurely.

The 'path of life' (אַרְוַת חַיִּים : verse 11a) does not pertain to a heavenly picture in Proverbs 5.6, 10.17, 15.24. The expression, we note, is connected with instruction as in Proverbs. The comforting presence of God is so vivid that the poet envisions that the fondest delights of life are held in God's right hand. Whether the poet sees no end to communion with the living God is impossible to tell from the passage. R. Martin-Achard states that in some sense the author lives in a sort of eternal present.² The apostolic interpretation of Acts 2.25ff and 13.35 believes that David is foretelling the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless for Old Testament exegesis it remains uncertain in Psalm 16 whether the poet is even thinking of the after-life. H.-J. Kraus states the strongest position we could hold: "Er existiert nun aus dem Lebensgrund, der Jahweh selbst ist."³

In Psalm 49 the poet's fears are relieved when he sees death as the great separator of man from his riches. It is

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1. Cf. S. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I (1962), p. 241.
 2. From Death to Life (De la Mort a la resurrection d'apres l'Ancien Testament), trans. J.P. Smith (1960), p. 152.
 3. Psalmen (1960), p. 126.

debated whether the poet escapes the final abode of Sheol which claims the pompous:-

- 15 As a flock they are set for Sheol;
death shepherds them.
The upright shall rule over them in the morning.
Their form (comes) to waste away;
From a lofty abode is (now) Sheol (home) to them.
- 16 Indeed God will deliver my soul;
It is from the power of Sheol that He takes me.¹

The crux of exegesis in this psalm has generally hinged on how we understand 'קָבַץ' 'He will take me' (verse 16). Scholars observe that 'receive', 'take' is the verb used of the translation of Enoch (Genesis 5.24) and Elijah (II Kings 2.3f). 'קָבַץ', which is also found in Psalm 73.24, is considered by some scholars to be a terminus technicus for a spiritual translation (F. Delitzsch, B. Duhm et al.)- even a removal into heaven without previous death (G. Kittel). E. König states that the 'translation' means a future purification of the pious who are among all men in Sheol. Sheol has become a 'status intermedius'.² But B. Duhm stresses that the Jews had not entered into a doctrine of immortality of a metaphysical kind without a real cosmological background (heaven-hell).³ Yet for G. von Rad, death cannot remove the communion with God vouchsafed to

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1. The Hebrew of this passage is probably hopelessly corrupt.
 2. Op. cit., p. 601
 3. Die Psalmen (1899), p. 141.

the author. As a solution to the problem of theodicy the author comes to the conclusion that the pompous rich must remain in death.¹

The weight of evidence for an eschatological deliverance from Sheol is considered invalid by some. C.A. Briggs considers verse 16 a gloss;² and M. Bittenwieser believes that it is thrown out only as a parenthetical thought, left undeveloped, and is completely overshadowed by the idea that "man's glory is fleeting".³ H. Gunkel, of course, holds that 'קָנָה' is not to be thought of as a 'removal' (Entrückung) but the author is snatched away from danger.⁴ Still we may question whether the rescue is permanent or not. The 'danger' of Sheol to the pompous is quite final: "Their form (comes) to waste away" (verse 15c). This may not be retributive punishment following death. But set against ultimate death in Sheol and not merely danger, deliverance appears to assume a corresponding eschatological dimension. Whether or not this psalm speaks of an after-life, we find that a cosmology in which Sheol is an intermediate place and the soul is in an intermediate state (= immortality) is certainly not fully developed.

1. Old Testament Theology, I (1968), p. 406.

2. The Book of Psalms, I (I.C.C.), (1952), p. 411.

3. The Psalms (1969), p. 647.

4. Die Psalmen (1926), p. 213.

In Psalm 73 the poet develops the positive aspect of the divine retribution at greater length than the writer of Psalm 49.¹ The theme of the psalm is the problem of retribution discussed in the book of Job.² Within the sanctuary of God the psalmist perceives the end of the wicked. Their life is precarious for God has set them in slippery places (verses 17ff). The author's own position is then described:-

23 I am continually with thee;
Thou dost hold my right hand;
24 Thou dost guide me with thy counsel;
After honour thou wilt receive me.
25 Whom do I have in heaven?
And beside thee I do not desire (anything)
on earth.
26 My flesh and my heart are exhausted;
But God is the rock of my heart and my
portion forever.
27 For behold, those far from thee shall perish;
Thou hast silenced all who are unfaithful
to thee.
28 As for me, being near God is good;
I have set my refuge in the Lord Yahweh
In order to recount all thy works.

The majority of scholars hold that the psalmist is proclaiming the fulfilment of divine retribution, not before death, but by means of and after it. The wicked will lose their possessions including life, while the righteous will be received into the presence of Yahweh and will dwell in

1. R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., p. 164.

2. According to E.J. Kissane (The Book of Psalms [1964], p. 322), it is much less advanced.

His glory.¹ So some scholars believe that the writer envisaged a kind of translation for himself (R. Kittel, A. Bertholet et al.). The crowning phrase occurs in verse 24b-

ואחר כבוד תקחני - which most scholars translate something like, "And afterwards thou wilt receive me in glory."² B. Duhm even declares that the author will not decay in the Jenseits, but Yahweh will bring him into Paradise.³ E. König speaks of an other-worldly (transcendent) retribution.⁴ H.-J. Kraus considers that כבוד (verse 24b) is the 'phenomenon of light' which accompanies the appearing of Yahweh when he receives the righteous.⁵ G. von Rad believes that God had other realms at His disposal, and had the power and liberty to translate men into them.⁶ We note that in the previously-discussed psalm כבוד is an expression of the accumulation of wealth and honour for the wicked which does not go down (into Sheol) after him (: Psalm 49.18b). It is not impossible that the author is referring to this type of כבוד in Psalm 73.24, in which case the

1. Cf. R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., p. 163.

2. The LXX (and Latin versions) add μετὰ (cum): 'in glory' or 'with glory'.

3. Op. cit., p. 192.

4. Op. cit., p. 611 fn.

5. See the discussion by H.-J. Kraus, op. cit., p. 510.

6. Op. cit., p. 406.

weight of the passage centres on some type of communion with God. It is doubtful whether we can hold with Kraus that one can speak with full authority of an eschatological act of God...or that to the psalmist is unveiled the new, final rule of God.¹ H. Gunkel, whose position on the whole of the Psalter can be summed up in his statement on verses 23, 24, declares, "Auch würde man durch den Gedanken an himmlische Seligkeit das ganze Bild des Psalms völlig verschieben ..." But we would hesitate to add with Gunkel, "... er nur dies eine Leben kennt."² The conception of heaven as a final abode of the righteous can truly be hoped for, but the cosmology of the Old Testament has not accommodated itself to express reward this way. Also in the two 'translation' incidents noted above, Enoch was simply taken by God and Elijah was carried away by a chariot of fire.

A summary of the findings by scholars as to what constitutes, or fails to constitute, belief in an after-life in Psalms 16, 49 and 73 follows: (1) God is the ground of being for the righteous. If there is an everlasting fellowship it appears to be the strongest expression of an after-life in these psalms - indeed the entire psalter.

1. Ibid.

2. Op. cit., p. 315.

(2) Evidence for a bodily translation similar to Enoch and Elijah or a spiritual translation after death are possible expressions of a permanent fellowship with God. Yet we cannot speak categorically. (3) Only in later Judaism did the Israelites enter into a cosmology in which Sheol is an intermediate place between death and resurrection. Because of this development the soul after death lies in an intermediate state in Sheol, and "immortality of the soul" has been read into the existence of man prior to death. Psalm 49 gives this impression, but it is undeveloped. (4) There is no evidence that Sheol has become an eschatological place of punishment. There is no further suffering or affliction there - only decay and wasting away which are typical descriptions of the realm of death. (5) The emergence of 'heaven' as a final place of bliss is one of the latest developments of reward.

כבוד in Psalm 73.24, if it refers to 'heaven', would be the earliest evidence of this development. (6) When eschatology is made the crux of the question of an after-life, the distinction which later came to be expressed as 'this age' and the 'coming age' still leaves the question open not only of individual survival after death, but (in the event of survival) the place of salvation: on earth or in heaven. (7) There is no doctrine of a physical resurrection expressed in these psalms.

In the Hodayoth, which is the major collection of sectarian hymns from Qumran, certain passages may suggest an everlasting fellowship with God (see No. 1 in the summary above): The author in IQH 2.20ff thanks the Lord "for thou hast placed my soul in the pouch of life (בצרוֹר הַחַיִּים) and thou hast fenced me off from all the snares of corruption. For violent men have sought my life because I lean on thy covenant. They are a council of vanity and a congregation of Belial. They do not know that my estate is with thee (מֵאַחַתָּה מְעַמְדִי) and through thy mercies thou wilt save my life, for my steps proceed from thee. And they, because of thee, stirred up strife against my soul in order that thou might be glorified in the judgement of the wicked and might show thyself strong within me in the face of the sons of man for within thy mercy is my place (בְּחַסְדֶּךָ עִמָּדִי)" (cf. 15.15, 18.29). The poet acknowledges, "Thou wilt cut off in the judgement all deceitful men" (IQH 4.20) ... but "those who are as thy soul shall stand before thee forever and those walking in the way of thy heart shall be established perpetually" IQH 4.21f). The author of IQH 7.17 confesses that he has no 'fleshly refuge' (וּמְחַסֵּי בִשָּׂר), but later declares, "My God, thou hast succoured my soul and thou hast raised up my horn high above, and I shine forth in seven-fold light in --- thou hast established

for thy glory. For thou art to me an ever/lasting lamp and thou hast established my feet on — — —" (IQH 7.23ff).

These passages, however, are not unequivocal proof that divine fellowship carries into the after-life.¹ On the basis of our summary in regard to the findings of scholars as to what constitutes or fails to constitute belief in an after-life (re. psalms 16, 49 and 73) it appears that we should concentrate our research in the Scrolls on finding 1) a resurrection (or translation) doctrine; 2) the development of Sheol a) as an intermediate place between death and resurrection, or b) as an eschatological place of punishment; and 3) the emergence of some expression of 'heaven' as a final place of bliss. The dialogues between, e.g. Enoch, Ezra or Baruch and an angel, or God himself, in many pseudepigraphical works reveal that their authors assumed the same type of questions we must ask in respect to the Scrolls, e.g. Do any of the expressions in the Scrolls advance the meaning which we find in the Old Testament? or, Are there parallel expressions in apocalyptic which can only apply to the after-life?

In the following chapter (II), passages which are

1. The same doubt has been expressed in Psalm exegesis. Yet the expressions in the Hodayoth reveal more of a recent struggle against pressing and threatening wickedness than as a literary, finished product of deep contemplation which characterizes the canonical Psalter.

considered by Qumran scholars to allude to a resurrection belief will be cited and discussed. We have chosen to exegete IQS 3.13-4.26, chapter (III), and IQH 3.19-36, chapter (IV), because these passages present the greatest possibility of going beyond the forms of belief in an after-life which we found in the three Psalm passages above.

CHAPTER II:
RESURRECTION IN THE SCROLLS

G. R. Driver reflects the opinion of nearly all Qumran scholars when he concludes that the sectarians had only some vague notions about a physical resurrection.¹ Also there appears to be no universal resurrection of the dead in Qumran.² Still the question of a resurrection of the righteous only is still open to us - and, we might add, the question of a spiritual resurrection.

The doctrine of the resurrection which appears in the Old Testament³ developed into a variety of forms. According

1. The Judaean Scrolls (1965), p. 75.

2. H. Braun, Qumran und das Neue Testament, II (1966), p.282

3. The two accepted passages in the Old Testament which offer clear testimony to a Jewish belief in resurrection are Daniel 12.2 and Isaiah 26.19. Some other passages which have come under consideration include Isaiah 25.8, Psalm 16.10f, 17.15, 49.15, 73.24-27, Job 14.13-15, 19.26f; the title of Psalm 65 (=66) in the LXX reads, "ὡδὴ ψαλμοῦ ἀναστάσεως" (apparently from verse 9). In codex x which has the mentioned title as a signature the word ἀναστάσεως is missing.

Regarding Ezekiel 37, A. Bertholet ("The Pre-Christian Belief in the Resurrection of the Body," AJT 20 [1916], p. 27) states a widely-held conclusion that the requickening of which the author speaks is only meant allegorically - a figure for the political renovation of the people. The 'dead bones' of his vision are not actually dead, but living things, namely the scattered members of/..

to K. Schubert this factor has contributed to the uncertainty of scholars in regard to a doctrine of resurrection at Qumran. Also he states that in view of the ambiguous foundations and various interpretations about the resurrection which are still in the rabbinic texts we might expect no more conceivable clarity in the older Pseudepigrapha belonging to the Qumran circle (e.g. fragments from Enoch, Jubilees, Test. Levi).¹ Still it would be helpful to present some scheme for the various resurrection forms that are found in the apocalyptic writings - against which backdrop we might examine certain Qumran passages. The Scrolls give possible evidence of both a catastrophic² and a forensic³ judgement. As there appears to be no universal resurrection of the dead we will list examples from the

of the people now in exile. We might note that the terminology which Ezekiel employs, e.g. "I will open your graves and raise you from your graves, my people" (אני) פתח את קברותיכם והעליתי אתכם מקברותיכם עמי), needs only to be taken literally to apply to an eschatological resurrection (cf. Hosea 6.2).

1. "Das Problem der Auferstehungshoffnung in den Qumrantexten und in der fruhrabbinischen Literatur," Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes 56 (1960), p. 166. Because of the resurrection hopes in the Old Testament and in the pseudepigraphical literature discovered at Qumran, Schubert thinks that it is impossible that these sectarians did not hold to some kind of resurrection hope (p. 158).
2. IQH 3.26-36 (cf. IQH 6.29-34).
3. IQS 4.6-8, 12-14 (cf. IQH 3.17f; No. 27 1, 1.5).

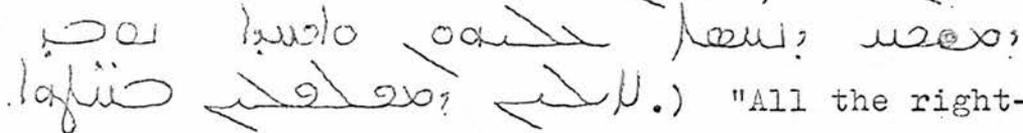
other apocalyptic writings of the resurrection of the righteous only in both judgement settings. In addition we will list some unique spiritual conceptions of the resurrection.¹

The Resurrection of the Righteous Only:

(i) In a Catastrophic Judgement

In a catastrophic judgement there is no resurrection of the dead in the proper sense, but only deliverance from destruction.² 'Deliverances' of the righteous who are alive

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1. The universal resurrection appears in a catastrophic setting only in the Sibylline Oracles IV 172-190. However a forensic judgement follows after God has refashioned all of mankind. The universal resurrection appears in a forensic setting in the well-known passages of I Enoch 22 and 51 (cf. Apocalypse of Moses 41.3; Vita 51.2; II Baruch 50.2ff, 19,8, 36.10, et al.). In IV Ezra this present evil age will be followed by an interim period of four hundred years, which will be for the Messiah and the righteous who are alive at the end of this age. When the messianic interval is ended, the Messiah and his companions will all die. Yet, when the new age is inaugurated, there will be a general physical resurrection of everyone (7.32,37 cf. 4.35; 5.45, et al.). In the Testament of Benjamin ch. 10 there is progressive resurrection (cf. Test. Levi ch. 4; Test. Dan ch. 5). The doctrines of a universal and righteous only resurrection are combined in the same writing - Test. Benj. ch. 10, Test. Judah ch. 25 and Test. Simeon ch. 6 and Test. Zebulon ch. 10 (cf. Revelation 20.5, 13).
 2. In the event the righteous also die, the apocalyptic writer must mention a future judgement. In I Enoch 19.10, after violence has increased on the earth (5) and unrighteousness is consummated (6), God will execute judgement on earth (7), so that the heathen perish; but "the righteous shall arise from their sleep, and wisdom shall arise and be given to them". Apparently all are destroyed and only the righteous are resurrected. Cf. I Enoch 105. 1,5.

at the coming of the final destruction vary. In the Assumption of Moses 10.8f, Israel "shall mount upon the necks and wings of the eagle .../ ... God will exalt thee and make thee to abide at the heavens of the stars, the place (given) to their habitation ..." (altuit te deus et faciet te herere /haerere/ caelo stellorum loco habitationis eorum ...) (cf. I Enoch 96.1ff). The righteous shall have appointed guardians from among the angels to protect them (I Enoch 100.5). God himself shall shield them (Sibylline Oracles III 705ff; cf. Psalms of Solomon 15.6 (4), 15 (13); Jubilees 22.23). In II Baruch 85.15 God "will save alive (or restore to life) those whom He finds He may spare and at the same time destroy those who are polluted with sins" (Syr:  ) "All the righteous shall escape and shall continue to live until they beget thousands of children ..." (πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκφεύξονται, καὶ ἔσονται ζῶντες ἕως γεννήσωσιν χιλιάδας...: I Enoch 10.17; cf. 99.10; their spirits shall not perish, 103.4). The righteous participate in the judgement of the wicked (I Enoch 95.3; cf. 38.5, 48.9, 98.12, Jubilees 24.29). Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect (I Enoch 56.8). In the New Testament see Matthew 24.27f, 31, 408; Mark 13.27; Luke 17.34ff.

The Resurrection of the Righteous Only:

(ii) In a Forensic Judgement

"The destruction of the sinner is forever, and he shall not be remembered whenever (God) might visit (ἐπισκεπτήκα) the righteous. This is the portion of the sinners for ever. / But those who fear the Lord shall be raised unto eternal life, and their life (will exist) in the light of the Lord and it shall fail no more" (οἱ δε φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον ἀναστήσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αὐτῶν ἐν φωτὶ κυρίου καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἔτι), Psalms of Solomon 3.13-16 (11-12)¹ (cf. 14.6-7 (9-10); 15.15 (13); 13.9-10 (10-11)?). In II Maccabees 7.9 the second of the seven sons who become martyred replies to the tyrant, "You miserable wretch, you release us from living in the present, / but the King of the world will resurrect us who have died for his laws unto an eternal renewal of life" (ὁ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεὺς ἀποθανόντας ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ νόμων εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς ἡμᾶς ἀναστήσει); the fourth brother replies to the tyrant (7.15), "... but for you there shall be no resurrection unto life" (cf. re. the Pharisees: Josephus, Antiq. XVIII, i,3; Bell. Jud. II, viii, 14 Ap. II, 18). In II Baruch 30.2² when the Messiah shall return

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1. The Psalms of Solomon present strictly the doctrine of the resurrection of the righteous only.
 2. The Apocalypse of Baruch presents the doctrine of a universal resurrection except in this passage.

in glory, / then all who have gone to sleep in confident expectation of Him arise ... (Syr: *ܘܥܠܘ ܘܢܫܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ*) (4), but the ^{the} souls of wicked, when they see all these things then waste away even more (Syr: *ܘܥܠܘ ܘܢܫܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ*).

IV Ezra 4.42f also may be mentioned if this passage pertains only to the "souls of the righteous in their chambers" (4.35). In the Apocalypse of Moses 13.3, 'all flesh' who arise are also 'all who are holy people'.¹

Unique Spiritual Conceptions of the Resurrection

In a fragment of the Book of Noah, Enoch refers to his books where God declares, "... And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed with such honour as their faithfulness deserved. And I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour" (I Enoch

1. P. Volz (Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba /1903/, p. 130) points out that where only the righteous rise, the resurrection is concerned as a rule with the salvation of the community and the scene of the salvation is an earthly one. The universal resurrection concerns itself with the happiness of the individual in eternal life and the scene is earthly or supernatural. Naturally there follows the resurrection in either form an eternal continuance of life in the bliss of salvation. (Note: All other citations from P. Volz are from the 1966 edition, reprinted from 1938.)

108.11f; cf. 104.4, 7; II Baruch 51.5, 10). In I Enoch 53.6, after the judgement the Righteous and Elect one will cause the house of his congregation to appear. The teaching of Jubilees is not entirely clear, but an eschatological judgement appears probable.¹ The only passage where the fate of the righteous is mentioned occurs in Jubilees 23.30f where the final war is fought on earth, but a resurrection appears to be spiritual:-

And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,
And they shall rise up and see great peace,
And drive out their adversaries.
And the righteous shall see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
And shall see all their judgements and all their
 curses on their enemies.
And their bones shall rest in the earth,
And their spirits shall have much joy.

Summary of Resurrection Forms

We find especially in a catastrophic judgement that the expression of the 'resurrection' for the righteous is simply that they do not perish along with the wicked. They escape or are shielded or even are carried aloft on the necks and wings of an eagle. The righteous may have a place of refuge or habitation, but this is not necessarily expressed. From this vantage point they sometimes see the destruction of their enemies. The need for an unequivocal

1. Ibid., pp. 245f. That the dead stand in judgement is probably alluded to in Jubilees 5.15. The wicked are punished and banished into eternal life in 36.9f.

interpretation of certain early apocalyptic resurrection texts necessitated that they be recast in terms of a universal judgement and afterwards a forensic assignment to bliss or destruction.¹ Evidence for the doctrine of a physical resurrection in the above apocalyptic texts is subtle. The righteous live and beget thousands of children (whereas there is no marriage in a spiritual resurrection). There is confidence in the 'return' of a Hero or of the Messiah. 'Wisdom' will arise and be given to the resurrected righteous. The resurrected righteous participate in the judgement of the wicked. The concern of the apocalyptic writers when they picture a physical resurrection does not appear to be a polemic against hellenization but rather an emphasis on the continuity of Israel on earth. Spiritual resurrection texts appear sometimes without picturing the nature of the resurrected state - like those which caused the Corinthians to enquire further from the apostle Paul.²

Suggested Resurrection Texts in the Scrolls

A number of possible resurrection texts in the Scrolls have been suggested. Some are highly dependent on how one

1. A universal-type judgement itself is not necessarily a later development (cf. Daniel 12.2f unless R.H. Charles is right in assuming that only the righteous and wicked Israelites rise; see further P. Volz, op. cit., p. 240). The pessimistic attitude which arose and perceived judgement as universally catastrophic is quite independent.

2. Cf. K. Schubert, op. cit., p. 155.

defines eschatology in the Qumran writings. We may point to an interpretation by J.M. Allegro for a case in point. He believes that in the peshar of Psalm 37.14-15 (IV Qp Ps 37 4.3f) the future tense in the phrase, "the wicked ones of Ephraim and Manasseh who will seek to put forth a hand" (יבקשו לשלוח) which is linked to "the time of the coming trial" (בעת המצורף הובאה) refers to an eschatological event. This, he claims, is supported further by a fragmentary peshar on Psalm 2.1-2, "... the chosen of Israel in the end of the days; that is the time of the com[ing] trial" (/ - - / הב המצורף הוב : ibid.). Allegro identifies the 'time of trial' with מועד התענייה of IV Qp Ps 37 1.9¹ which lies in the future and affects both priests. He considers that it is probable that they were expected to arise in the end of the days to face glory and condemnation respectively.² Allegro's interpretation which he claims "would be in line with the resurrection to eternal life" is very tenuous. He assumes that what appears to be a future event in 'this world' is naturally eschatological. The 'last days' (אחרית) (הימים) do not necessarily pertain to the universal resurrection or thereafter, but rather to the

1. "A Newly-discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Psalm XXXVII from Qumran," PEQ 86 (1954), pp. 71f.

2. "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect", JBL 75 (1956), p. 95.

time immediately before. Allegro translates מִצְרָה 'trial'. He alludes to a forensic final judgement; but the word comes from the root צָרַח = 'refine, test', and pertains to a time of testing (perhaps the period of affliction we associate with the Messianic woes). Finally there is no indication of the familiar terms we associate with resurrection.

A.S. van der Woude has examined the texts dealing with the Messiah(s) of Aaron and Israel (IQS 9.11; CD 12.23f; 19.10f; 20.1). By showing that עָמַר in CD is only a synonym for בָּיָא and accordingly should be translated 'appear', he concludes that by עָמַר one is neither to think of a resurrection (from the dead) nor of something resembling it. (עָמַר in Daniel 12.13 might have such a meaning, but there it is demanded because of the context.)¹

In CD 20.10,13 the wicked are told that they have "no share in the house of the Law". C. Rabin suggests that this recalls the rabbinic "no share in the world-to-come" and the Pauline "no share in the kingdom of Christ" (or "of God") and thus would also pertain to a belief in the resurrection of the righteous.² There is no indication,

1. Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran (1957), p. 58.

2. Qumran Studies (Scripta Judaica II) (1957), p. 74. See also C. Rabin, The Zadokite Documents (1954), p. 39 fn. The parallelism of context and phraseology suggests that "the house of the Law" is the post-Messianic era of resurrection. Possibly we might compare "my father's house" (John 14.2). The Mishnah, Sanhedrin 10.3, similarly excludes certain groups collectively from the world-to-come (cf. Numbers 14.37, inter alia).

however, that anything more than the 'community' is meant by "the house of the law". Rabin also suggests IQH 8.31: "... to exhaust (my) strength to the ends of time and to destroy (my) flesh until the appointed times". Rabin's proposal rests on the assumption that the poet alludes to his own death - in which case the addition of מָלְאָךְ and עַד מוֹעֲדִים strongly suggests that he thought death to be a temporary state.¹ Most likely, though, the poet is only near death. He compares himself earlier to "those who go down to Sheol" (verse 28); "among the dead (his) spirit has searched, for (his) li/fe/ reached to destruction" (verse 29).

In IQH 6.8, the author declares, "I - I/I know that thou wilt raise up a few from the living among thy people, and a remnant שָׂרֵי among your inheritance." E.W. Heaton finds five oracles in the Old Testament² where the root שָׂרָה is employed explicitly to communicate the belief that Yahweh in the future will leave or make a community for His own purposes.³ However, our context does not necessarily portray an eschatological picture of the future world.

1. Qumran Studies, p. 74. Rabin also suggests (p. 73) that CD 3.20 and 7.6 and IQH 4.21f could be construed as passages where those who live on earth shall never die.

2. Micah 4.6f, 5.6f; Zephaniah 3.12f; Isaiah 37.32; Jeremiah 50.20.

3. "The Root שָׂרָה and the Doctrine of the Remnant," JTS 3 (1952), p. 39.

A stronger possibility of a resurrection idea appears in the following passage:-

- IQM 12.1-5 For a multitude of holy ones belong /to thee/ in the heavens,
The hosts of angels (are) in thy holy abode to praise thy name.
2 And the elect of thy holy people thou didst set for thyself in /- - -
The book (containing) the names of all their host is with thee in thy holy refuge;
And /- - -/ in thy glorious abode,
3 And the mercies of blessing - - -/.
The covenant of peace thou hast engraved for them with the stylus of life
In order to rule /over them/ in all the everlasting appointed times;
4 And to muster /the hosts of/ thy /elect/ by their thousands and their ten thousands
Together with thy holy ones /and with/ thy angels for strength of hand in battle;
5 /- - -/ those risen from the earth in the contention of thy judgements.
So with the elect of heaven (are) /thy/ blessing/s/.

A. Dupont-Sommer has seen in the phrase (/ - - - קמי ארץ) (line 5) an allusion to the resurrection of the body from the earth.¹ Y. Yadin has translated it "(/to subdue/) them that have risen against thee on earth".² However, Yadin still sees this passage as evidence of the resurrection. He contends that not only will the angels fight side by side with the earthly "holy people" (IQM 12.7-8), but also the "elect of the holy people", i.e. former earth-dwellers now in heaven, will fight side by side with the angels.³

1. EWQ (1961), p. 187 fn.

2. Thus E. Lohse, T. Gaster, and most others.

3. The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness (1962), pp. 241f.

C. Rabin notes that there is little in the language of the War Scroll to assume that the elect fight on earth in a state of resurrection.¹ However, J. Carmignac argues that "the holy ones" (line 1) are not parallel to angels, but must be taken as a separate group. He points out that holy ones and angels are adjoined in line 4. We have to distinguish between the three terms ("les 'saints', les anges, les élus, dont le premier doit se distinguer du second comme le second du troisième";² yet compare I Enoch 38.4f). We suggest that it is not "the elect" (בתיירים) who are the קימי ארץ in the resurrection but "holy ones" (קדושים) who have been with the angels in heaven (line 1).³ This interpretation is suitable in the following lines (7-8) where "the congregation of the (now resurrected) holy ones is in the midst of us for eternaI succour; ... for the Lord is holy, and the King of glory is with us together with⁴ the holy ones." C.H.W. Brekelmans considers that the "holy ones"

1. Qumran Studies, p. 73. The phrase in line 4, "by their thousands and their ten thousands", pertains to angels in I Enoch 14.22 and is a description of the power of Yahweh in Numbers 10.36.

2. La Règle de la guerre (1958), p. 171.

3. Cf. C.H.W. Brekelmans, "The Saints of the Most High," OS 14 (1965), p. 319.

4. Also G. Vermes and A. Dupont-Sommer. (עם קדושים), 'with the holy ones', may be awkward following (אתנו) 'with us'. We may translate (עם) 'people' which together with the (גבולתיים) and the host of angels make up the mustered force.

of His people in whom God effects strength (בקדושים עמו)
(יעשה חיל) are men (IQM 6.6; גבורה 16.1; cf. 18.2
where he is uncertain).¹ In similar passages of the War Scroll
it remains unclear (on account of the defective texts)
whether the "row of holy ones" (סדרת קדושים :
IQM 15.14) summoned to the battle and "those holy ones who
appear for succour" to the sons of light (קדושים
: יופיעו בעזר : IQM 1.16) are heavenly or earthly combatants²
(Brekelmans considers them angels). That the deceased heroes
of Jewish history return and appear at the end time is seen
in many instances from other apocalyptic writings.³ Yet a
resurrection doctrine seems inconclusive.

1. Op. cit., p. 319.

2. F. Nötscher, "Heiligkeit in den Qumranschriften," RdQ 2
(1959-60), p. 322.

3. P. Volz, Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde (1966),
pp. 235f (reprinted from the 1934 edition, which is
expanded from the edition of 1903 under a different title:
see fn. 2, p. 21 supra, which contains the only quotation
from the 1903 edition; all other citations are from the
1966 edition). The Jews expect in the final time of sal-
vation the returning heroes of their history: e.g. Moses,
Elijah, David or Hezekiah. Enoch who was removed into
the heavenly world would one day come with Elijah (= ram,
cf. 89.52) (I Enoch 90.31). Daniel received the directive
to rest in order that he might stand in his allotted
place at the end of the days (Daniel 12.13). Ezra is
taken up into heaven and into the company of the Messiah
until the end (IV Ezra 14.9,49); doubtless he is also
thought to be among those who at the last day will appear
again as a companion with the Messiah (13.52; cf. 7.28).
Baruch is removed and preserved until the end time; he
is expected one day to come again to lay down testimony
in judgement against the people (II Baruch 13.13ff, 76.2, /..

Another passage in the War Scroll may be construed as alluding to a resurrection. IQM 14.14f reads, "For thy gl[ōrious] pu[rpose]¹ is great and thy wondrous mysteries in [Thy] Heights in order to [raise up]² for thyself some of those in the dust and to humble some of those belonging to the gods." J. van der Ploeg convincingly comments, "... il s'agit du dessein de Dieu de relever les pieux de leur condition modeste et de repousser, resp. destituer leurs ennemis surtout les esprits de Belial" (cf. II Samuel 2.7-8 and Psalm 113.6-7).³ See also Isaiah 34.2-5

Two passages in the Hodayoth (IQH 6.29-35 and 11.10-14) are the texts most often examined for evidence of a resurrection doctrine:-

76.2, 25.1, 48.30). He is esteemed for this honour, while yet he has been shocked over the destiny of Zion. The LXX believed concerning Job, that he one day would be among the ones raised (γέγραπται αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναστήσεσθαι μεθ' ὧν ὁ κύριος ἀνίστησιν : Job 42.17). According to II Baruch 66.6f also Josiah is glorified by the Almighty more than most in the last time. Above all there are the patriarchs who obtain a portion in salvation. It is occasionally said of them that they already dwell in the blessed state (I Enoch 70.4). In particular are mentioned Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob who sleep in the earth and on whose account God has created the world (II Baruch 21.24; Cf. Test. Zebulon 10.2, Test. Simeon 6.5ff, Test. Benjamin 10.5ff). Finally in the Apocalypse of Moses 28.4 the resurrection is promised to Adam.

1. Restored from cave 4. See C.-H. Hunzinger, "Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milhama," ZAW 69 (1957), pp. 131-151.
2. Ibid.
3. Le Rouleau de la Guerre (1959), p. 161.

- IQH 6.29 Then the sword of God shall hasten in time
of judgement;
And all the sons of His truth shall rise
up to bring to an end the sons of
wickedness;
- 30 All the sons of guilt shall be no more.
- The Strong Man shall bend his bow,
And the fortification shall open to
a broad place without end;
- 31 And the eternal gates, in order to bring out
the weapons of wars;
And they shall be mighty from end to end.
- - - -
- 32 There is no escape for the one inclined to
guilt;
They shall trample down to complete destruc-
tion without a remnant.
There shall be no hope in the multitude of
- - - -;
- 33 And there is no place of escape for all the
mighty men of wars.
For to God, the Most High belongs the battle;
- - - -
- 34 Those lying in the dust shall raise a standard;
And the worm of the dead shall lift up a signal
- 35 - - - in the wars of the arrogant.
He who wields the rushing scourge will not
enter into the stronghold;
- - - - .

It may be argued - when the "sons of truth" rise up (lines 29 and 34 and "the one inclined to guilt" is destroyed (line 32) - that the once feeble, but now empowered righteous participate in the approaching judgement of the wicked and no doctrine of the resurrection is mentioned (cf. I Enoch 38.5, 48.9 et al.). But can the worm(s) of the dead (חוליות) in line 34 merely refer to a feeble state (J. Carmignac, J. Licht et al.) or does the expression refer to those in the grave - and thus give evidence of resurrection

(F.Nötscher, M. Mansoor et al.)? Some have strong reservations (A.S. van der Woude, G. Vermes et al.). חולעה = 'worm', in the Old Testament may designate the deprecation of man in Psalm 22.7, Isaiah 41.14 and Job 25.6, but in Isaiah 14.11 it is related to the grave. In Isaiah 66.24 the worm of the rebellious shall not die. There is good reason to argue that the worm(s) of the dead refer not to the righteous, but to the wicked; and the standards and signals that are raised are a sign of victory for death or decay. It is not necessary that the parallel expression שוכבי עפר (line 34 = 'worms'.¹ עפר and רמה² in Job 21.26 are parallel expressions for decay in the grave. "Fire and worms" await the heathen enemies of Israel (Judith 16.17; cf. Sirach 7.17, I Enoch 46.6, IV Ezra 8.53). In Mark 9.48 Gehenna is described as a place "where their worm does not die, and the fire is not extinguished" (ὄπου ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ...). According to the Apocalypse of Abraham 31 the godless decay in the body of the evil worm Azazel; according to III Baruch the dragon devours their bodies.

T. Gaster and Dupont-Sommer understand נחיים to mean 'men' and not 'the dead' in line 34 (cf. Job 25.6).

1. כזוחלי עפר = 'snakes' in IQH 5.27.

2. רמה is a synonym for חולעה. In Exodus 16.20 and 16.24 they appear to be interchangeable. In Isaiah 14.11 and Job 25.6 they are in parallel.

S. Holm-Nielsen in rejecting this notes that the Isaiah Scroll 'A' found at Qumran reads מִיָּהּ in 41.14 (IQIs.b agrees with MT), while the same word is spelled מִתִּי in 5.13 (agreeing with MT). He believes that this is decisive for the community's understanding of Isaiah 41.14 where God would resurrect the 'dead Israel'.¹ But the doctrine of resurrection is not demanded in Isaiah 41.14 (the verbs are עֲזֵר = 'succour, help' and גָּאֵל = 'redeem'). Also the 'dead Israel' may simply be the ineffective and powerless nation. מֵהֵימָּנִים = 'men' is plausible in our passage.

The parallel expression in line 34, "those lying in the dust" (שׁוֹכְבֵי עֶפֶר), is not found in the Old Testament (but cf. Daniel 12.3), but שָׁכַב and עָפַר in some type of association are found in Job 7.21, 20.11, 21.26, with a meaning connected with physical death. If this section refers to those in the grave, who are the deceased except the heroes of Israel's past history? (see above - re. IQM 12.1-5) We note that the context does not speak of or suggest an awakening to eternal bliss. The military terminology and the context of war suggest participation in the final battle. Yet the strong metaphors may signify the 'dead Israel' which is to be revived in the future - as in Ezekiel 37. Even the possibility that these metaphors refer to the wicked cannot be discounted.

1. Hodayot Psalms from Qumran (1960), p. 121.

- IQH 11.10 For the sake of thy glory thou hast cleansed
man from transgression,
11 That he might consecrate himself to thee from
impure abominations and perfidious guilt;
That he might be united with thy sons of truth
12 and in the (same) lot with thy holy ones;
In order to raise from dust the worm of the
dead¹ to an eternal counsel,
And from a perverted spirit to thy (bestowed)
understanding;
13 That he might take his place in the estate
before thee with the everlasting host and the
spirits of knowledge;
14 In order to renew himself with all who are
secured,² and with the knowledgeable ones in
the unity of song.

טהר = 'cleanse' (line 10) belongs to the terminology of ritual cleansing and Levitical purification. Cleansing in Ezekiel 36.24ff directly inspired the baptismal ablutions found in the Rule Scroll. In Ezekiel 36.25f, in addition to sprinkling clean water on Israel to cleanse them, God will give them a new heart and will put a new spirit within them (cf. Psalm 51). D. Flusser rightly notes that in the Rule Scroll it is the spirit which effects purification from sin.³ The parallel to the phrase "... to raise from dust the worm of the dead to an eternal council" (line 12)

1. Or 'the dead ridden by worms'. We have left the translation in a literal form. E. Lohse (TAQ /1964/, p. 289) states that (טלענה נחיים) is a "Bezeichnung für die Niedrigkeit und Hinfälligkeit des Menschen".

2. כול נהיה ; cf. Proverbs 13.19: האוה נהיה = 'a desire attained' (or 'fulfilled' - RSV). See discussion of this line below.

3. "The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity," Scripta Hierosolymitana IV (1958), p. 246.

reflects this spiritual cleansing: the perverted spirit gains understanding (cf. IQH 3.21). The above phrase (line 12) is one of five phrases each introduced by an infinitive which expresses the result of God's cleansing.¹ But whether these phrases in the Hodayoth present man sanctified before God in heaven or on earth is difficult to determine. In an independent fragment of the Book of Noah (I Enoch 108) God will transform (verse 11) and make resplendent (verse 14) those spirits who were tried by Him and were found pure (verse 9). In IQS 4.20, "at the appointed time of the decisive judgement God will purify by his truth all the works of man and refine for himself the structure of man ..."² (cf. IQH frag. 18.4; CD 10.3; IQH 5.16).

In line 14 the interpretation 'renewal of man' (thus A. Dupont-Sommer;³ 'eschatological preparation of the chosen for glory' - O. Betz)⁴ is considered only a part of the end-time work of renewal, according to H. Kosmala, "for every creature will be renewed."⁵ The evidence does not warrant

1. These phrases suggest the idea of the degrees (or orders) in the glorification of man we find in IV Ezra 7.91-98.

2. Or מִן־בְּנֵי־אָדָם = 'some from the sons of man': cf. Y. Yadin, "A Note on DSD IV 20," JBL 74 (1955), pp. 40-43.

3. EWQ (1961), p. 237.

4. "Die Geburt der Gemeinde durch den Lehrer," NTS 3 (1956-57), p. 320.

5. Hebräer - Essener - Christen (1959), p. 220.

such a universal idea of renewal. Accordingly we have rendered כול נהיה (line 14) 'all who are secured', viz., the righteous.¹ The Visitation which is described in IQS 4.25f as 'the decisive end' (קץ נהרצה) and 'a new creation' (עשית חדשה) is hardly a 'renewal' for those who walk in the spirit of injustice. Their end is destruction by fire in the regions of darkness (IQS 4.12-14). In IQH 13.12 'God creates that which is new' (החדשות) and destroys the 'former establishments' (קימי קדם), but whether or not an eschatological renewal is meant is not certain (cf. Isaiah 43.19, 48.6ff). In the Book of Blessings the invoking of God's favour includes that He "/re/new for you the covenant of the /everlasting/ priesthood and grant you your place in the holy /ābode/" (IQS.b 3.25). A.R.C. Leaney points out that the covenant is renewed year by year² (IQS 2.19; cf. 5.8,23; No. 34 III,2.6). The new covenant into which the sectarians entered in the land of Damascus is called "a well of living waters" (מבאר מים החיים) in CD 19.34 (cf. 6.19, 8.21, 20.12).

1. See fn. 2, p. 34 supra.

2. The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning (1966), pp. 102f.

The conception of 'renewal' can be variously divided into the doctrines of a renewed world,¹ a new creation,² a certain kind of resurrection as a revival or re-animation,³

1. II Baruch 57.2 speaks about the world which is to be renewed (Syr: ܗܘܢܐ ܕܢܘܩܕܐ, ܕܢܘܩܕܐ). In II Baruch 44.12 there is foretold the new world (Syr: ܕܢܘܩܕܐ ܕܢܘܩܐ) which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its beginning. Eleazar of Modium (c.100 A.D.) mentions 'the new world' (עולם החדש); cf. in the Targums: (Onkelos) Deuteronomy 32.12; Micah 7.14; Habakkuk 3.2. See also I Enoch 45.4f.
2. Inspired by Isaiah 65.17 and 66.22 the idea of a 'new creation' may only differ from the idea of a 'renewed world' by a change in terms. Perhaps the distinction between 'create' and 'restore' is not as pronounced as we may imagine. A new creation is mentioned in I Enoch 72.1 and Jubilees 1.29. God will renew his creation in II Baruch 32.6 (Syr: ܕܢܘܩܕܐ ܕܢܘܩܐ); cf. IV Ezra 7.75 (incipies creaturam). See also Galatians 6.5; II Corinthians 5.17.
3. Life as continuation of the present time of salvation on to participation in a new existence appears as 'vivificare' (IV Ezra 5.45), (Syr: ܗܘܢܐ) (II Baruch 85.15) and 'reviviscere' (IV Ezra 14.35). God gives the spirit and life to the dead (II Maccabees 7.23; cf. Sibylline Oracles IV 46, 187) and awakens the pious (εἰς ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς) (II Maccabees 7.9). In such expressions ζωῆ is first of all the physical life-power which the dead receive again, which is present in the corporal state and forms the condition for participation in salvation. But the conception ζωῆ at this moment is not nearly exhausted; on the contrary, it includes at the same time the participation in salvation itself. So ἀναστάσις εἰς ζωὴν (II Maccabees 7.14; cf. Daniel 12.2; Psalms of Solomon 3.12) is a rising to revival of life and a rising to the enjoyment of salvation. With πνεῦμα and ζωῆ in the Sibylline Oracles IV 46, 187, God grants a second existence and possession of salvation. In Psalms of Solomon 15.12 ("the righteous find mercy in the judgement and will live through God's mercy") ζῆν is set in contrast to ἀπώλεια which has the double meaning 'ruin' and 'damnation'. The formulae 'land of the living', 'book of life', and presentation of the tree of life (I Enoch 25.5: IV Ezra 8.52; cf. 7.13) from which the citizens of salvation draw the potentiality of existence and the content of

or the idea of the new man.¹ It is easy to suppose that a renewal which prepares the righteous for fellowship with angelic beings (denoted most likely by בני אמתך in line 11, קדושים in line 12, צבא ער and [רעה] / רוחי in line 13, and יציעה in line 14) necessitates an eschat-

salvation may be mentioned. The blessed themselves are the 'trees of life' (ξύλα τῆς ζωῆς) in Psalms of Solomon 14.3 (cf. II Baruch 51.11) - P. Volz, op. cit., pp. 362f.

1. In the New Testament the doctrine of the rebirth or renewal of man is expressed in a distinct manner (see John 1.13; 3.3ff; I John 5.4; I Peter 1.3,23; James 1.18; Titus 3.5; Matthew 18.2,4; 19.28; Mark 10.15; Romans 13.14; Galatians 3.27; Ephesians 4.24; Colossians 3.10). We will sketch the argument of H. Kosmala (op. cit., pp. 213ff) who believes that the author of IQH 3.7-12 has described the beginning of the new man from the old man in a lively vision: The author can no longer denote him as בשר or אנוש or אדם (בן) who still can do only sinful service and deceitful deeds (IQH 1.27). He is no more simply איש. The poet names him גבר (3.9, 10) for he is now man as a spiritual existence strengthened by God ("denn er ist nun der als geistige Existenz von Gott gestarkte Mensch") in which He has rendered His power so that the גבר would still be able to persist in his afflictions of suffering (IQH 1.32-34). The poet further considers him a פלא יופץ עם גבורתו (3.10). The Messiah (who can be easily demonstrated as a גבר) is not referred to here. The גבר is much more, if one would permit it, the "messianic man", i.e. the new man of the end-time, whose birth the poet has painfully felt in himself. One cannot brush aside the clear statement that the speaker himself (3.7) is in fearful distress "as a woman who is about to give birth". The poet speaks of himself and his "Neuwerdung" (new existence). This comes to pass in him through a gracious act of God. In this suffering a new man is born. The womb is repeatedly designated with a word which means simultaneously a 'refining furnace' (3.8,10,12) in which the painful purifications take place (CD 20.3, IQH 5.16 cf. 4.20). On the other hand the new birth as a solitary process which leads to a גבר is also the first process so that the 'new birth' is also the first-born, the first

ological cleansing for participation in the heavenly council. But membership in the sectarian community on earth is identical to fellowship with God.¹ Yet in the Book of the Blessings the sectarians are given the pronouncement, "Thou shalt be as an angel of the Presence (מלאך פנים) in the Holy Abode; for the glory of the God of host/s - - -. Thou shalt be on hand, serving in the temple of the kingdom, and casting

genuine man. Out of the breakers of death the woman (die Schwangere = der alte Mensch) bears the male (זכר). The גבר is free from the breakers (3.9f), but the speaker is not the only firstborn. There are also others who in the process of becoming new suffer the same pains as she who brings forth her first-born (3.11f). The גבר is a new man by the strength of God (cf. IQH 4.32) and a participator in a new community with God and his heavenly host.

Earlier O. Betz had convincingly discredited the messianic hypothesis for this psalm (favoured by W.H. Brownlee, A. Dupont-Sommer et al.) and argued persuasively for a collective meaning for the child who was born (op. cit., pp. 320f). The birth of the child signifies the birth of the community, which becomes a spiritual family. Kosmala's argument is persuasive. He traces the meaning of גבר to Job (especially 38.3, 40.7), p. 211, and cites supportive evidence (in the girdle symbolism) from the Testament of Job, p. 218. Yet the Hodayoth, as is well known, continues to express the weakness and frailty of the author. The author's strength does not appear to be in terms of himself, but is expressed in terms of salvation to the community. The suffering servant idea prevails. See also O. Betz, "Das Volk seiner Kraft: zur Auslegung der Qumranhodajah iii. 1-18," NTS (1958-59), pp. 67-75; L.H. Silberman, "Language and Structure in the Hodayoth (IQH 3)," JBL 75 (1956), pp. 96-106; J. Chamberlain, "Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm," JNES 14 (1955), pp. 32-41; G. Hinson, "Hodayoth III, 6-18: In what sense messianic?" RdQ 2 (1960), pp. 183-204.

1. S. Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 187. J. Pedersen (Israel (III,IV), pp. 321f) notes the idea that the Levites are/...

the lot¹ together with the angels of the Presence. And a council of Unity [= - =] for time everlasting and to all perpetual ages ..." (IQSb 4.25-26). M. Black states that it seems natural to interpret the Holy Abode as the Sanctuary in a (future) restored Jerusalem. But he also believes that it may refer to the Holy Abode in heaven - in which case the sect's doctrine of immortality is identical with that of Luke 20.35f² where those worthy of eternity "... are no longer able to die, for they are like-to-angels and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection" (οὐδε γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύναται, ἰσάγγελοι γὰρ εἰσιν καὶ υἱοὶ εἰσιν θεοῦ ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ ὄντες).³

An important passage in II Baruch 51.3 describes the transformation of the 'resurrected body'. We translate, "In regard to the glory of those who have just now been

are given to Yahweh as compensation for the first-born (Numbers 3.12). This priestly service is continued on earth (cf. ISQb 3.26). The first-born besides being an epithet for Israel (Exodus 4.22; Jeremiah 31.9; cf. Psalm 89.28) designates the angels who were created on the first day according to the tradition of Jubilees 2.2 (cf. Vita Adae et Evae 14.3). In Hebrews 12.23 it is difficult to determine whether (ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων) is identical to (μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει)(verse 22) or the community of the righteous.

1. 'decreeing fate', A. Dupont-Sommer, EWQ, p. 112 fn.
2. The Scrolls and Christian Origins (1960), p. 141.
3. Cf. Matthew 22.30; Mark, 12.25; Acts 6.15; Philo - Sacra. AC 5.

justified in God's law who continue to have understanding in their life, and who have planted in their hearts the root of wisdom, at that time their lustre shall be made glorious through transformations (or, in changes) and the form of their face shall be changed into the light of their beauty which they shall acquire¹ in order that they might receive and accept the world which does not die, which at that time was promised to them." In verse 5 the consummation of this glorification is that (the righteous) "are transformed into the lustre of angels" (Syr: *ܐܢܘܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ*; *ܐܢܘܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ...*). It is evident that the transformation culminating in the lustre of angels begins some time before the new world comes about. The time of transformation (verse 3 above) commences when the world which does not die is still a promise. The process of change (but in reverse) occurs for the wicked who "shall waste away even more" (Syr: *ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܝܗܘܢ*) when they see the visions of the changes happening to the righteous (verse 5; cf. verse 2). There is no explicit evidence that the glorification of the righteous begins in their earthly life. But it can be implied that a certain lustre (Syr: *ܐܘܪܝܢܐ*) has been brought about (by God) for those who have planted in their hearts the root of wisdom (51.3b) and pass through death to that time when complete trans-

1. (Syr: *ܐܘܪܝܢܐ*); R.H. Charles (A and P II, p. 508) combines this word in a series with (Syr: *ܐܘܪܝܢܐ*) 'receive' and (Syr: *ܐܘܪܝܢܐ*) 'accept'.

formation takes place. In 50.2 the earth "makes no change in the form or image (of the dead)" (Syr: *ܠܘܡܝܢ ܡܠ ܥܘܢܝܘܢܝܗܘܢ*).¹ So also it will be required at that time "to show to those who are alive that the dead live" (Syr: *ܠܘܥܘܢܝܘܢܝܗܘܢ ܕܥܘܢܝܘܢܝܗܘܢ ܕܥܘܢܝܘܢܝܗܘܢ* : 50.3).

In the Testament of Job, the effect of the girdles which Job gave to his daughters is quite profound. For while still on earth one of the daughters received another heart, and no longer considered the things of the earth (48.2). "She uttered the angelic language, having sent up a hymn to God according to the hymnbook of the angels" (*ἀπεφθέγγεζατο δὲ τῆ ἀγγελικῆ διαλέκτῳ ὑμῶν ἀναπέμψαι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ὑμνολογίαν* : 48.3). Another daughter had a "changed heart" (*τὴν καρδίαν ἀλλοιωθεῖσαν* : 49.1) and uttered "the language of the (spiritual) rulers" (*τὴν διάλεκτον τῶν ἀρχῶν* : 49.2). The third daughter sang "in the language of the Cherubim" (*ἐν τῆ διαλέκτῳ τῶν χερουβίμ* : 50.2).

T. Gaster points out the tendency to associate the angels with the spirits of the deceased and to conceive of both as forming a single congregation which stands forever

1. "But as it (the earth) accepted (them) thus it restores them and as I (God) delivered them up to it, even thus also it raises them."

in the presence of God.¹ We note in the hymn section of the Rule Scroll that God "has united their council (i.e. His chosen) with the sons of heaven" (ועם בני שמים)

(: IQS 11.8). All the nations and all the peoples (: IQH 6.12) who enter the covenant belong in a "unified lot together with the angels of the Presence" (: ובגורל יחד עם מלאכי פנים)

6.13).² "They shall answer according to (God's) command and / become (God's) princes in the [eternal] lot" (: יהיו)

(: שריכה בגורל עולם) : 6.14; cf. 3.22;³ frag. 2.10).

In IQM 7.5f only the perfect in spirit and body - which excludes any man who is not clean because of his flux (7.6) - shall participate in battle on the day of vengeance. This stipulation is made "because holy angels are together with their army" (: כי מלאכי קודש עם צבאותם יחד) : 7.6).

The connection with angels presents a strong argument in support of some type of resurrection doctrine. The sectarian's mode of being is expressed in a spiritual manner. This in itself is not conclusive that an afterlife is meant, but it corresponds to the marked tendency in

1. Interpreter's Bible, Vol. I (1962), p. 133.

2. Refers to the conversion of the Gentiles, according to A. Dupont-Sommer, EWQ, p. 219 fn.

3. The 'eternal lot' will be discussed in Chapter IV.

apocalyptic literature to present man as a spirit.¹ However, the passage before us (IQH 11.10-14) may equally apply to the state of the community in its earthly existence. H.-W. Kuhn notes that by the interpretation of the new creation as a purification from sin (cf. IQH 3.21) one recalls the tannaitic attested connection of the non-eschatological new creation-thought with the forgiveness of sins.²

One further passage in the Hodayoth should be cited:-

IQH 15.14b Only thou hast /created/ the righteous,
 15 And from the womb thou hast determined him for
 the appointed time of favour,
 In order that he might be preserved in thy
 covenant and walk³ in all (thy ways);
 And in order to /- - / upon him in the
 16 abundance of thy compassions;
 And in order to free all the restriction of
 his soul
 For eternal salvation and peace forever and no
 lack at all.
 17 Thou hast lifted up from flesh his glory!
 But the wicked thou hast created for /the time
 of/ thy /wr/ath,
 And from the womb thou hast set them apart for
 the day of slaughter.

The unique phrase in lines 16-17, והרם מבשר כבודו
 presents certain problems - not the least of which is the fact
 that scholars are hesitant to divide the unity of personality.

1. Modern scholars go to great lengths to protect the 'unity of personality'. We can almost assume for Hebrew thought that a spirit has a body appropriate to it in the after-life.

2. Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil (1966), pp. 50f; cf. p. 84.

3. Read וּלְהַהֲלִיךְ for וּלְהַהֲלִיךְ .

Hebrew thought in the Old Testament requires that the soul does not live separately from the body. Perhaps certain translations reveal this caution. H. Bardtke, for example, translates, "... du erhöhst vom Fleisch seine Ehre"; S. Holm-Nielsen, "... Thou raisest his dignity above the human." Holm-Nielsen alleges that בשר has more frequently the general meaning 'man'.¹ J. Licht further qualifies this designation and states that 'flesh', to be precise, is "humanity without the ennobling gift of Divine grace".² D. Flusser states, however, that in Qumran literature we can infer that there was some tendency toward the identification of the realms of righteousness and wickedness with the spirit and the flesh. He notes the Assumption of Moses 12.4-5 where the body (being material) belongs to the devil.³ J. Pryke rather treats 'flesh' (along with 'dust' and 'clay') as a symbol of the mortality and insignificance of man.⁴

1. Op. cit., p. 231.

2. "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," IEJ 6 (1956), p. 11.

3. Op. cit., p. 262.

4. "Spirit and Flesh," RdQ 5 (1964-66), p. 352. Pryke notes that the sectarians are not 'gnostic' in their attitude to the body and refers to the expression 'fleshy spirit' (רוח בשרי) in IQH 17.25 (p. 358). But the expression probably pertains to the propensity of the spirit for material matters and does not necessarily disprove a 'gnostic' dualism.

A. Dupont-Sommer and G. Vermes have undoubtedly considered the fate of the wicked in their translation: "Thou hast raised up his glory from among flesh" (cf. IQH 6.8). It is true that the righteous are separated from the wicked simply in the sense that they are preserved in God's covenant (line 15). But also a type of dualism is presented by the fact that both the righteous and the wicked are created¹ from the womb (lines 14b and 15a), and herein lies the basis of separation - not in a separation of the righteous from the wicked where both belong to the 'flesh', but rather in the re-creation terminology of predestination.² Thus the expression 'from flesh' (מִבָּשָׂר) pertains only to the flesh of the righteous (contrary to what is implied by Dupont-Sommer and Vermes). The idea of separation 'from the flesh' occurs after the separation of the righteous from the wicked has been established 'from the womb' (cf. IQH 4.38). 'Flesh' belongs to the picture of the distress or restriction of the soul of the righteous (line 16) from which 'his glory' ('inner glory' - T. Gaster) emerges. The destiny of the righteous must be seen in contrast to that of the wicked whom God "has set apart (מִקִּרְבָּתָם) from the womb for the day of slaughter" (line 17). The possibility that the phrase

1. The conjecture in line 14b is almost certainly valid.

2. Cf. line 13. Josephus (Ant. XIII, 5.9) says that the Essenes believed that all things were pre-ordained.

before us goes beyond the exaltation of the dignity¹ or inner glory of the righteous to the emancipation of the glorified essence of the righteous for eternal life is given added support when set against the fate of the wicked. This is not the case in IQH 10.31f, "I have flowered /like a lily/, and my heart has opened to the eternal fountain. My support is in the abode of the Height." It is well known that both the 'soul' and the 'spirit' have designated the resurrected essence of man in passages of the apocalyptic writings.² כבוד is parallel to נפש in Genesis 49.6; parallel to נפש and חיים in Psalm 7.6; parallel to רב and בשר in Psalm 16.9.

Other passages considered by some scholars to reflect a resurrection doctrine are IQS 4.6-8, 12-14;³ and IQH 3.19-23

1. כבוד in the Orders annexed to the Rule Scroll pertains to the degree of dignity which members enjoy in their communal hierarchy (IQSa 2.14, 15, 17, 21). The expression 'all the glory of a man' (אדם) is found twice in the Scrolls (CD 3.20) parallel to 'perpetual life' (חיים נצח); IQH 17.15 in juxtaposition to 'abundance of days' (רוב ימים).

2. W.J.P. Boyd ("Apocalyptic and Life after Death", Studia Evangelica 5 (1968), p. 48) states that the change of name from 'shades' to 'souls' or 'spirits' (e.g. I Enoch 9.10; 22.3 - 'the spirits of the souls of the dead'; 22.5,9; 49.3; 103.3) implies a survival of personal identity capable of independent thought and action.

3. K. Schubert (op. cit., p. 161) believes that this passage assumes the resurrection hopes, at least in the sense that they are verified in the other pseudepigraphical literature belonging to Qumran, as an (immortal) soul endowed with corporeal functions. Whether or not an indication in the Qumran texts points to the real rising

We will examine these texts extensively in the following chapters. Before we conclude this chapter we will note two early hypotheses, one by G. Vermes and the other by J.T. Milik. Vermes was tempted to understand the eschatological doctrine of the community in a purely spiritual way. He states: "l'entrée dans l'éternité était conçue comme une sorte d'assomption dans un corps purifié et sanctifié, et non pas comme une résurrection" (cf. I Corinthians 15.51).¹ Since the End was thought to be very near, Vermes' hypothesis has a certain credibility. But as it delayed and members of the sect passed away, the state of the resurrected would tend to be described in terms of a transformed spiritual existence in heaven forever (or possibly awaiting a return to earth).

A credible hypothesis is postulated by J.T. Milik. The uncovering of eleven hundred graves at Qumran revealed the position of the head in the south. Milik thinks that there is no other solution possible than to assume that the Essenes were following the Enoch tradition which located Paradise, the holy mountain of the celestial Jerusalem, in

from the dead (the concrete dead physical body), is not permitted to be made with certainty.

1. Les Manuscrits du Désert de Juda, 1954, p. 122.

the north. (This position is in counter-distinction to the east-west positioning of the graves in the Jewish-Christian tradition.)¹

Conclusion

An appraisal of the possible resurrection texts has been noted along with each passage examined. We can say in summary that the possible resurrection descriptions in most cases are couched in terms which could also have applied to an enduring sectarian community on earth. Whereas contexts from pseudepigraphical literature are framed to present positive doctrines of the resurrection, it does not appear to be a dogmatic question to Qumran (unless the Rule Scroll, IQS 3.13-4.26 is an exception). Against the backdrop of both catastrophic and forensic judgements in apocalyptic literature these passages present ambiguous formulations in regard to a resurrection doctrine. The last examined passage (IQH 15.14b-17) presented the destruction of the wicked and a unique expression for the salvation of the righteous. A fuller expression of reward and punishment occurs in the doctrine of the 'two spirits' in the Rule Scroll (IQS 4.6-8, 12-14). We turn to this passage in the next chapter.

1. "Henoah au Pays des Aromates", RB 65 (1958), p. 77 fn. Credit for this view may perhaps also belong to R. de Vaux: cf. "Feuilles au khirbet Qumran," RB 60 (1953), pp. 83-106; 61 (1954), pp. 206-236; 63 (1956), pp. 533-577.

CHAPTER III:

REWARD AND PUNISHMENT IN THE
"DOCTRINE OF THE TWO SPIRITS"

(IQS 3.13-4.26)

IQS 3.13 For the Maskil, to instruct and to teach all
the sons of light concerning the generations
14 of all the sons of man according to all the
kinds of spirits they possess, concerning
their signs (which) correspond to their works
throughout their generations and correspond
to the visitation of their affliction together
15 with the times of their well-being.

All that is and has been is from the God of
knowledge. Before they existed He established
16 all their design, and when they come into
being for their testimony according to His
glorious plan they fulfil their task without
17 change. The ordinances of all things are in
His hand, and He provides for them in all
18 their needs. He created man to rule the world,
and he ordained for him two spirits in which
to walk until the appointed time of His Visita-
19 tion: these are the spirits of truth and of
injustice. In the well-spring of light are
the generations of truth and from a fountain
of darkness are the generations of injustice.
20 By the hand of the prince of light is the do-
minion of all the sons of righteousness; they
walk in the ways of light. By the hand of the
21 angel of darkness is all the dominion of the
sons of injustice; and they walk in the ways
of darkness. By the angel of darkness (comes)
22 the aberration of all the sons of righteousness;
and all their sins and their iniquities and
their guilt and their deeds of transgression
23 are in his dominion in accordance with the
mysteries of God until his end. All their
afflictions and their times of distress are in

24 his dominion of animosity. All the spirits
of his lot (seek) to overthrow the sons of
25 light, but the God of Israel and His angel
of truth succour all the sons of light. He
created the spirits of light and of darkness,
26 and upon them He established every work,¹ /and
upon/their /ways/, every service.¹ God has
4.1 loved the one for all eternity and in all its
deeds He finds pleasure forever. As for the
other, He has abhorred its counsel, and all
its ways He has hated eternally.

2 These are their ways in the world: to illumine
the heart of man and to make straight before
him all the ways of true righteousness and to
fill his heart with fear at the judgements of
3 God: a spirit of humility and patience and
abundance of compassion and everlasting good-
ness and prudence and discernment and great
4 wisdom, which trusts in all the works of God
and relies on the abundance of His loving
kindness; and the spirit of knowledge in every
5 plan of activity and zeal for righteous ordin-
ances and a holy purpose and resolute intent
and an abundance of loving-kindness for all the
sons of truth; and glorious purity and loath-
ing for all the idols of defilement and modest
6 conduct through an understanding of all things
and a faithful concealment of the mysteries
of knowledge. These are the counsels of the
spirit to the sons of truth (in) the world.
7 The Visitation of all who walk in this spirit
(shall be) healing and abundance of well-being
with length of days and fruitfulness with all
everlasting blessings and eternal joy in per-
8 petual life and a crown of glory together with
a garment of splendour in everlasting light.

9 And to the spirit of injustice belong a greedy
soul and slackness of hands in the service of
righteousness, wickedness and falsehood, arro-
gance and haughtiness, deception and deceit,
10 cruelty and great profanity, shortness of tem-
per and great folly and brazen insolence, deeds
of abomination in the spirit of lust and ways
of defilement in the service of uncleanness
11 and a reviling tongue, blindness of eyes and
dullness of ear, stiffness of neck and heavi-
ness of heart to walk in all the ways of

darkness and the craftiness of evil. The
12 Visitation of all who walk in this spirit
(shall be) an abundance of afflictions by the
hand of all the angels of torment for ever-
lasting destruction by the overflowing wrath
13 of the God of vengeance, for perpetual terror
and eternal disgrace together with the shame
of extinction in the fire of the dark regions.
All their times in respect to their generations
(shall be) in grieving sorrow and the misery
of bitterness in the devastations of darkness
14 until their extinction--without a remnant or
15 an escape for them. In these (two spirits) are
the generations of all the sons of man; and
by their divisions all their hosts according
to their generations have a portion. In their
ways (the sons of man) walk and all the re-
16 compense of their works is by their divisions
in accordance with the inheritance of each,
whether it be much or a little, to all the
times of eternity. For God has set them (the
two ways) in equal measure until the final
17 time; and He has set everlasting enmity be-
tween their divisions. An abomination to
truth are the deeds of injustice; and an abom-
ination to injustice are all the ways of truth.
18 Zealous contention is upon all their judgements
for they do not walk together. But God, in
the mysteries of His insight and through His
glorious wisdom, has set an end for the exist-
ence of injustice, and in the appointed time
19 of the Visitation He will destroy it forever.
Then the truth of the world shall come forth
forever, for it has rolled in the ways of
wickedness in the dominion of injustice until
20 the appointed time of the decisive judgement.
Then God will purify by His truth all the works
of man, and He will refine for Himself the
structure of man: to abolish every spirit of
21 injustice from the midst of his flesh, and to
cleanse him by the spirit of holiness from all
the deeds of wickedness. He will sprinkle
upon him the spirit of truth like the water of
purification from all the abominations of
22 falsehood and rolling in the spirit of defile-
ment, in order to teach the upright through
the knowledge of the Most High and wisdom of
the sons of heaven to instruct the perfect of
way. For God has chosen them for an everlast-
23 ing covenant and to them is all the glory of

man., There shall be no more injustice; all
 the works of deceit shall be put to shame.
 24 Until now the spirits of truth and of injus-
 tice contend in the heart of man. They walk
 in wisdom and folly, and in accordance with
 the inheritance of each man in truth and
 righteousness so does he hate injustice.
 25 According to his portion in the lot of injus-
 tice so does he act wickedly and thus loathe
 truth. For God has set them in equal measure
 until the decisive end and new creation. He
 knows the recompense of their works for all
 26 the times ---. He has apportioned them
 (the spirits) to the sons of man to know good
and evil that He might cast the lots to all
 the living in accordance with his spirit until
 the established time of visitation.

Our concern with the "Doctrine of the Two Spirits"
 centres on the problem of the scope of reward and punish-
 ment. We learn that the "Visitation" (פקודה)¹ belongs
 to a particular time in the future. "God... has an end for
 the existence of injustice and at the appointed time of
 Visitation He will destroy it forever" (IQS 4.18f; cf. 3.18).²
 But also the Visitation consists of "a crown of glory to-
 gether with a garment of splendour in everlasting light"
 (IQS 4.7f), or "the shame of extinction in the fire of the
 dark regions ... and the misery of bitterness in the devas-
 tations of darkness" (IQS 4.13). These particular

1. M. Black (*op. cit.*, p. 135) believes that פקודה,
 the term used to describe the final eschatological drama,
 is paralleled exactly in the New Testament by ἐπισημοποίησις,
 not just in its general sense of a divine visitation but
 in the specialised meaning it has in this passage as the
 Last Visitation of God (cf. I Peter 2.12).

2. The "Visitation" is everlasting in IQH 13.10.

expressions belong to the light-darkness symbolism and provide us with the best opportunity to make a qualified assessment of the scope, or dimension, of reward and punishment.

Our procedure will be to examine the above expressions which relate to light and darkness and follow with a conclusion which takes into consideration the entire passage. It is commendable to our method to determine the content of these conceptions from the sectarian writings themselves, but also to cite parallels from such literature which stands nearest to them -- namely the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings as well as the early Christian literature. It is even more profitable when we are able to show a development of extension in meaning from that found in the Old Testament.

כליל כבוד (4.7)

One of the problems connected with the above expression pertains to the translation of כליל . It is generally translated 'crown'. But H. Kosmala points out that כליל = 'crown' is Aramaic. He attests that the foregoing text is good Biblical Hebrew and it is not necessary to read just the one word in Aramaic.¹ Yet it is not inconceivable

1. Hebräer . . ., p. 246.

that a loan-word would give special emphasis. כליל in the Old Testament receives the meaning 'perfect' or 'entire'. (Even earlier than Kosmala, K. Kuhn had identified כליל as Hebrew and translated the expression 'das Vollkommene der Herrlichkeit'.¹) Kosmala has cited evidence in Sirach 45.8 for the use of כליל = 'perfect'. There we find the expression "the entire splendour (כליל תפארת) of Aaron". The Greek translator renders συντέλεια καυχήματος .

כליל is translated twice in the LXX by στέφανος ; Lamentations 2.15 re. Jerusalem, כליל ידפי = στέφανος δόξης ; and Ezekiel 28.12 re. the former splendour of the king of Tyre, כליל יפי = στέφανος κάλλους . Kosmala, however, states that these are to be understood only figuratively.² Further, Kosmala strongly argues that had the text of the sect truly wished to say 'crown of glory', there were at least two Hebrew words at its disposal: עטרה and כתר.³ We find in a badly mutilated portion of the Book of Blessings the expression עטרה ונאשכה = 'crown of your head' (IQS 4.2), and curiously in the line above we find וכלי/ל if the last radical is indeed ל . However, no relationship between the two words can be established. The expression כליל כבוד is also found in the Hodayoth. In IQH 9.24ff we read, "And thy chastisement

1. "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," ZTK 49 (1952), p. 299.

2. Op. cit., p. 248.

3. Ibid., p. 247.

became joy and exultation to me and my afflictions, for healing $\langle \text{---} \rangle$ and perpetual $\langle \text{---} \rangle$ and the contempt of my enemies, to me for a crown of glory and my stumbling, everlasting strength." Here Kosmala permits the translation 'crown of glory', but only if one understands the expression figuratively.¹ Yet one could easily argue from many examples in apocalyptic and in the New Testament that the 'crown' imagery in eschatological settings always supersedes its literal meaning. Kosmala is at pains to show that the perfection of man in regard to the future glory sets in already in this life.² For that reason he seeks to erase the other-worldly associations which one normally would make by the appearance of the word 'crown'.

There is the possibility that כליל נבואה could designate 'salvation' or be descriptive of the 'place of salvation' instead of being applied to the essence of man. Therefore in order to gain a perspective of כליל נבואה we will examine two eschatological δόξα-forms: (1) the transfiguration of the place of salvation, and (2) the transfiguration of the body.³

- (1) The transfiguration of the place of salvation.
G. von Rad sees that even an ancient piece like

1. Ibid., p. 252.

2. Ibid.

3. P. Volz, op. cit. (1966), pp. 397ff.

Psalm 19 gives a more precise cosmological delin-
 eation which exalts the כבוד of God far above
 the sphere of natural phenomena. We might say
 that כבוד is an element which belongs to the
 higher heavenly regions which are plainly distin-
 guished from the firmament as the sphere of the
 creaturely (cf. Psalm 73.4).¹ The similitudes
 of I Enoch give evidence of the transfiguration
 of the cosmos as a place of salvation. Apocalyptic
 was prone to develop the glorification of the
 higher heavenly regions to accommodate the right-
 eous. Frequently there is mentioned the "throne
 of glory" (Wisdom 9.10; I Enoch 9.4; 45.3, et.
al.; Test. Levi 5.1; Matthew 19.28; 25.31).
 According to I Enoch 108.12, God will "bring forth
 in shining light (the righteous) ... and will
 seat each of the throne of his honour". In the
 Testament of Job 7.35ff the "'glory of Job's throne'
 is in the imperishable world ... upper world ...
 (or) to the right of the Saviour in the heavens".
 Also we find the "temple of glory" (Test. Levi
 18.6; cf. I Enoch 93.7; Sirach 33.19). "Glory"
 is connected with the city Jerusalem (II Baruch
 5.1ff; 32.4; Tobit 13.14; Psalms of Solomon
 17.31; IV Ezra 10.50- claritas glorie). In
 Christian literature A.F.von Gall observes, "...
 ist die δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ schliesslich der ganze
 Inhalt der βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, wie durch Christus
 den Menschen geworden ist."² Finally we cite an
 expression which comes closest to the one before
 us. In II Baruch 15.8 the coming world is de-
 scribed as "a crown in (with) great glory" (Syr:
 כתר; כתר גדול); cf. re. Zion,
 Isaiah 62.3-- עטרה בתפארה רבה .

In the Scrolls we find in IQH 13.5f that opposite the
 [= -] Pit (or corruption) (--- שמה) is "everlasting
 glory" (כבוד עולם); see also IQSb 3.4 and IQH 3.4 for
 the same expression). The "planting of fruit" which
 allegorises new life by God shall be " ... an everlasting

1. In TDNT II, under δόξα, p. 240.
 2. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ (1926), p. 334.

Fontain for the Eden of Glory (כננת 777) and bears fruit" (IQH 8.20). The unique expression

כננת 777 cannot be identified in apocryphal or apocalyptic writings. 777 is the name of the district in which paradise lies. But already in the Old Testament

777 had lost this meaning and had become a proper name for paradise (see Isaiah 51.3; Ezekiel 28.13; 31.9,16).¹

Yet the use of 777 in the Hodayoth passage is not necessarily a proper name for paradise--be it this worldly or the coming world.² It may be a metaphor for spiritual satiety (A. Dupont-Sommer compares Odes of Solomon 38.17-21).

Still the attributive כננת may signify a higher realm--notwithstanding its use as a superlative in many Qumran passages.³ In the War Scroll, the creations of God include "the extension of the clouds (=heaven: Job 37.18), the host of lights and the responsibility of the spirits and the realm of the holy ones, the treasures of glory (or glorious treasures?) clouds" (IQM 10.11f). Following this "heavenly" listing is a "terrestrial" one (IQM 10.12-16). In this same vein according to IQS 10.3, the lights which

1. S-B IV (2), p. 1118.

2. It was the firm location of Paradise in heaven that permitted it to be regarded as the spiritual archetype of the earthly Jerusalem (II Baruch 4.3-6) in a manner very reminiscent of the manner of thought in the Epistle to the Hebrews (W.J.P. Boyd, "Apocalyptic and Life after Death," in Studia Evangelica, Vol. V, 1968, p. 50).

3. See next section for another passage on "Eden": IQH 7.24f.

shine forth out of the "holy abode" (מִזְבוֹל קֳדוֹשׁ) and withdraw themselves to the "refuge of glory" (לְמַעוֹן כְּבוֹד) appear to belong to a more spatially-orientated conception than usually depicted in the Old Testament.¹ The expression מַעוֹן כְּבוֹד also appears in juxtaposition with the "fountain of righteousness and the reservoir of power" which are absent from the assembly of flesh, but are given as an "everlasting possession" (לְאוֹמְרוֹת עוֹלָם) to those whom God has chosen (IQS 11.7f; cf. IQH frag. 9.7). Although it may be argued that כְּבוֹד acts as a superlative for realities on this earth, something of the heavenly realm may be carried in its usage.

- (2) The transfiguration of the body. That the blessed are formed of light and receive glory is a process of transformation into new divine men.² Glory once adorned man in the original state, but through the fall of man Adam has lost it. In the end-time the righteous man should again receive it. "Glory" has become an eschatological conception and like "light" is a figurative term for salvation.³ The conception can be applied universally as a comprehensive designation for the glorification of the lot of the blessed. But usually it has a more pregnant sense and should bring the form and essence of the blessed to view. It alludes to a distinct moment in itself, as a unified conception for all the features of divine perfection. Man then combines the physical

1. Cf. S. Aalen, "Die Begriffe 'Licht' und 'Finsternis'", Det Norske Videnskaps - Akademi 1 (1951), Oslo, pp. 97f.; for a further discussion of this passage see section on 'light' (infra).

2. P. Volz, op. cit. (1966), p. 397.

3. Ibid.

elevation, the cultic purity, and the ethical perfection which enables him to associate with God.¹ So all who are in heaven and who come in contact with God must participate in His glory: not only the angels (Tobit 3.16(B), II Baruch 51.12; Revelation 18.1 et. al.), but also Adam as long as he was in paradise (Vita Adae 12.16; Apocalypse Moses 20f; III Baruch 4), Jesus on the mount of transfiguration as well as Moses and Elijah (Mark 9.2ff; cf. II Peter 1.7) and generally the righteous who come into paradise (IV Ezra 7.42, 87; II Baruch 21.23, 25 et al.). The countenance of the righteous gives light like the sun and resembles the light of the stars (IV Ezra 7.97; II Baruch 51.10); it even shines brighter than the brightness of the sun (IV Ezra 7.125). The future glory awaits the pious who will be like to angels (I Enoch 51.4; II Baruch 51.10; Luke 20.36 et al.).

High honour and exaltation have long been associated with the conception of the royal crown (II Samuel 12.30; Esther 6.8 et al.). Psalm 21.4f reflects a development in its idealisation which is complete in Job 19.9. There Job bemoans the fact that "God has stripped off my glory (כבודי) from me and removed the crown (עטרת) from my head."

Later literature understood the crown idea eschatologically. It came to represent in most cases "eternal life". Following are examples:-²

- "crown(s) of glory": Test. Benjamin 4.1; I Peter 5.4
- "crown of life"; James 1.12; Revelation 2.10
- "imperishable crown": I Corinthians 9.25
- "crown of imperishability": Martyrdom of Polycarp 17.1; 19.2

1. Ibid.

2. Many in the list appear in a sampling by H. Kosmala (op. cit., pp. 247f).

- "crown of righteousness": Test. Levi 8.2; II Timothy 4.8 (cf. Aristeas 280)
- "crown" (above all the heavens); Ascension of Isaiah 7.22
- "crown of beauty": Wisdom 5.6
- "crown of gladness": Sirach 6.31
- "crown of shining" (re. the sun): II Enoch 14.2,3 (A)
- "crown": Revelation 3.11
- "golden crown": Revelation 4.4,10; 14.14
- "crown or wreath from palm-branches": Hermas viii, 2.1; 3.6
- "diadem of glory": I Baruch 5.2 (cf. Aristeas 98 --
'mitre full of glory with the name of God')

These examples and their contexts reveal an important fact. The crown when it represents eternal life is bestowed after death. It awaits the righteous and assumes a dimension of a super-added gift.

Aside from the possibility in the segment of the Rule Scroll which is before us, there is no further indication of this kind of highly developed eschatological reward in the Scrolls. Although the blessing is granted to the sectarian in the present, it may possibly carry beyond this earthly life. In IQH 7.23-25, "My God, thou hast succoured my soul and thou hast raised up my horn high above, and I shine forth in seven-fold light in --- thou hast established for thy glory. For thou art to me an everlasting lamp and thou hast established my feet on ---". The author of IQH 9.26f acknowledges, "In thy glory my light shines forth, for thou hast made light shine forth out of darkness for ---". In CD 3.20 all who lay hold on the community are ordained "for perpetual life and all the glory of Adam belongs to them"

(להיכי נצח וכל כבוד אדם להם);¹ (cf. IQH 17.15; IVQ No. 18 frag. 2.2ff). In cave 4 one of the commentaries on Isaiah 11.1-3, No. 161(A), 8.10,19 contains an interesting peshar.² This much-mutilated portion concerns the shoot of David (individual or nation?) and describes the support God will sustain him: "... the Law /--- th/rone of glory³ a ho/ly/ crown,⁴ and variegat/ed/ garments

(ה---חורה /ב---/ סא כבוד נזר ק/רוש/ --- ובגדי רוקמו/ת). In other literature the Messiah shall return in glory (II Baruch 30.1; cf. Psalms of Solomon 17.31; I Enoch 49.2 and the Similitudes).

כליל כבוד denotes the universal notion "salvation". A more individual sense, "complete perfection" or "crown of glory" (which assumes the dimension of a highly-developed eschatological reward in other literature) is preferred.

מדה מדת (4.8)

According to H. Kosmala middah or madah with the meaning 'garment' occurs neither in Hebrew nor in Aramaic.⁵ Yet we find a form of מדה = 'garment' in Psalm 133.2.

1. להיכי נצח which also occurs in the segment before us will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

2. DJD V, p. 14.

3. Cf. I Samuel 2.8; Isaiah 22.23; Jeremiah 14.21; 17.12.

4. Cf. Exodus 29.6; 3930; Leviticus 8.9.

5. Op. cit., p. 246.

There the psalmist compares the harmony of brothers to precious oil "... running down upon the collar of his garments" (מְדוּתָיו על פי מְדוּתָיו ; LXX -- (ἐπὶ τῆς ὤμων τοῦ ἐνδύματος αὐτοῦ). It is true that German lexicographers and grammarians ever since Gesenius have placed מְדוּתָיו under מֶדָּה = 'measure', but the form can legitimately be classified a feminine plural of מְדָה = 'garment' with third masculine singular suffix (feminine plurals may be used collectively). Kosmala (and also K. Kuhn: 'Vollmass des Glanzes') translates מְדָה 'full measure', which is substantiated a few times in the Old Testament. If this is the case, more weight would be carried by הַדָּר . The same would be true if מְדָה = 'reward' (see Jastrow's Dictionary II).

הַדָּר (in juxtaposition with כְּבוֹד in Psalm 8.6; 145.5,12; and parallel with it in Isaiah 35.2) belongs to a complex of words which signify weight, honour, dignity, nobility, beauty and majesty.¹ In Psalm 8.6 we find that God has "crowned (man) with glory and splendour" (וּכְבוֹד וְהַדָּר הִעֲמִדוּ). But in the context of the Rule Scroll before us it appears that we are concerned with a fuller expression than that which is found in Psalm 8 (cf. Psalm 21.6; 149.9; Ezekiel 16.14). הַדָּר is also associated with clothing, re.God (Psalm 104.1; Job 40.10)

1. (גְּבוּהָהּ , גְּבוּהָהּ , גְּבוּהָהּ , הַדָּר , כְּבוֹד) etc.

or re. even a worthy woman (Proverbs 31.25). In Psalm 104.1f the author ascribes to God, "Thou art clothed with majesty and splendour, enveloping thyself with light as with clothing" (הוֹד וְהוֹר לְבַשְׁתָּ עִטָּה - אֹר)

(כְּשֵׁלֶמָה).¹ There is evidence in another apocalyptic writing that the splendour or honour of man which is acquired in this life is further extended or deepened in order to prepare him for the coming world. We turn again to II Baruch 49.51. In answer to the question as to how the splendour of the living might continue (II Baruch 49.2) Baruch is told that their splendour (Syr: ܩܩܐܝܠ) shall be glorified through transformations in order that they may receive the world which does not die (II Baruch 51.3). The translation מְדַת הוֹר = 'full measure of splendour' could possibly signify the optimum glorification of man's splendour as in II Baruch 51 (above). We turn our attention to מְדַת הוֹר = 'garment of splendour'.

A comparable expression for the transfigured body (see above) is found in the symbolism of the garment or

1. This passage appears to be the only connection of הוֹר with 'light' in the Old Testament. It is well known that light came to dominate the δόξα imagery in later Judaism.
2. The Syriac ܩܩܐܝܠ generally equals the Hebrew הוֹר which is often paired with הוֹר particularly in the Psalms. הוֹר וְהוֹר are rendered by (Syr) ܩܩܐܝܠ ܩܩܐܝܠ (as we would expect) in Psalm 104.1, but we find (Syr) ܩܩܐܝܠ ܩܩܐܝܠ in Psalm 21.6 (the order is reversed in Psalm 96.6; see also 45.4).

outer clothing. Following are examples:¹

- "garments of glory": I Enoch 62.15; II Enoch 22.8-10;
IV Ezra 2.39 cf. I Baruch 5.1
"robe of righteousness from God": I Baruch 5.2
"garment of life ... your glory will not fade away":
I Enoch 62.15
"vesture in heaven": Apocalypse of Abraham 13
"garments of the upper world": Ascension of Isaiah 9.9ff;
cf. 4.16, 7.22, 8.14, 9.1f
"immortal clothing": IV Ezra 2.45
"garments white as light": Matthew 17.1f (cf. John 17.1,5)
"a white garment": Revelation 3.4f, 18: 4.4; cf. Hermas
VIII 2.3; IX 13.2-5
"a white stole": Revelation 6.11; 7.9,13f
"pure bright linen": Revelation 15.6
"sparkling white linen": Revelation 19.8

The blessed may be simply presented as a form of light. As early as Daniel 12.3, the wise who awake to eternal life shall shine like the brightness of the firmament ... like the stars (יִזְהָרוּ כִזְהַר הַרְקִיעַ ... כְּכֹכְבִים). What at first has been said of the prominent members of the community is further on attributed to all: The righteous will shine (ἀναλαμπουσιν): Wisdom 3.7); their face lights up as the sun (IV Ezra 7.97: Incipiet vultus eorum fulgere sicut sol; Vita Adae 29.9); as the stars (I Enoch 104.2) or beyond their brightness (IV Ezra 7.125: super stellas fulgere). The blessed glitter and give light (I Enoch 108.11f) as a blazing fire (I Enoch 39.7 -- see II Enoch 22.8f). Where the earth is the ground of salvation the Lord of Spirits has caused his light to appear on the face of the righteous (I Enoch 38.4; cf. 50.1).

1. See H. Kosmala, op. cit., p. 250, who further directs us to Ginzberg, Legends V, pp. 42, 97, 103f, 112f.

The sectarians are described in IVQ No. 184, 1,8 as those who "gird themselves with brightness" (מאזרי ניגה). Yet the metaphor may pertain only to their sanctification in the present. Josephus reports that the Essenes "were always clothed in white", and this sentence follows an observation that they guarded themselves from filth (through oil) and kept themselves pure and dry (Bell. Jud. II 8.3,7).¹ Revelation 3.4 speaks of "those who have not dirtied their clothes" (cf. 3.18; 16.15; IQS 4.21f; CD 3.17), so we have a possible allusion to the dress that the Essene already wears in this life as a distinguished garment of honour for the expression of his mode of living in hope of heavenly glory.² We must also point to the fact that the sect was originally priestly. They lived in complete holiness and purity and considered themselves as

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1. In the profane realm in antiquity and also according to the Old Testament white (לבן) was the colour of the distinguished festival-day garment (Ecclesiastes 9.8); the guest appeared for meals, e.g. in old Rome, clothed in white; and the linen garment of Egypt attained by Joseph for high honour is known to have been white (Genesis 41.42). Especially of Jewish teachers and their schools would linen garments as a rule be worn; of others at least at solemn opportunities. On the Sabbath one took care to wash them especially well (F. Nötscher, TTQT, 1956, p. 102)
 2. F. Nötscher (loc. cit.) mentions that the clothing of the Mandaeans according to regulation is completely white with regard to the heavenly king of light and in imitation of the heavenly clothing of the angels. H. Kosmala (op. cit., p. 251) calls attention to the connection between the this-worldly garments with the other-worldly ones in the Shepherd of Hermas (VIII, 2.3; IX, 13.2; 14.1; 24.2).

the sanctuary of God. In this connection we call to mind the high priest who wore garments of linen when he went into the inner sanctuary on the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 16.2,4,23). The Qumran community whose task it was "to procure expiation for the land" (IQS 5.6; 8.6,10; 9.4) is named קדוש הקדשים (=the inner sanctuary in the Old Testament). According to the War Scroll the priests wear garments from white silk and linen when they prepare for the end-battle (IQM 7.9).

מדה הדר , of course, belongs to the same dimension as כליל כבוד . Whatever scope that is must await our remarks in the conclusion.

באור עולמים (4.8)

Light and darkness in later Judaism become, for the good and the evil man respectively, a sphere in which he lives, a determination which has him in its authority, a kingdom to which one belongs and a power which he understands. Light and darkness are two ways between which Adam must choose (II Enoch 30.15 (A); cf. Test. Naphtali 2.10; Test. Benjamin 5.2; IQS 3.13-4.26).¹ If both possibilities become final, or conclusive, in the two segments before us we should find evidence that the concept of light in Qumran belongs to a static, spatially-orientated outer-world. The fundamental unity of time in the Old Testament

1. Cf. S. Aalen, op. cit., p. 180.

expressed by the motif of "day and night" has fallen into decline in later Judaism. Instead there is focus on the fact that here below upon earth it is dark, but there high above the stars give light. The heavenly bodies participate in a heavenly light which is their source.¹ This development is reflected in the Hymn section of the Rule Scroll (IQS 10.1ff)² which we have previously cited in part when we discussed כבוד in spatial terms. Column 10 begins evidently at some point in the middle of the didactic portion. Our translation begins at line 1:-

IQS 10.1 ... at the times which He has ordained;³ at the beginning of the dominion of light during its circuit (in the sky) and when it is withdrawn to its prescribed dwelling place; at
2 the beginning of the / watches of darkness when He opens its treasury and sets it above⁴ and during its circuit (in the sky) when it is withdrawn from before light; when the
3 lights shine forth out / of the holy abode (and) when they are withdrawn to the refuge of glory

Our concern with this difficult text lies not in the various problems of exegesis⁵ but in the way it describes the

1. Ibid., p. 98.

2. Many scholars see a connection with the morning prayer of the Essenes: cf. Josephus, Bell. Jud. II, viii, 5.

3. Reading תיבא for תיבא .

4. Reading מלמא for מלמא .

5. See M. Weise, Kultzeiten und Kultischer Bundesschluss in der "Ordens-regel" vom Toten Meer (1961), pp. 10ff, 20ff; also A.R.C. Leaney, op. cit., pp. 237ff.

heavenly bodies. We first notice that the author is not concerned with their names, but their schedule and function. It appears that the expression "the dominion of light" (ממַשְׁלַת אוֹר) could apply to both day and night. When the author mentions the prayer-time at dusk he employs only the expression "watches of darkness" (אֲשֵׁמוֹרֵי חוֹשֶׁךְ). At IQH 12.4ff, where we find many words and expressions identical to the passage before us, is the expression (line 6) "dominion of darkness" (ממַשְׁלַת חוֹשֶׁךְ). Whether the sensitive author actually had the Hodayoth hymns before him, or the Rule hymns were original (or they had a common "parent"), he was intent to show the supremacy of light and especially its higher divine source. The lights (מאֹרוֹת) in line 3 have their source in the "holy abode" which is parallel to the "refuge of glory" -- whether we identify them with the stars (Weise, Leaney and many others) or include the sun and moon. Finally most scholars take the suffix *waw* in אוֹצְרוֹ = 'its treasury' (line 2) as pertaining to darkness. Rather, could not the moon be meant--or even God? The following suffixes in line 2 most likely pertain to the moon:- וּבְחֻקֵּיהֶן = 'and He sets it'; וּבְחֻקֵּיהֶן = 'and during its circuit'; עַם הָאֲסָפָה = 'when it is withdrawn'. Even the night is lit from the treasures which belong to the realm of light.¹ In IQM 10.12 the expression "treasuries of glo/ry ---" (אוֹצְרוֹת כְּבוֹד ---)

1. Cf. I Enoch 17.1, 18.1; IV Ezra 4.5, 37.

is in juxtaposition to various heavenly realities.

In IQS 3.19f (of the passage before us) the "spring (or source) of light" (מעין אור) wherein lies the origin of truth is mentioned, and the "well of darkness" (מקור חושך) wherein lies the origin of injustices. H.W. Huppenbauer is of the opinion that the source of light is beyond the natural presentation. Neither daylight nor stars, but the place where they obtain their light is meant: namely the heavenly world.¹

In IQH 18.29 the sectarian who enters into the covenant with God (line 28) stands "in the everlasting established place for the light of perfect enlightenment forever /without/ darkness" (במכין עולם לאור אורתום עד נצח ו[אין] חושך). Yet (with A. Dupont-Sommer, S. Holm Nielsen and others) there may not be an eschatological dimension (cf. IQH 7.24, 9.27; IQSb 4.27).

Light, of course, in later Judaism came to mean a designation of the world beyond. In I Enoch 92.4 the righteous man "shall walk in eternal light". The righteous shall be "in the light of the sun ... in the light of eternal life" (I Enoch 58.3); this is "a light that never ends" (verse 6). We note that the light of salvation

1. Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten (1959), p. 27.

appears on earth in the Similitudes of Enoch (38.2, 50.1). Yet in 45.4f when God transforms heaven He makes it "an eternal blessing and light". The corresponding transformation of the earth is made only "a blessing". When eternal light shines on the righteous it appears always to be a heavenly, divine light. In II Baruch 48.50 when the righteous "receive great light" (Syr: *ܠܘܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ*) in the world which has no end, it is difficult to determine whether the light of salvation envelops them or they become like lights. The latter case appears more probable (cf. 51.10).

Whether *עוֹלָם ܕܥוֹלָם* pertains to an earthly sphere of salvation or represents the higher heavenly world depends on the dualism of the passage (see below, Conclusion).

ܕܘܟܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ (4.13)

ܕܘܟܠܐ = 'a dark place' is equivalent to Sheol in Psalm 88.7. There the author describes the wrath of God upon him: "Thou hast set me in the pit of the lowest parts, in the dark regions (and) in the depths" (*ܕܘܟܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ*) (cf. Psalm 143.3 = Lamentations 3.6; see also Psalm 88.19 in the singular). The proper home of "darkness" (*ܕܘܟܠܐ/ܥܘܠܡܐ*) is Sheol (cf. Job 10.21f; Isaiah 45.19; Psalm 88.11ff; Ecclesiastes 6.4).¹ However, darkness in any form does not appear as an eschatological place of punishment in the Old Testament.

1. The "night" also represents Sheol (Job 36.20).

This development is found in the apocalyptic literature. "Darkness"--originally the characteristic feature of Sheol --and the "fire" of Gehenna merge in the religious consciousness of the Jewish people.¹ The only place in the Old Testament where fire appears to suggest the idea of eternal punishment occurs in Isaiah 66.24. Regarding the dead bodies of those who rebelled against the Lord, the author states, "...for their worm shall not die and their fire shall not be extinguished (וְאֵשׁ לֹא תִכָּבֵה) and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh". Darkness as a means of punishment in the apocalyptic literature occurs in I Enoch 46.4, 108.14. Fire as a means of punishment in the apocalyptic literature occurs in I Enoch 54.1f, 90.26f; II Baruch 44.15, 48.43; IV Ezra 7.36; III (Greek) Baruch 4.16; Test. Zebulon 10.3; Psalms of Solomon 12.4.²

The old-Sheol doctrine is still reflected in I Enoch 51.1f: the good and wicked tarry undistinguished in Sheol; but the resurrection puts an end to their sojourn.³ The oldest proof for the distinguished lot of the pious and the godless in Sheol would be I Enoch 22.⁴ Sheol is

1. S-B IV (2), p. 1075.

2. "The flame of the torture of Sheol" occurs in I Enoch 63.10; and in the New Testament, Luke 16.24 speaks of a flame in Hades (see further I Enoch 98.3, 100.9, 102.1, 108.3ff; II Baruch 59.2, 64.7, 85.13).

3. S-B IV (2), p. 1017.

4. Ibid.; but R.H. Charles (A Critical History of the / . . .

not mentioned by name, but the place shown to Enoch by the angel Uriel contains four hollow places (I Enoch 22.2,8) --allegedly the compartments of Sheol. The angel Uriel is over the world and over Tartarus.¹

While Sheol remains unchanged Gehenna emerges suddenly as an eschatological place of punishment in the apocalyptic literature of Palestinian Judaism in the second century B.C. Gehenna (גֵּהֶנְנִים /ג/׳א) became so notorious through its evil associations that it is simply called "the valley", (κατ' ἐξοχήν) (Jeremiah 2.23, 31.40), and the gate of Jerusalem leading to it "the Valley-gate" (II Chronicles 26.9; Nehemiah 2.13, 15, 3.13). In I Enoch 27.2 it is termed "the accursed γῆ ", "the deep γῆ " (54.1) and "the γῆ " (Assumption of Moses 10.10). Gehenna (really (גֵּהֶנְנִים /ג/׳א) probably was first used in a topographical sense--in the description of the boundary of the tribe of Benjamin (Joshua 18.16, (Γαλέννα) (LXX); cf. Joshua 15.8; II Chronicles 28.3; Jeremiah 7.32;

the Doctrine of a Future Life, 1899, p. 236) considers II Maccabees 12.42-45 to be the first trace of Sheol as a truly moral abode.

1. I Enoch 2.12--Greek fragment: τάρταρος, a dark abyss, deep below Hades, was the prison of the Titans. Later it was either the nether-world generally or a place of torment and punishment, as opposed to the Elysian fields (The Classic Greek Dictionary, prepared by G.R. Berry, Follett Publ. Co., 1962). Tartarus is in juxtaposition to Gehenna in the Sibylline Oracles IV, 186.

II Kings 23.10 where the K'thibh has the plural "sons of Hinom"). Next it became identified as the place of idolatrous and inhuman sacrifices--first offered by Ahaz and Manasseh, who made children to "pass through the fire" to the god Moloch in this valley (II Kings 16.3, 21.6; II Chronicles 28.3, 33.6). Jeremiah prophesied that one day it would be called "the Valley of Slaughter". Finally, according to later Jewish popular belief, Gehenna was a ravine south of Jerusalem where the Last Judgement was to take place and also a place of everlasting punishment for apostate Jews in the presence of the righteous.¹ The last meaning, "Hell", is very familiar in the New Testament; see Matthew 5.22,29,30, 10.28, 18.9, 23.15,33; Mark 9.43,45,47; Luke 12.5; James 3.6). When Gehenna appears in apocalyptic literature, it is thought of solely as an eschatological place of punishment (I Enoch 90.26f; cf. 27.2ff, 108.3ff) and consequently is earlier than Sheol as an eschatological place of punishment, which tradition belongs to the first century B.C.² Sheol, with the emergence of Gehenna as an eschatological place of punishment, generally becomes a place of punishment during the intermediate state (between death and the resurrection)

1. R.H. Charles, A Critical History ..., pp. 150f.

2. S-B IV (2), pp. 1022f.

--see I Enoch 103.5ff; Psalms of Solomon 15.10; Jubilees 7.29; see also 22.22, 24.31; Psalms of Solomon 13.11; II Baruch 30.4f, 36.10f.¹ However, rabbinical teachers, with the previously existing tradition of Sheol broken, have explained only Gehenna as an intermediate-time place of punishment.² Sheol became for the rabbis only a weak synonym for Gehenna.³ The conception of Gehenna gradually enlarged to include the idea of Purgatory --through the school of Shammai.⁴ Sheol and Gehenna are co-existent eschatological places of punishment in II Baruch, IV Ezra, and the New Testament.⁵

The end-time Gehenna enters actively as soon as God brings the future aeon (אֵלֶּם הַבָּא) instituting the end judgement over mankind (Enoch 16.1; cf. 25.4; IV Ezra 7.113). This end-judgement, often named "the great judgement", has the task of exterminating (consuming) the people of the world who are hostile to God. It is expected in a twofold form: either as a catastrophic judgement which suddenly breaks in over the world and destroys all

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1. For additional references see S-B IV (2), p. 1059.
 2. Ibid., p. 1032.
 3. Ibid., p. 1023.
 4. Ibid., p. 1043; cf. 1050.
 5. Ibid., p. 1023. Only in Luke 16.23 (cf. 26) is ἄδης a place of punishment in the New Testament.

anti-godly creatures, or as a judgement which takes place in a forensic form and ends with the damnation and eradication of the godless.¹

Gehenna as an eschatological place of punishment first appears in I Enoch 90.26f without its official name, which was probably gained in its association with the ravine south of Jerusalem where the Last Judgement was to take place. We often find Gehenna expressed by the combination of the "Abyss" and "fire". The Abyss (ἄβυσσος) is the Greek rendering of the Hebrew ^{תַּיִת} in the Old Testament, and in later Judaism signified (i) the original flood, (ii) the depth of the earth, in which are corpses causing defilement, and (iii) under the influence of Persian and Hellenistic conceptions, the place in which renegade spirits are confined.² תַּיִת denotes the realm of the dead in Psalm 71.20 (in the plural) and Jonah 2.6. In I Enoch 88.1,3 the description of the Abyss, which becomes a prison for the stars, is very similar to Sheol: "narrow, deep, horrible and dark". It is the catastrophic "Great Abyss" which swallows both heaven after it falls to the earth and the earth itself in I Enoch 83.4,7. But elsewhere in I Enoch the "Abyss" combines with "fire" to designate Gehenna.³

1. Ibid., p. 1093; for references see pp. 1094f.

2. J. Jeremias, in TDNT I, under ἄβυσσος, p. 9.

3. See I Enoch 10.13, 18.11, 21.7, 54.5-6, 90.23-26.

The "prison" aspect of the Abyss is prevalent in the New Testament.

As the Sinai revelation influenced Theophanies, so the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by fire and brimstone (Genesis 19.24) exerted a strong influence on subsequent ideas of divine judgement.¹ Fire is a common image for the judicial wrath of God in the Old Testament and has served as a means of divine judgement on Israel's enemies (Amos Ch. I, 2.2; Jeremias 43.12; Nahum 3.13 et al.) --even on Israel itself (Amos 2.5; Hosea 8.14; Jeremiah 11.16, 17.27 et al.; Ezekiel 15.7, 16.41 et al.). A final judgement by fire is very significant in the eschatology which we find in the apocalyptic writings.²

Fire = Gehenna in the Scrolls. Although the word "Gehenna" in any form is not found, $\sqrt{\kappa}^{\circ} \alpha$ occurs in an obscure fragment in cave 1 where the context cannot be determined, No. 46 3.1), its characteristic feature, "fire", is. The Scrolls contain the idea that the last act will bring God's fiery judgement on His foes.³ In IQpHab 10.5,

1. F. Lang, in TDNT VI, under $\pi\upsilon\rho$, p. 936.

2. I Enoch 102.1; II Baruch 37.1, 48.39,43; IV Ezra 13.10f Psalms of Solomon 15.4f; Jubilees 9.15, 35.10; Sibylline Oracles III 53f, 71f, 542, 618, 673f, 761; IV, 159f et al. We find the idea of a world conflagration in II, 186ff 315ff; III, 83ff; IV, 172ff; V, 158ff, 211ff, 512-531.

3. F. Lang, op. cit., p. 939.

in the midst of many peoples God will judge the sinner with the fire of sulphur (באש גופרות). The congregation founded on deceit will come to the judgements of fire (למשפטי אש): IQpH 10.13). When the Levites damn the lot of Belial the place of punishment is described as the "dark gloom of eternal fire" (באפלה אש עולמית : IQS 2.8). In IQS 2.15 the curse of the priests sounds out: "May the wrath of God and the zeal of His judgement burn him in eternal destruction!" (יבערו בו לכלת עולמית). Those whose spirit is broken in the wars of God "Thou wilt make to burn like a torch of fire in the straw" (תבעיר כלפיך אש בעמיד) which devours the wicked and does not return until the destruction of the guilty (IQM 11.10f). On the other hand, God "will ensure the welfare (wholeness) of them (the tried and true) amidst the burning" (ושם שלומם בולק : IQM!17.1). The context of a portion of the War Scroll, which is greatly obliterated, includes the "sons of darkness" and the phrase "...is kindled to burn in sons" (תוקד לשרף/הם) : IQM 14.18). The eternal plantation, which reaches as far as Sheol, becomes a well-spring of light in whose flames of brightness burn (בשביבי נוגהו יבערו) "all the sons of darkness and becomes sons a fire burning (לאש : IQH 6. 18 cf. 17.13).

An allegorical poem No. 184, frag. 1, discovered in

cave 4, was first published in part by J.M. Allegro in PEQ 96 (1964), pp. 53.55 and now completely in DJD V, 1969, pp. 82ff by the same author. Allegro chose to call it provisionally, "The Wiles of the Wicked Woman". The image of the harlot is strongly reminiscent of Proverbs, chs. 2, 6, 7, 9, 23. Whether she represents "Rome" (Allegro) or "women in general" (Dupont-Sommer) or the "rival sect" (Carmignac) or personifies wickedness need not concern us. Our interest lies merely in the wide variety of imagery depicting Sheol which touches on the main emphasis of our study--particularly "everlasting burning" (מוקדי) in line 7 and the "darkness" metaphors. Following is a translation of lines 3-11 which includes the pertinent imagery:-

IVQ No. 184,
frag. 1,3

In perversion they laid hold of the abhorred
members of destruction;¹
They descended the pit of her legs to act
wickedly
And to walk in guilty deeds [-----]
4 the foundations of darkness.
A multitude of transgressions are in her
skirts;
[---]the dark depths² of the night;
Her clothes [---].
5 Her coverings are the gloomy moments of
twilight;
The afflictions³ of corruption are her
ornaments.

1. Or "desire".

2. חושכות . J. Carmignac considers this dubious and compares Job 11.17 (חושכות). The basic idea is darkness.

3. Reading חושכות with Carmignac.

Her couches (. . . ?) are the beds of
 corruption;
 6 /---/ the depths of the pit;
 Her lodgings are the beds of darkness.
 In the midst of the night are her /do/ minions.
 7 From the foundations of dark gloom she moves;
 She returns and dwells in the tents of
 silence,
 In the midst of everlasting burning.
 There is no inheritance in the midst of¹ all
 8 who gird themselves² with brightness;
 She is the beginning of all the ways of
 perversion.
 Alas! destruction belongs to all who possess
 her;
 9 And devastation to a /il/ who lay hold on her.
 For her ways are the ways of death,
 And her paths are the courses of sin;
 10 Her entrenchments are the errors of perversion;
 Her pathways are the guilty deeds of
 transgression.
 Her gates are the gates of death;
 At the door of her house, you step forth to
 Sheol.
 11 A /il/ /---/ will return,
 And all who possess her descend to corruption.

We should also mention the Cryptic Document (IVQ Cry) from cave 4 which was first published in part by J.M. Allegro in JSS 9 (1964), pp. 291-4, and now completely (no. 181) in DJD V (1969), pp. 88ff. These fragments assign man astrologically to light and darkness and determine physiognomical speculations about him.³ Col. II, 7f, reads, "He has six (parts) spirit in the house of light, and three in the pit of darkness" (decipherment; רוח לו

1. Reading כול for בכול .
 2. Carmignac suggests נארי : cf. Psalm 65.7.
 3. Cf. P. von der Osten-Sacken, Gott und Belial (1969), pp. 186ff.

בבית האור שש ושלוש בבית החושך) .

Col. III, 5f, reads, "He has /ēi/ght (parts) spirit in the house of /darkness/ and one (part) from the house of light" (decipherment; ורזה לו בבית /החושך ש/ מונה ואחת

מבית האור). We cannot conclude that the ultimate destiny of the unknown man is determined by weighing his spiritual assignment. It appears that this cryptic writing might have attempted some sort of resolution to the ethical and predestination problems of IQS 3.18ff, but not necessarily.

בהווה חושך (4.13)

could easily be read בהייות as transcribed by A.M. Habermann.¹ We would then render בהייות 'while it is dark'.² Two translations have emerged from בהווה חושך : (i) 'in the abysses of darkness', and (ii) 'in the destructions of darkness'. P. Wernberg-Möller, who argues for the first case, cites Psalm 5.10 where הוה with the usual meaning 'calamity' may be used with the meaning 'depths' (cf. Syriac *ḥod*). He notes the preceding קרבם = 'their midst' and the following קבר פתוח = 'open grave'.³ However, we may question whether הוה should lose its own particular

1. The Scrolls from the Judaean Desert (1959), p. 63.
2. Cf. A.R.C. Leaney, op. cit., p. 154.
3. The Manual of Discipline (1957), p. 82.

import which it brings to Psalm 5.10 by becoming a synonymous term. Yet as Wernberg-Møller notes, the idea of hell as a deep, dark gulf is in perfect accordance with the notion in I Enoch 22.2 and Jubilees 7.29 (cf. II Peter 2.4).

Destruction combines with darkness in later Judaism to represent both a form and a place of eschatological punishment. In Psalms of Solomon 15.10 where the inheritance of sinners is "destruction and darkness" (ἀπφλεια καὶ σκότος), their iniquities shall pursue them into Sheol (cf. 14.9; Tobit 14.10). Among the tortures shown Enoch is "cruel darkness and unillumined gloom where there is no light" (II Enoch 10.2 (A); cf. recension (B); 7.2 (A)). In I Enoch 103.8, the souls of the sinners in Sheol shall be "in great torment and in darkness and in a trap and among burning flame" (ἐν ἀνάγκῃ μεγάλη καὶ ἐν σκότει καὶ ἐν παγίδι καὶ ἐν φλογὶ καιομένη).¹ In the New Testament Jesus declares that the sons of the kingdom shall be cast into the outer darkness; "weeping and gnashing of teeth shall be there" (ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων: Matthew 8.12; cf. 22.13, 25.30). In II Peter 2.17 the "gloom of darkness" (ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους) is kept for the wicked (cf. 2.4 and Jude 13).

We note a characteristic of $\pi\eta\eta$ which lends itself

1. See further, I Enoch 10.4, 46.6, 62.10, 63.10f; II Baruch 51.5f; IV Ezra 7.87; III Baruch 4.4.

to the notion of eschatological punishment. הוה has a durative quality in Proverbs 19.13. Parallel to the colon, "A foolish son is ruin (הוה) to his father," is "A continuous dripping (ודלף טרד) are the contentions of a woman." The Psalmist bemoans, "...those who seek my injury speak calamities (הוה) and utter treacherous words all the day long" (Psalm 38.13; cf. 5.10, 57.2, 91.3). The continuing action of destruction which we find in הוה is present in the listing of the punishments of the visitation segment before us. "Perpetual terror" (זעומ נצח) is there and also "eternal disgrace" (חרפה עולם : line 12). Also "all their times for their generations" (כול קציהם לדורותם) shall be in grieving sorrow and the misery of bitterness (line 13)

According to Josephus the Essenes consider the place of punishment as a dark and cold cave with unending punishments (Bell. Jud. II 8.11). Regarding IQH 6.24 F. Nötscher considers that "the gates of death" to which the unfortunate author has already reached, to be credible, are only metaphors of extreme difficulty of danger (cf. Isaiah 38.10). But he concludes in IQH 3.18 that "the gates of the Pit (or destruction)" (דלתת שחח), which are around the monster of injustice, and "the eternal bars" (בריחי עולם), which are around all the spirits of nothingness, belong truly to Sheol as an

eschatological place of punishment.¹ The prison conception of the end-time is also found in the Book of Mysteries (No. 27 1,1.5) where the breeders of iniquity are incarcerated (בְּמִסְכַּר מוֹלְדֵי עוֹלָה). On the day of the sectarian's conversion "the angel of torment" (מְלַאךְ) leaves him and evidently stays away if he fulfils his promises (CD 16.5). But the punishment appears to be conclusive in IQS 4.12, "by the hand of all the angels of torment" (בְּיַד כּוֹל מְלַאכֵי הַבַּל).

Conclusion

Apocalyptic thought often conceived the present world as divided into two conflicting spheres. We must take this into consideration in the Qumran passage before us. Mankind is divided into two opposing factions or camps which are conceived as the realms of two spiritual rulers: the prince of lights (or angel of truth) and the angel of darkness (IQS 3.21, 21, 24).² What is most significant to note in this connection is the dualistic re-construction of the world man is (supposed) to rule (IQS.3.17f). In IQS 3.19, "The generations of truth are in the well-spring of light" (בְּמַעְיָן אֹר חוֹלְדוֹת הָאֵמֶת)³ and

1. F. Nötscher, TTQT pp. 160f.

2. J. Licht, "An Analysis of the Treatise of the Two Spirits in DSD," Scripta Hierosolymita 4 (1958), p. 92.

3. Some scholars read בְּמַעְיָן = 'abode'.

"the generations of injustice are from a fountain of darkness" (וממקור חושך חולדות העול). This dualism is to be seen in the light of IQS 3.15 where "all that is and shall be is from the God of Knowledge". We have rendered the important word חולדות = 'generations'¹ in all cases because we believe the author wishes both to keep the opposing camps separate and to show their respective predestination in addition to the idea of a "source".² G. Vermes translates, "those born of 'truth' (resp., 'falsehood') spring from a fountain of 'light' (resp., 'darkness')". In the Fragment of the Book of Noah, which has many affinities with the Qumran writings, the sinners "who were born in darkness are led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent" (I Enoch 108.14). However, the righteous in I Enoch 108.11 are also "born in darkness" even though they "belong to the generation

1. Regular Old Testament translation.

2. E. Lohse, A. Dupont-Sommer; see J. Licht for a valuable discussion of the word. P. Wernberg-Møller ("The Two Spirits' in IQS III, 13-IV, 26", RdQ 3 (1961-62), pp. 413-441) opposes a pure dualistic cosmology and stresses a psychological approach. He suggests that חולדות is simply another word for 'characters', 'dispositions' or 'mind' (p. 425). It appears that the key word which preserves the dualism of two spheres and connects these to the inner struggle of man is דרך = 'way'. G.R. Driver (The Judaean Scrolls (1965), p. 553) considers that the author developed the doctrine of "two ways" and fused it with the doctrine of two spirits. By a table of comparison Driver demonstrates the similarities between IQS 3.13-4.26 and *Duae Vitae*, The Epistle to Barnabas (chs. 18-20) and The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (chs. 1f, 5f). Cf. W.D. Davies' tabulated form (The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. K. Stendahl (1958), pp. 171-172).

of light". The Qumran doctrine is more thoroughly dualistic. K.G. Kuhn considers that the new transfigured world (re. IQS 4.8) is in contrast to existence now in this world as the "dominion-sphere of Belial".¹ S. Aalen, however, stresses the fact that the pessimistic conception of the world in its totality as base is not typical for later Judaism.² The typical Jewish view is that the world is a mixture of unrighteousness and righteousness.³

How are we to understand the dualistic reconstruction of the world into two opposing camps? J. Licht believes that light and darkness are abstract notions of truth and evil. After this he states that "the dualistic principle is extended beyond humanity into the cosmic spheres".⁴ H. Huppenbauer's studies have led him to conclude that in the contrast of light and darkness there is no pure cosmic dualism--only two moral-religious qualities.⁵ Yet he is quick to point out that with the mention of the special places of light and darkness the ethical contrast is indeed

1. "Die Sektenschrift . . .," p. 299 fn.

2. Op. cit., p. 182.

3. Ibid., p. 183; cf. P. Volz, op. cit. (1966), pp. 7, 68.

4. "An Analysis . . .," p. 92.

5. Der Mensch . . ., p. 28.

expanded to a cosmic dualism.¹ Essentially Huppenbauer's analysis of Qumran finds only a relative, ethical-cosmological dualism.² But O. Betz rightly sees that the doctrine of two spirits is set in a creation context.³ Thus a fixed heaven-hell (light-darkness) dualism was formulated in IQS 3.13-4.26 which belongs to one creation under God (no pure dualism, where evil is co-eternal with God). According to G. Molin the world is erected in several storeys ("Nach ihm ist die Welt in mehreren Stockwerken aufgebaut"). At the lowest lies the great deep or Ursee. One might assume that the sect has so understood Genesis 1 that also the Ursee rests under the earth. In its inner parts it bears the underworld, once thought of as an abode of all the dead, now truly only of those who expect punishment. IQH column III well discloses the fundamental and sharp distinction of the heavenly world, 'the earth

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., pp. 95ff.

3. O. Betz (Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumran-
sekte (1960), pp. 145-151) is supported by H.G. May ("Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in the Old Testament Imagery," JBL 82 (1963), p. 1). On the other hand, J.H. Charlesworth ("A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in IQS III, 13-IV, 26 and the 'Dualism' contained in the Fourth Gospel," NTS 15 (1968-69), p. 389 fn.) sees only a modified dualism and not a polarity between two equal, external forces or concepts. He argues for a dualism influenced by Zurvanism, a particular system which developed in Iran (pp. 400f).

and the under-world--in any case the existence of the Ur-flood as a bearer of the entire cosmos.¹ We have already shown that in later Judaism there is a place of light and a place of darkness spatially contrasted as two poles: the light above as the heavenly world, the darkness below as Sheol.

Where a static-geographic conception of the world-structure prevails, we find that the underworld is taken up into the history of creation.² In Jubilees 2.2 we read of a reconstruction of Genesis 1.³ Here are enumerated seven items which God created on the first day: (i) heaven, (ii) earth, (iii) water, (iv) spirits, (v) the abyss, (vi) the darkness, the evening and the night and (vii) the light, the day and the morning. We see the same idea in Jubilees 2.16, where the totality of creation is designated: "all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and in the abysses and in the light and in the darkness, and in everything." Light and darkness are static qualities like the sea and the abyss. Further in the same vein is the reconstruction of the creation story of II Enoch, chs. 25-27. It appears in the Qumran doctrine

1. Die Söhne des Lichtes (1952), pp. 124f.

2. S. Aalen, op. cit., p. 163.

3. Fragments of Jubilees, of course, have been found in cave 4.

that light and darkness (in their reconstructed cosmic dimension) form the basis from which the generations of truth and falsehood arise. That the respective "Visitations" are expressed ultimately in terms of light (IQS 4.13) is simply the consequence of each respective origin (IQS 3.19).¹

When "fire" is combined with "darkness" (באש ; IQS 4.13) the description of the consequence for the wicked has expanded. The realm of the dead has become a place of punishment. P. Volz is of the opinion (along with Strack-Billerbeck, above) that it is not probable that the concept "hell" has developed purely and only from the concept "place-of-the-dead" (Sheol). An independent conception of "damnation by fire" is one of the influences which have contributed to the further development of "hell".² The "devastation of darkness" (החושך : IQS 4.13), which F. Notscher believes is

1. ולפקודה suggests the notion "consequence" (hence A. Dupont-Sommer: "nature") in IQS 3.14. The "visitations of their afflictions together with the times of their bliss" (ולפקודה ונגיעים עם קצי שלומם) in IQS 3.14f do not pertain to the respective generations of light and of darkness but to moments in the lifetime of the righteous. But the transgressions of the righteous (IQS 3.22) belong to the dominion of darkness (cf. Romans 7.20). Recompense בעוילה is by the divisions of each במפלגיהן according to his inheritance regardless of whether he has much or a little (IQS 4.15f; cf. 4.25).

2. Op. cit. (1966), p. 331.

synonymous and coincides with "fire in the dark regions",¹ also contributes to the penal dimension of "hell". We have in באש מחשכים a precursor to the Jewish and New Testament "Gehenna". The final dualistic resolution still belongs to the creation of God. We are short of the dogmatization of Gnosticism.²

The two "Visitations" (IQS 4.6-8, 12-14) must be seen in contrast to each other even though פקודה = 'visitation' is never used in the Old Testament as the recompense for strictly the righteous.³ As we have already noted, H. Kosmala holds to some type of continuum where perfection of the righteous already begins in this life.⁴ It is difficult to reconcile the kind of ultimate perfection that כליל כבוד in IQS 4.7 denotes with the kind of personal disparagement found elsewhere in the Qumran writings. IQS 11.9f reads, "I (belong) to the humanity of wickedness and to the assembly of unjust flesh; my iniquities, my transgression, my sin together with the depravity of my heart (belong) to the assembly of worms, those who walk in darkness" (cf. IQH 3.23ff et. al.).

כליל כבוד would seem to belong to a distinct

1. TTQT, p. 94.

2. Yet see H.J. Schoeps ("Das Gnostische Judentum in den Dead Sea Scrolls", ZRG 6 (1954), pp. 278f.

3. Cf., כל-האדם פקודה, Numbers 16.29.

4. Hebräer ..., p. 252.

future glorification. God "will refine for himself the structure of man (וּרְקַק לֹא מִבְּנֵי אִישׁ):¹ to abolish every spirit of injustice from the midst of his flesh (לְהַחֵם כּוֹל רוּחַ עוֹלָה מִחֻכְמֵי בָשָׂרוֹ)² and to cleanse him by the spirit of holiness from all the deeds of wickedness" (IQS 4.20f). In IQS 4.25 God has set the two spirits in equal measure "until the decisive end and new creation" (עַד קֶץ נִהְרָצָה וְעֲשׂוֹת הַדָּשָׁה).

It is unfortunate that "crown of glory" and "garment of splendour" (IQS 4.7) do not also accentuate the aspect of exaltation that the alternative translations carry, i.e. "the perfection of glory" and "full measure of splendour". These latter translations, however, lack a description of the final state of the "glorified" which calls attention to their mode of existence. The righteous become clothed in spiritual bodies and dwell in everlasting light, i.e. "heaven". The other "blessings" (4.6f) fully describe the salvation state on earth and lend themselves to the picture of complete bliss in heaven, as the contrasting "curses" (4.12f) in terms of earthly misery add to the wretchedness of hell.

1. מִבְּנֵי ; מִבְּנֵי = 'some from the sons (of man)'; is also possible.

2. חֻכְמֵי, according to J. Licht ("An Analysis . . .," p. 97 fn. 36), is a word peculiar to the Scrolls. See IQH 5.28, 7.4, 17.25; frag. 47.5; IQ No. 36, 14. That the sense 'tissues' or 'viscera' fits all instances is noted by Licht who also finds that no etymological explanation seems altogether convincing.

CHAPTER IV:

DELIVERANCE FROM CORRUPTION

(IQH 3.19-36)

- 19 I thank thee, O Lord,
For thou hast delivered my soul from corruption,
20 And from Sheol Abaddon thou hast brought me up
to an eternal height;
And I walk to and fro on a level place without
limit;
And I know that there is hope
21 For him whom thou hast formed from dust unto an
eternal council.
Thou hast cleansed the perverted spirit from
much transgression
22 To take its place in the estate with the host
of holy ones
And to enter into community together with the
congregation of the sons of heaven.
Thou hast cast to each man the eternal lot with
23 the spirits of knowledge
To praise thy name in the unity of s/on/g¹
And to recount thy wonders before all thy works.
24 But I am a formation of clay (1)², what am I?
kneaded with water (2);
By whom am I regarded, and what strength do I
have?
For I stand within the boundary of wickedness (3),
25 And with the persecutors (4) by lot;
And the soul of the poor one (5) sojourns (6)
with much disquietude,
And raging devastations (7) accompany my steps.
26 As all the traps of corruption were opened,
All the snares of wickedness spread out,
And the net of the persecutors, upon the face
of the waters (8);
27 As all the arrows of corruption (9) flew relent-
lessly and dispersed without hope,

1. $\pi/\bar{1}/\bar{7}$; cf. IQH 11.14.

2. These numbers refer to expressions which are explained,
beginning on page 155

As the line falls upon judgement (10),
 28 The lot of wrath came upon the forsaken,
 And the outpouring of rage upon the concealed
 (11).
 It is the time of burning anger for all Belial
 (12),
 And the cords of death (13) have encompassed
 without escape,
 29 And the torrents of Belial (14) overflow all
 their¹ high banks (15)
 As a devouring fire among all who draw from
 them (16),
 30 To put an end to every green and (every) dry
 tree (17) from their channels;
 And it roves about with tongues of flame until
 the ones drinking from them are no more;
 It consumes the foundations of clay and the
 31 firmament of dry land;
 The foundations of the mountains (are given
 over) to burning,
 And the roots of flint (turn to) torrents of
 pitch,
 And it consumes as far as the great Abyss (18);
 32 And the torrents of Belial burst open to Abaddon
 (19),
 And the devisers (20) of the Abyss growl amid
 the roar of the casting up of mire;
 33 The earth cries aloud concerning the devastation
 which has fallen upon the world,
 And all her devisers raise a shout,
 And all who are upon her act madly,
 34 And melt in terror in the gr/ea/t² devastation.
 For God thunders (21) with the abundance of
 His strength,
 And the abode of His holiness (22) resounds with
 35 His glorious truth,
 And the host of heaven (23) shout with their
 voice,³
 /And/ 4 the eternal foundations (24) melt in
 terror and quake;

1. על is written above the line, after בליעל and
 above כול .
 2. ג/ד/ו/לב
 3. ה is written above קולם by a later corrector.
 4. י/חמוגגו

36 The war of the mighty (25) of heaven roves
about (26) in the world.
And it does not return until complete des-
truction
Which is decisive forever,
And there is nothing like it (27).

This passage has received considerable attention from Qumran scholars--particularly lines 19-23 which as a separate section have been the subject of a special study. There is little question that lines 19-36 form a literary unit.¹ Besides, we hope to show that the expanded introduction (lines 19-23b) of this individual-corporate thanksgiving hymn and the "lament" (lines 23c-25) as well as the "apocalypse" (lines 26-36) are related to each other. Either by enlarging the eschatological scope or qualifying the situation of the author each of the three sections advances the suspended interpretations of the others.

1. The division of the Hodayoth has this convenience: the end of each hymn is marked by a blank space. However, this indication has occurred at the beginnings and ends of some columns which are worn away, so that we are not always able to distinguish each hymn. Hymns generally begin with the introductory formula, "I thank thee, O Lord," or the alternative formula, "Blessed art thou." The first psalm of column III may actually begin somewhere in column II. The first five lines of column III are all but obliterated. Column III comprises two psalms, 3-3 (?)-18 and 3-19-36 plus three lines of a third psalm at the end. Are we able to connect any of the psalms in the Hodayoth? S. Holm-Nielsen (op. cit., p. 12 fn.) declares, "That there is no relationship between the individual psalms is made obvious by those fragments which were found in cave 4 having, in some cases, the psalms in a different order from that in this manuscript." Even more than proving that there is no direct relationship between the individual psalms this evidence indicates that the individual psalms had some kind of literary unity in themselves. C.F. Kraft/...

H-W. Kuhn has presented perhaps the most thorough exegesis of this passage to date.¹ A summary of his findings is in order. We can be certain from the context, קָוָה = 'hope', line 20 and lines 23c-25) that the Loblied is not the author's imagination (cf. Psalms of Solomon 11.1-7).² On the basis of deliverance from מַחַשׁוֹת = 'underworld' (Unterwelt, the first term in the synonymous parallelism), the question still remains open whether "deliverance from death" means (i) a return to this earthly life from an actual danger, or (ii) a process of transfer (ein Versetztwerden) already in the present as an introduced time of salvation. The second term, שְׂאוֹל אַבְדֹּן = 'hellish realm of the dead' ((aus dem) höllischen Totenreich), shows that it earmarks רֹמַם = 'height' (Höhe), which is parallel to קָהָל = 'community' (Gemeinschaft), line 21a, and לֹס = 'lot' (Los), line 22c, and produces

Kraft ("Poetical Structure of the Qumran Thanksgiving Psalms," Biblical Research 1-5 (1959-60), II, p. 16) believes that the existence of these psalms may be close to their original form, rather than handed down through centuries. There are at least two scribes who have copied this manuscript, as Holm-Nielsen himself acknowledges (op. cit., p. 10), the first apparently breaking off in 11.22. Whether the introductory formulae mentioned above meant anything special in relation to the division of the psalms or their liturgical or didactic use is debatable. Kraft (op. cit., p. 48) states that the "introductory formula" seems normally to stand outside of and introductory to the metre of the first lines of each of the respective poems.

1. Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil (1966).
2. See also IVQ No. 160 (The Vision of Samuel), 3-4, 2.2f.

the last (ii) meaning. The imperfects וַיֵּלֶךְ = 'I can now walk' (ich kann nun wandeln) and וַיֵּדַע = 'I can now know' (ich kann nun wissen) in line 20 specify a continuation of the deliverance which takes place. They are not to be rendered as preterites. This would only come into question if at this point deliverance were to be looked back upon as a mystical experience or initiation which we find among the mystery religions.¹

After comparing various deliverances in the Old Testament (viz. Psalm 116.8f, 56.14; Job 33.30; cf. Psalm 16.10f, 30.4 et al.) Kuhn observes that there is no contrasting idea similar to רוּם עוֹלָם = 'eternal height' (line 20a) which is placed opposite to the realm of the dead.² At this point Kuhn presents the conclusions of Ch. Barth who shows that the "world of death" and the "world of life" are to be understood by other spatial conceptions than ours. The realm of the dead manifests itself throughout when it signifies "something of its place" (etwas von seinem Raum). Conversely, in the "nearness of God" is the "world of life" spatially contrasted to the opposite "world of the dead".³ Kuhn also notes that G. von Rad emphasizes that for the circles of the Levitical "spiritualists" of the post-exilic

1. Op. cit., pp. 52ff.

2. Ibid., p. 54.

3. Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage und Dankliedern des Alten Testaments (1947), pp. 48ff.

time, "this-worldly" and the "other-worldly" life are not quite as distinct from one another as we are accustomed to in our thinking.¹ Kuhn accordingly applies these insights to the passage before us and states that the author is transferred from the "hellish realm of the dead" (aus dem höllischen Totenreich) to a respective "eternal height" (ewige Höhe) as a designation for "heaven."² That the transposition (Versetzung) into heaven is not only a transposition into the life-sphere of God, but especially a happening which anticipates eschatological salvation, is confirmed by the fact that the introduction with its words for the "realm of the dead" (אַבְדֹּתַי , שְׂאוֹל , שְׁחַד , line 19) refers to the apocalypse (lines 26-36). This allusion to the apocalypse corresponds to the character of the expanded introduction as a short summary of the hymn.³

Two apparent discrepancies are noted by Kuhn. He observes first of all that the introduction (lines 19ff) reports about an event which has come to pass, while the apocalypse (lines 26-36) speaks of the future. Secondly, in the introduction the realm of the dead is the place from which the pious have already been taken, while in

1. "'Gerechtigkeit' und 'Leben' in der Kultsprache der Psalmen," Gesammelte Studien zum AT (1965), pp. 234ff, 245.

2. Op. cit., p. 56.

3. Ibid., p. 59.

the "apocalyptic text of the realm of the dead the end time calamity fades out".¹ Kuhn resolves the first discrepancy by stating that only the pious are taken from the future annihilation of the world and, in the present, already from the announced, powerful forces of Sheol.² As for the second discrepancy, he points out that the realm of the dead is to be understood also as a "power" which assaults the world and man at the end.³ Kuhn considers that an otherwise formulated introduction, which perhaps IQH 2.20ff contains ("Thou has placed my soul in the pouch of life and hast fenced me off from all the snares of nnw " (= 'Unterwelt' - Kuhn): lines 20f), would correspond more easily to the dynamic aspect of the realm of the dead in the apocalypse (lines 26-36) than a spatial formulation.⁴

But is the dynamic aspect of the realm of the dead lacking in the introduction? As a qualification of the thesis by Kuhn we see another complex of ideas which belong to nnw in IQH 3.19 other than those pertaining to the Underworld. These ideas more easily resolve the discrepancies noted by Kuhn. When nnw conveys the dual

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p. 60.

3. Ibid., p. 59.

4. Ibid., pp. 59f.

dimension of "corruption/destruction"¹ it allows for both
the present deliverance from Sheol Abaddon to an "eternal
height" in the introduction (lines 19f) and the future
deliverance from the conflagration of the world in the
 apocalypse (lines 26-36). נחש = 'corruption/destruction'
 does not lessen the character of spatial deliverance which
 is presented by Kuhn, but contributes to a fuller and more
 dynamic understanding of eschatological salvation.

That there is some justification for the idea of
 'corruption/destruction' can be seen from other similar
 apocalyptic contexts. As the "torrents of Belial" which
 turn to fire are the central means of devastation in the
 apocalypse (lines 29ff) so we find in II Baruch 85.13:
 "for at the end the sentence of (their) judgement is to
 corruption, the way of burning fire, and the path which
 carries to Gehenna" (Syr: *ܠܝܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܗܝܢܐ*
ܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܗܝܢܐ ܕܥܗܝܢܐ ܕܥܗܝܢܐ
ܕܥܗܝܢܐ ܕܥܗܝܢܐ ܕܥܗܝܢܐ) In II Baruch 48.43, "All the multitude
 go to corruption and there is no numbering of those whom
 the fire devours." The "torrents of Belial" which turn
 to fire and consume everything--even going as far as the
 great Abyss and Abaddon--present a similar picture as that
 which is found in the Apocalypse of Abraham. There in

1. The legitimacy of such a translation will be discussed
 below in our discussion of נחש .

chapter 14 an angel bids Abraham to use divine authority against Azazel and say to him, "Be thou the burning coal of the furnace of the earth; go Azazel, into the inaccessible parts of the earth ..." G.H. Box comments that Azazel is condemned to be in himself the fire of Hell: cf. ch. 31, "burnt with the fire of Azazel's tongue". Thus wherever he goes he, as it were, carries Hell with him--a conception that appears to be peculiar to our apocalypse in early apocalyptic literature.¹

In chapter 17 of the longer recension of the Testament of Abraham Death introduces himself as the "one staining (or soiling) the world" (ὁ τὸν κόσμον λυμαίνων), and comes to sinners in much corruption (ἐν πολλῇ σαπρίᾳ) and ferocity and very great bitterness and with a fierce glance without pity. The unmasking of Death reveals fourteen faces of the most burning fire (πυρὸς φλογεστατοῦ) among which are countenances like to "darkness ... a fiery sword ... lightning and the sound of fearful thunder ... a fierce stormy sea ... and a ravaging river". In chapter 13 of the shorter recension when Death manifests his corruption

1. The Apocalypse of Abraham (1918), p. 54 fn. Later Abraham looks at what existed before him and sees "impurity and those who lust after it, and its pollution, and their jealousy, and the fire of their corruption in the lowest parts of the earth" (ch. 24). The confusions of the world "arise from the ungodly and (even the) righteous in the corruptible age"; God renews "the age of the righteous" (ch. 17; cf. ch. 29).

(τὴν σαπρότητα αὐτοῦ) he has two heads: one has "the face of a serpent" (πρόσωπον δράκοντος) ... and the other the "likeness of a sword according to which some come to an end as by arrows" (ὁμοία ῥομφαίας διὰ τοῦτο τινες ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ τελευτῶσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τόξοις). "All the arrows of corruption" (נִשְׁבָּת) of course, is one of the key phrases in the apocalyptic section (line 27; cf. IQH 3.16).¹

The Arrangement of the Hymn

Following the opening acknowledgement of gratitude to the Lord in line 19 is the phrase, "for thou hast delivered my soul from corruption" (כִּי פָדִיתָ נַפְשִׁי מִשִּׁחָה) which sets the theme for the entire hymn. The rest of the hymn is related to this theme in the following way:- The remainder of the "introduction" (lines 19b-23) pictures the security which the deliverance has brought. As we shall see below, when נִשְׁבָּת = 'corruption/destruction' has a dual dimension in terms of the present and future, so also have the contrasting salvation terms which include גִּוּם עוֹלָם = 'eternal height', סוּד עוֹלָם = 'eternal council' and גוּרָל עוֹלָם = 'eternal lot'. The "lament" (lines 23c-25) which follows the strong, dramatic pictures of deliverance in the introduction both accentuates their depth of meaning and reveals the relationship of the author to the calamity which is to come.

1. See below, pará. (9) in Section 2, p. 160.

In our presentation we will examine (1) deliverance from corruption/destruction in the context of the "introduction" (19-23), and (2) deliverance from corruption/destruction in the context of the "lament" (23c-25) and "apocalypse" (26-36).

1. Deliverance from Corruption/Destruction
in the Context of the Introduction

In this section we will attempt to define and elaborate on the meanings and relationships of the following key terms: (גורל מולט and מות מולט, רוח מולט, שאול אבדון, שחת).
שחת = corruption/destruction (line 19).

Most scholars translate שחת in line 19 by 'Pit' (or 'grave': J. van der Ploeg, S. Holm-Nielsen) on the basis (i) that in the above context it is parallel to Sheol Abaddon, and (ii) that there is copious evidence for similar deliverances from שחת (synonymous with the realm of death), viz. Isaiah 38.17, 51.14; Psalm 16.10, 103.4; Jonah 2.7; Job 33.28 et al. J. Licht understands שחת in the above passage as an "illustrative expression for deliverance from the despairing disposition belonging to humanity" (ההצלה מן השחת היא בישי ציורי (להצלה ממצבו הנואש של אדם).¹ But Licht also

1. The Thanksgiving Scroll (1957), p. 84.

considers it as the imminent catastrophe from which the author "will be delivered at the end". The author regards himself as "already saved in the beginning, before the event ..."¹

R.E. Murphy has assembled evidence to show that the sectarians formed associations for שח based on the idea of corruption.² We have already shown that there is as much justification for a dynamic understanding of שח which relates it to the "conflagration" in the apocalypse as there is for the "realm of the dead" in the introduction. Furthermore, the judgement scene is catastrophic and not forensic. Also there appears to be no clear indication that שח is post-judgement and therefore a place of punishment.

שח (cf. שוחה : Jeremiah 2.6, 18.20,22; Proverbs 22.14, 23.27; שיחה : Psalm 57.7, 119.85) is regarded by most authorities as a noun formed from שוח = 'sink down' and signifying 'pit', often synonymous with the realm of the dead. שח in the Scrolls shows some divergence from its old Testament meaning and could well mean 'corruption' or 'destruction' based on the verb שחח = 'corrupt'

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1. "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," IEJ 6 (1956), p. 97.
 2. "Ša.hat in the Qumran Literature," Bib. 39 (1958), pp. 61-66. However, Murphy in the passage before us states that it is clear that it is conceived as the realm of the dead. He regards as more important the question whether it has taken on the notion of a place of punishment.

The LXX translates the twenty-three occurrences of נַפְתָּח in the Old Testament by φθορά (or its compounds διαφθορά or καταφθορά) eleven times (in addition seven other alternative readings occur in Aquila, Symmachus or Theodotion); θάνατος (all in Job) five times; βόθρος (Psalm 7.16, 94.13; Proverbs 26.27); ῥυπος (Job 9.31); there is no Greek equivalent for נַפְתָּח in Isaiah 38.17, "... but thou hast held back my life from בְּלִי נַפְתָּח " (LXX-εἴλου γὰρ μου τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπόληται). A ninth-tenth century MS (Barber. gr. 549) in the Vatican Library reads μὴ διαφθεῖραι . לַבַּח = φθορά occurs in an interesting reading in Micah 2.10 where the Word of the Lord which came to the prophet commands the people to arise and go ... "because of uncleanness that destroys with a grievous destruction" (גַּבְלֵי נַפְתָּח ; LXX- διαφθάρητε φθορᾷ ; cf. Proverbs 28.10; Daniel 3.25 (92); Wisdom 1.14). No Hebrew fragments from Sirach containing נַפְתָּח survive from the Cairo Geniza or Masada in order that we might compare it and its Greek equivalents (cf. Sirach 21.10, 28.6, 34 (31).5, 39.30).

In the Scrolls, strong reminiscences of the traditional understanding of נַפְתָּח = 'pit' occur in the following passages:- (i) IQH 3.18, "The doors of נַפְתָּח close upon the one pregnant with injustice and the eternal bars (בַּרְזֵיתֵי נַפְתָּח) upon all the spirits of the Viper (or vanity)" (3.17); we note the prison aspect of Sheol in Isaiah 38.10,

Jonah 2.7, Psalm 9.14 and 107.18, Job 38.17); (ii) IQH 5.6, "Thou wouldst not abandon me in the (evil) designs of my imagination, but thou hast succoured my life from שחח " (cf. Jonah 2.6; Psalm 103.4; Job 33.18,30); (iii) IQH 8.28f, "And confu/sion was upon me like those who go down to Sheol, and among the dead my spirit searched; for /my/ li/fe/ reached to שחח " (cf. Psalm 88.4ff, 77.7; see IQH 2.17, שוּחַח); (iv) IQS 11.13, "If my distress breaks open, he will draw back my soul from שחח and establish my steps on the path" (cf. Psalm 116.8).

The Rule Scroll uses the expression אַנְשֵׁי שַׁחַח parallel to אַנְשֵׁי הָעֵלָה (IQS 9.16f) and parallel to אַנְשֵׁי עוֹלָה (IQS 10.19f; see also 9.22). The Damascus Document changes the expression to בְּנֵי שַׁחַח (CD 6.15, 13.14). R.E. Murphy believes that overtones of corruption definitely appear when שַׁחַח is the epexegetical genitive of 'breakers', or 'birth pains' (מַטְבְּרֵי , IQH 3.12); 'arrows' חֲצֵי , IQH 3.16,27); 'traps' (פְּתֵי , IQH 3.26); and 'snares' (מִוקְסֵי , CD 14.2 and IQH 2.21) where violent men (עֲרִיצִים) have sought the soul of the author.¹ They are also a סוּד שׁוּי = 'council of deceit' and a עֵדָה בְּלִיעֵל = 'congregation of Belial', 2.22). In IQS 4.12-14 the final visitation of the wicked consists of "an abundance of torments by the hand of all the angels of destruction (בִּיד כָּל מַלְאֲכֵי הַבַּיִת)

1. Op. cit., p. 61.

for everlasting destruction (שחח) by the furious wrath of the God of vengeance" (cf. Isaiah 54.16; CD 216f). 'Corruption' or 'destruction' is a more applicable translation of שחח in the above passages. See also the damaged portion of IQH 13.5 where man's destinies are either to "peace" or "corruption" (לשלום ושחח); and IQH frag. 45.2, ([---] לשחח בעת עוונותו [---]) = 'for corruption in the time of his iniquity'.

Other evidence of the idea of corruption in the Scrolls.

The ordinance during the time of wickedness (קץ הרשע) for all who are converted from his corrupted way (מדרכי הנושחתה) prescribes for the initiate to take upon himself the oath of the covenant (CD 15.7). During the period the sectarian is to walk in the ordinances and precepts of the sect, it is a time of wickedness (CD 6.10, 12.23; IQH frag. 45.2). The peshet of Habakkuk 1.11 concerns the rulers of the Kittim who one after another come to corrupt the ear /th ---/ (IQpH 4.13). A liturgical prayer in the War Scroll which seems to be prescribed for the battle acknowledges, "Thou hast created Belial to corrupt (or, to destroy - לשחח), (who is) the angel of adversity, and in the darkne/ss/ of his /do-minion/ and in his counsel (he exists) to occasion wickedness and to cause guilt. And all the spirits of his lot are angels of destruction (מלאכי הבל). They walk in the precepts of darkness and their craving is united toward it (darkness)" (IQM 13.11f).¹ The author of one of the hymns in the Hodayoth speaks out, "The Mighty

1. A. Dupont-Sommer, G. Vermes and others translate לשחח = 'for the Pit'. The context is quite clear that שחח has parallels in להרשיע = 'to occasion wickedness' and ולהאשים = 'to cause guilt'. E. Lohse - 'zum Verderben'; H. Bardtke - 'einer Fanggrube des Anfeindungsschaft'; J. van der Ploeg - 'pour ruiner'; Y. Yadin - 'to corrupt'.

(גבורים) have encamped against me; they encircled me (reading סבבני for סבבום) with all their weapons of war, and they dispersed arrows for which there is no healing and the spearhead became as a fire (reading כאש for נאש) devouring trees; and like the commotion of many waters is the roar of their voice, a storm and a downpour to destroy (or corrupt) many men. Delusion (אפעה , cf. Isaiah 59.5) and vanity break forth to the stars in the raising up of their waves" (IQH 2.25-28). Corruption is depicted here in an unusual cosmic dimension. In two Hodayoth fragments, 4.6 and 45.3, the hiph, participle of שחח is found in juxtaposition to שטן = 'Satan'. Although S. Holm-Nielsen denies in frag. 4.6 any mention of a personal devil, it is obvious from the previous line IQHf 45.2, לשתח בעת עוונותו = 'for corruption in the time of his iniquity', that the reference is to the destroying angel. משחית became a proper name for the destroying angel.¹

K.G. Kuhn lists חבל = 'perditio' seven times.² The sectarians hear that God is merciful to those converted from transgression, but "strength and might and great wrath in the midst of the flames of fire by the hand of (reading ביד for בי) all the angels of destruction upon all rebellious of the way ..." (CD 2.6; cf. IQS 4.12; IQM 13.12). חבל נמרץ = 'grievous destruction' occurs three times (reading חבל נמרץ for חבלי מרץ in IQH 3.11) in IQH 3.3 (?) - 18. But 'dolor parturientis' fits the context in 3.9 הצרה בהבליה = 'she suffers distress through her pangs' as Kuhn lists it. A third meaning, חבל = 'funis' is certainly possible in 3.9 בהבלי שאול = 'in the cords of Sheol': cf. Psalm 18.5, 116.3; IQH 3.28). In fact the notion of "restriction" is pertinent, for the wondrous counsellor escapes from it (3.9f) while the one pregnant with injustice and the spirits of the Viper are incarcerated (3.18). It is impossible to do justice in translating חבל by only one meaning in this section, for the notions of 'perditio',

1. S-B III, pp. 412f; see Exodus 12.23, Isaiah 54.16, Jeremiah 4.7 and Proverbs 28.24, Jubilees 49.3.

2. Konkordanz ...

'dolor parturientis' and 'funis' are all present. The original author may have intended it this way.

The Damascus Document in referring to Israel's present infidelity records "In the time of the desolation of the land (בְּקֶץ הַיָּמִים הָאֵלֶּיךָ), those who remove the boundary (מִסִּיגֵי הַגְּבוּל) rose up and led Israel astray" (CD 5.20-6.1; cf. 19.15ff).

While the Damascus Document is more nationalistic the Rule Scroll appears more universal. It is not just Israel which is described as ravaged, but in the Rule Scroll it is the world (הָעוֹלָם) which "has defiled itself in the ways of wickedness under the dominion of injustice until the appointed time of the final judgement" (IQS 4.19f). The elect will be cleansed of every spirit of injustice and filled with the spirit of holiness and truth (4.20f). Also defilement by the spirit of defilement will come to an end (4.21f). But God has chosen the elect for an everlasting covenant (4.22; cf. IQS 1.18,23; 2.19; 3.22,23; IVQm^a6)

Parallel to "the dominion of Belial" (IQM 14.9) is the phrase "the mysteries of his animosity" (רִזֵּי שִׂטְמוֹ). The divine favour given to the remnant during this period is also described: "(God) has caused his (Belial's) spirit of des/truction to depart from us ---7." The mysteries of (Belial's) animosity are reminiscent of the mysteries taught by the Watchers in which the earth was desolated "having been corrupted by the works of the teaching of Azazel" (I Enoch 10.7). The author's enemies in IQH 5.36 "have changed the works of God by their works of guilt according to the mysteries of transgression (רִזֵּי נֶסֶע) (cf. IQH frag. 50.5; 27 (The Book of Mysteries) 1.1.2; 13.3 - רִזֵּי תְהוֹם ; II Thessalonians 2.7 - μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας . Correspondingly the mysteries of God counteract wickedness (IQM 3.9; 14.14; 16.11; 17.9; IQS 4.18; 11.3,5; IQH 9.23; CD 3.18).

We have seen that there is ample evidence for the doctrine of corruption in the Scrolls. That now comes to convey this dynamic character is no different from the development of Sheol = 'realm-of-the-dead' to an existential evil power.

שְׂאוֹל וְאֶבְרֹן (line 20)

שְׂאוֹל = 'the realm of the dead' came to be used as a metaphor for "death" or "extreme danger" in the Old Testament.¹ After the exile Sheol underwent a sequence of incisive changes: (a) belief in the resurrection (Sheol was no longer the final resting place); (b) retribution of the righteous and the wicked; (c) immortality (the souls of the righteous proceed to Sheol after death to await the resurrection): (d) a place of punishment for the ungodly.² The dead are described as "souls" or "spirits" which survive as individual conscious beings--no longer as "shades". Moral distinctions appear. Existence in Sheol is regarded as an intermediate state prior to judgment. Sheol is divided up into compartments corresponding to the spiritual condition of the dead who go there.³

ᾠδης is the usual Greek rendering for Sheol in the LXX. In Revelation 6.8, 20.14 (cf. II Baruch 56.6; I Corinthians

1. "Sheol" and "death" are frequently found together, often in parallel (II Samuel 22.6; Isaiah 28.15, 18; 38.18; Hosea 13.14; Psalm 6.6; 18.6; 89.49; 116.3; Proverbs 5.5; 7.27; Song of Solomon 8.6). "Sheol", along with "death", is understood almost as a "power"--an evil force. Psalm 89.49 and Hosea 13.14 speak of the "power of Sheol" (יד שְׂאוֹל).

2. J. Jeremias, TDNT, Vol. I (1963), under ᾠδης , p. 147.

3. D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (1964), pp. 357-366.

the fire /---/ nethermost Sheol.

שאוֹל in the Scrolls appears to advance the old-Sheol doctrine of the Old Testament only if we include the "gates of the Pit" (or "destruction" - דלתי שמה) which are around the one pregnant with injustice and the "eternal bars" (בריחי עולם) which are around all the spirits of vanity (IQH 3.18; cf. frag. No. 27 1, 1.5 in cave 1). These expressions then truly belong to Sheol as an eschatological place of punishment.¹ The notion of "extreme danger" prevails. In IQH 3.9f, "The pains of Sheol" (חבלי שאול) are parallel to the "breakers of death" (מסברי מות) and are most likely instrumental in the birth of the wondrous counsellor.² When "Sh/ēo/l /and Abaddon/" are opened up in order to hurl destruction-bringing arrows (IQH 3.16), the author is intent to picture death near at hand (the end-time catastrophe?).³ Sheol and Abaddon are not only metaphors for extreme danger; they appear as active, engaging, powerful forces of destruction (cf. Matthew 16.18). IQH 6.17 describes either

1. Cf. F. Nötscher, TTQT, p. 160.

2. שאול and מות may be superlatives, cf. D.W. Thomas, "A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," VT 3, pp. 209-222.

3. Cf. O. Betz, "Die Geburt . . . , " p. 316.

an eschatological restoration which is so thorough that the "waters of Eden" reach to Sheol, or Sheol may merely be used figuratively (cf. Psalm 139.8; Amos 9.2). IQH 8.28f, 9.4, and 10.33f picture the present afflictions of the author as compared to some contact with the threat of Sheol (= death; cf. IQH 6.24; II Samuel 22.6; Psalm 18.6, 30.4, 86.3, 116.3; Jonah 2.6; Job 17.13). The presence of the word "chambers" חדרים שאול , IQH 10.34) does not necessarily reveal a familiarity with the spatial development of Sheol but is more probably a figurative use (cf. Proverbs 7.27). The lacunae in IQH 17.13 make any interpretation difficult: "לְ- - - / the foundations of the mountains and fire לְ- - - / in the nethermost Sheol (בְּשֵׂאוֹל תַּחְתִּימָה)..." Nethermost Sheol may not refer to the bottom of Sheol, but to its totality (cf. Job 11.8 and Song of Solomon 8.6).

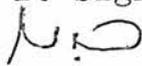
אבדון is a relatively late word of the Old Testament found only in the Wisdom literature (Psalm 88.12; Proverbs 15.11; Job 26.6, 28.22, 31.12).¹ Abaddon in the Old Testament belongs to the world of the dead (parallel to the "grave" in Psalm 88.12 and to "Sheol" in Job 26.6; in juxtaposition to "Sheol" in Proverbs 15.11, 27.20, and to "death" in Job 28.22). There is no significant indication

1. BDB.

that Abaddon is an eschatological place of punishment in the Old Testament. Its root $\tau\alpha\kappa$ means 'to perish'; the LXX renders it by $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ = 'destruction'. The angel of the Abyss who is over the "locusts" in Revelation 9.11 has "the name Abaddon in Hebrew, and in Greek he is called Apollyon".

$\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$, representing $\gamma\iota\tau\alpha\kappa$, probably came to be a terminus technicus. Matthew 7.13 reads, "Enter by the narrow gate; for the gate is wide and the way is easy that leads into destruction ($\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ τὴν $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\upsilon$)" (cf. Acts 8.20; Romans 9.22; I Timothy 6.9; Hebrews 10.39; Revelation 17.8,11). Philippians 3.19 reads, "Their end is 'destruction' ... But our commonwealth is in heaven." A scrutiny of $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ in the Apocryphal writings results in finding only one verse where eschatological punishment is possibly associated. Sirach 36.8 reads, "Let him who survives be consumed in the wrath of fire ($\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ ὀργῇ πυρός), and may those who harm thy people meet 'destruction' ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon$)". In apocalyptic literature we read in I Enoch 51.1, "... and Sheol also shall give back what it has received, and hell (= 'destruction' or 'Abaddon')¹ shall give back that which it has received." Sheol and Abaddon here equal the intermediate state. Abaddon along with Sheol

1. R.H. Charles, A & P II, p. 218 fn.

and darkness is the final inheritance for the sinners and transgressors in the Psalms of Solomon 14.6(9). J. Viteau translates 'la perdition', which, as he comments in a footnote, " ... consiste essentiellement à être séparé de la face du Seigneur pour toujours";¹ (cf. 12.8; Proverbs 15.11, 27.20; Job 21.30, 28.22; Matthew 7.13, 8.12, 25.45-46; II Peter 2.17; Philippians 3.19; Revelation 17.8,11). When גיהנא is used as a nomen proprium it is the place of damnation = Gehenna; otherwise it signifies 'destruction'. In the Odes of Solomon 28.5 (Syr)  = 'destruction' (cf. 33.2,8).

In the Rabbinical literature, Ben 'Azzai (c.110) in Derekh 'Ereç 2 has said that one of the four things that a man "who sins no more in eternity" places before his eyes and takes to heart is the exit "into Sheol and into Abaddon in Gehenna in order to be burned in fire".³ R. J^ehoschua^c b. Levi (c.250) in ^cEr 19^a names "Abaddon" among the seven names which Gehenna carries.⁴ The Midrash of Ecclesiastes 5.8 reads, "The soul of (Caesar) Titus escaped to Abaddon to eternal abomination" (to eternal

1. Les Psaumes de Salomon (1911), p. 327.

2. S-B III, p. 810.

3. Ibid. IV (2), p. 1091.

4. Ibid. III, p. 810.

destruction--(לַדְרָאוֹן יוֹלֵם); cf. Daniel 12.2).¹

Abaddon (or 'destruction) appears in both Hebrew and Aramaic forms in the Scrolls. In addition to our passage the Hebrew occurs in a fragment of the War Scroll (IQM f 9.3) with the suffix waw, and can only take the meaning 'destruction'. In a greatly mutilated portion of the Hodayoth (IQH 3.16) it is in juxtaposition to "Sh/ēo/l" and appears to be an active engaging force of destruction (cf. Matthew 16.18).² In IQH 3.22 אַבְדוֹן is most likely parallél to תְּהוֹם = 'Abyss'. Both are metaphors which describe the extent of the fiery streams of Belial. The Aramaic form is found in the Genesis Apocryphon. In column XII there is evidently a doxology "to the Lord of the heavens, to the Most High God, to the Great Holy One, who rescued us from destruction" (מֶלֶךְ אֲבִדְנָא).

It is possible to understand אַבְדוֹן in apposition to שְׂאוֹל . A. Dupont-Sommer considers that these two words are practically synonymous.³ Most scholars hold that Sheol and Abaddon are in construct.⁴ H.-W. Kuhn states that

1. Ibid.

2. See above in list of ' שְׂאוֹל ' passages, p. 110.

3. "Le livre des Hymnes découvert près de la Mer Morte (IQH)," Sem 7 (1957), p. 38 fn.

4. Sheol and Abaddon are nowhere combined in the Old Testament in the construct case. S. Holm-Nielsen (op. cit., p. 66) in noting this finds that these two words occur/...

שאוֹל אַבְדּוֹן is to be comprehended as a pleonasmus where אַבְדּוֹן is rendered as an expression for the realm of the dead and not merely 'destruction' (Untergang).¹ However, when אַבְדּוֹן indeed emphasises the notion of 'destruction' the meaning of נַפְשׁ = 'corruption/destruction' is reinforced. That corruption and destruction belong to the same complex idea we see exemplified in the story of Joseph and Aseneth 7.6 where ἀπώλεια and διαφθορά are in juxtaposition. H. Bardtke senses judgement or perdition and qualifies Sheol as "Scheol der Verdammnis".² Furthermore if the deliverance has any connection at all with the final judgement of fire אַבְדּוֹן forcibly needs to be translated with as strong a meaning as possible: 'destruction'.

As the apocalypse (lines 26-36) is concerned with the destruction of the world as a whole, the introduction (lines 19-23) describes the security and destiny of the author who is delivered from destruction. Three expressions high-

occur in parallel phrases in Job 26.6, and they are in juxtaposition in Proverbs 15.11 and 27.20 (אַבְדּוֹן). We may also note that Abaddon and 'death' (מוֹת) are in juxtaposition in Job 28.22; Abaddon and the 'grave' (קִבְר) are in parallel in Psalm 88.12.

1. Op. cit., p. 44 fn.

2. Examples of other scholars are: 'Sheol of Abaddon' - M. Mansoor, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Lohse; 'Sheol Abaddon' - M. Black; 'Sheol and its depths' - H.E. Del Medico; 'the slough of Hell' - T. Gaster; 'the Abyss of Sheol' - S. Holm-Nielsen; 'Hell of Abaddon' - G. Vermes.

light this description: (a) רִמּוֹת עוֹלָם = 'eternal height', (b) מַגֵּד עוֹלָם = 'eternal council', and (c) גִּזְרֵי עוֹלָם = 'eternal lot'. We will turn our attention to these expressions shortly, but first we must examine עוֹלָם = 'eternal', the attributive which they have in common.

Excursus: עוֹלָם

Outside of Ecclesiastes 3.11 (and possibly 1.10) עוֹלָם¹ is never rendered in the Old Testament as an independent substantive, but always only in connection with the prepositions מִן , עַד , and ל or, in substitution of this construction, as an adverbial accusative -- respectively as the nomen rectum of a construct-connection.² However, by the end of the first century A.D. the currency of the expressions "this age" (הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה) and "the future age" (הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא) is well established.³ How עוֹלָם is used in the Qumran Scrolls compared to its use in the Old Testament and in apocalyptic writings as an eschatological expression is the subject of our present analysis.

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1. Most scholars (among them Gesenius, Orelli, König) relate עוֹלָם to the root עָלַם = 'to hide, conceal' and translate it 'the hidden, veiled, or unknown time'.
 2. E. Jenni, "Das Wort עֹלָם im Alten Testament (I)," ZAW 64 (1952-53), p. 246.
 3. G. Dalman, The Words of Jesus (1902), p. 151.

E. Jenni notes that late liturgical language shows above all the tendency for comparison, doubling and accumulation of expressions with עולם . Yet the concept of eternity = 'duration of time' is not thereby altered.¹ When we examine the four major non-Biblical sectarian writings (IQS, IQM, IQH and CD) we find that in the War Scroll עולם is found only in the genitive. In the Rule Scroll מעולם ועד עולם occurs in IQS 2.1; לכול עדי עולמים in IQS 4.1. All other times in the Rule Scroll עולם is in the genitive. The only unique expression appears to be found in the Hodayoth where all other cases are in the singular. לעולמי עד occurs in IQH 1.8, 7.31, 11.25, 13.1,13 (---] לעולמי in 1.31 and IQH frag. 23.2; [---] עולמי עד in 17.28). The construct of עולם is found in Isaiah 45.17, where Israel "shall not be put to shame or humiliated forever" (עד עולמי עד). A continuance into the future world is not meant in this passage. We might compare IQH 7.29b-31: 7.29b, 30 All thy sons of truth thou bringest into forgiveness before thee,
/To clea/nse them of their transgressions
Through the wealth of thy goodness and thy abundant me/r/cy,
31 To present them before thee forever (לעולמי עד).

The possibility of a continued attendance before God on into the future world exists here, but עולם does not

1. Op. cit., p. 247.

necessarily carry the burden of proof.¹

Compared to the twelve occurrences of the plural of עולם in the whole of the Old Testament, there are nearly twice as many occurrences in the War Scroll alone. Only two times here is עולם found in the singular.² In the Rule Scroll the plural of עולם as a genitive of a construct-connection is found almost exclusively in the first portion of the writing, while the singular of the same construction (occurring almost as many times) is found in the latter. The constructs of כלה = 'destruction' (or 'consummation') and ברית = 'covenant' are found with עולם both in the singular and plural.³ We have already noted that in the Hodayoth the plural occurs only in the expression ' [ל]עולםי [עד] '. Once in the Damascus Document the plural of עולם occurs. God knows " ... the number, and the exact date of the durations (of life) for all the occurrences of the ages" (ומספר

1. F. Nötscher calls עולם, עד, נצח "formal expressions for a long, possibly incessant continuance which also can extend into the after-life and upon the future world" TTQT, pp. 152f).

2. Among the restrictions which prevent one from going into battle is "a life-long blemish in the flesh" (: IQM 7.4). God will make for himself an eternal name (שם עולם) among the people he has redeemed (IQM 11.14).

3. לכלת עולמים , IQS 5.13; לכלת עולמים , 2.15; ליהוד ברית עולם 5.6; לברית עולמים , 4.22.

וּפְרוֹשׁ קִצִּיהֶם לְכָל הַיּוֹם עוֹלָמִים); CD 2.10). In the Old Testament the plural of עוֹלָם does not signify a multiple number of "Aeons" or ages. E. Jenni calls it a climactic-plural and holds that it is fairly synonymous with the singular.¹ The same assessment can be made for these four Qumran scrolls.

The idea of "Aeons". Among the discoveries from Cave 4 at Qumran were fragments from the book of Jubilees. The only published fragments to date reveal portions of Jubilees 21.22-24,² 27.19-21, 35.8-10, 36.12(?).³ It is well known that apocalyptic Judaism re-wrote their history in terms of epochs or long periods of time. This midrashic tendency is certainly true in Jubilees (cf. 1.26), whence it received its name.⁴ Although Jubilees does not project these periods into the "future world" there is some indication of an after-life in 23.31.⁵ In $\gamma\pi$ the Qumran sectarians had a word which has developed from the Old Testament and came to mean 'epoch' (or 'cycle') besides 'time'.⁶ In CD 4.10, "in the consummation of the epoch" ($\text{בְּסוֹפֵי הַיָּמִים הַהֵם}$) is followed by "according to the number of these years"

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1. E. Jenni, op. cit., p. 246.
 2. J.T. Milik, "Autres Fragments de 4Q: Jub^f, D^a, phyl I," RB 73 (1966), p. 104.
 3. O.P. Barthelemy and J.T. Milik, DJD (I) (1955), pp. 83f.
 4. 'Οι 'Ιωβηλαῖοι as early as Epiphanius (Haer. XXXIX.6).
 5. See translation above, chapter II. p. 22.
 6. $\gamma\pi$, from $\gamma\pi\alpha$ = 'to cut off', literally means 'end!'. The contextual variances in the Old Testament are numerous:
(i) In the majority of instances $\gamma\pi$ means 'conclusion' -
(a) a definite time, Numbers 13.25; (b) an indefinite time, I Kings 17.7; (c) cessation of life, Genesis 6.13; (d) general cessation of activity, Ecclesiastes 12.12.
(ii) Geographical extremity, II Kings 19.23 (= Isaiah 37.24). (iii) Limit, Psalm 119.96. (iv) The time before the end where the consciousness of its close proximity and inevitability is stressed - "Now the end is upon you,

(למספר השנים האלה).¹ In IQH 1.24 we find the phrase "for all perpetual times" (בכּוּל קְצֵי : נִצָּח) followed by "and (for) the numbered cycles of the everlasting years in all their appointed times" (ותקופות מספר שני עולם בכּוּל מועדיהם). The same phrase, only this time preceded by לעה עולם (its parallel?), is found in IQSb 4.26. Here the blessing is upon the sectarian who is "in the

and I will let loose my anger upon you and I will judge you according to your ways," Ezekiel 7.3 (cf. Ezekiel 7.6; see also 7.2; Lamentations 4.18). (v) What is beyond the end - "What is my end, that I should be patient? Job 6.11 (cf. Psalm 39.5,7). (vi) Apocalyptic. $\gamma\pi$ has come to have the meaning 'end time' - even 'the time of the end'. Only in Daniel is $\gamma\pi$ used this way. Up to now there has been little doubt what $\gamma\pi$ meant in its various contexts, but now in Daniel eschatological confusion sets in. We find such an expression as "at the end of the times" (בקץ העתים) (followed by 'years' which in apposition = 'after some years') 11.13, which is not difficult to understand. But $\gamma\pi$ and $\eta\gamma$ reverse, and we meet the expression, "the vision is for the time of the end", 8.17 (cf. 11.35,40; 12.4,9); or "the appointed time of the end", 8.17 (cf. 11.27). Then we meet the expression, "until when is the time of (these) wonders?" (קץ הפלאות), 12.6. Here $\gamma\pi$ almost means 'beginning'. Finally, at the end of the book, the angel tells Daniel, "Go your way until the end; and you shall rest, and shall stand in your allotted place at the end of the days," 12.13. In the Scrolls the instances where $\gamma\pi$ is qualified by an attributive in a construct-connection it is nearly identical to $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ in terms of "quality" and nearly identical to $\epsilon\tau$ in terms of "duration". Also a sense of the "present" is unmistakable. Following are some examples:- "time of wickedness" (IQpH' 5.7; CD 6.10,14; 12.23; 15.7); "time of wrath" (IQH 3.28; IVQ pHos 1.12; CD 1.5); "time of judgement" (IQH 6.29); "time of (God's) glory" (IQH 12.22); "time of divine favour" (IQH frag.9.8; IQ No. 34 3.25); "time of (an) appointed festival" IQpH 11.6); "time of the devastation of the land" (CD 5.20); et al. The meaning 'conclusion' is also preserved. We find "until his end" (i.e. the angel of darkness), IQS 3.23; "God has determined an end for wickedness," IQS 4.18 (cf. 4.25). The notion of 'limit' occurs in IQH 6.31.

1. The same phrase occurs in CD 4.8f without מספר .

company of the angels of the presence".¹ The Scrolls also speak of the "last time" (הַקֶּץ הָאַחֲרֹן) which "delays" (IQpH 7.12; see also 7.7; IQS 4.16).²

Among the rather frequent occurrences of עולם in the genitive two interesting expressions occur in the hymn section of the Rule Scroll, IQS 11.36-9a: הוּוּא עולם = 'Eternal Being' (or 'that which is eternal') (lines 4a and 5c);

אֶמְצָא עולם = 'eternal possession' (line 7b).

IQS 11.3 For from the fountain of His knowledge He has opened His light,
And my eyes see³ within His wonders,
And the light of my heart, within the myste/ry/רַי
4 which has come to pass and which is eternal.⁴
The support of my right hand is over strong rock,
The way of my steps which does not tremble⁵ before anything.

1. See also the phrases לכול קצי עולמים (IQS 4.16), כול קצי עד (IQSb 5.18), and תקופות שנים וקצי עד (IQM 10.15).

2. F. Nötscher (TTQT, p. 168) comments that if קץ by itself alone would already be the "end", then the attributive אחרון would be unintelligible or at least redundant.

3. Cf. Psalm 99.4, i.e. "have the power of sight" (BDB).

4. Or this line may be divided: "That which is eternal (or the Eternal Being) is the support of my right hand; over strong rock is the way of my steps ..." P. Wernberg-Møller (The Manual of Discipline, 1957, p. 151) states that the phraseology of CD 2.10 and 13.8 shows that הוּוּא (Aramaic) should not be separated from נְהִיָּה. In line 5a הוּוּא עולם is found all alone.

5. We see the root זוע = 'tremble', 'quake' in the corrupted text יוד עזרא with E. Lohse, G. Vermes et al.

5 For the truth of God is the rock of my steps,
And His might is the support of my right hand.

From the fountain of His righteousness is my
judgement,

A light in my heart from His wondrous mysteries;

6 In that which is eternal have my eyes beheld
wisdom which is hidden from mankind,

Knowledge and prudent discretion, from the sons
of man,

A fountain of righteousness and a reservoir of
7 might

Together with a refuge of glory (are absent) from
the council of flesh.

God has given them to those whom He has chosen as
an eternal possession,

8 And has made them share in the lot of the Holy Ones,
And with the sons of heaven He has joined their

assembly for a united counsel

And a foundation of a holy edifice,

9 For an eternal plantation with every occurring age.

Scholars are about evenly divided whether to translate the
first occurrence of הוּא עוֹלָם (line 4a) as referring
to God, as a substitute for the divine tetragrammaton, or
as a unique expression for eternity.¹

1. Literally, 'the befalling of eternity'. The verb occurs
in the imperative in Job 37.6: God commands the snow,
"Fall to the earth" (LXX = γίνου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). Koehler
and Baumgartner arrive at the conclusion that הוּא (from
הוּה (I) = 'fall') is spelt with an א in order to differ-
entiate it from הוּה (II) = 'become'. הוּה in Aramaic
is the same as the Biblical Hebrew הִיָּה = 'happen', 'ex-
ist', 'be'. There are copious examples of הוּא in the
Aramaic sections of Daniel and Ezra (especially the infin-
itive: Daniel 2.20, 28f; Ezra 4.12f, et al.). The Hebrew
הוּה = 'become' is found in Ecclesiastes 11.5 with an
apocopated imperfect form (for הִיָּה with א otiosum):
הוּה , הוּא , הוּי ; שֶׁם יִהוּא in later Hebrew meant
'to exist', 'to become', 'to occur', 'to come to pass';
or 'to dwell upon', 'to discuss'; and in the pa. 'to
produce', Jastrow's Dictionary. Besides הוּא עוֹלָם
= 'the Deity' (A. Dupont-Sommer in both line 4a and 5,
G. Vermes, E. Lohse et al.) we find 'that which is eternal'
(M. Burrows), 'that which is forever' (A.R.C. Leaney),
'(what) is happening forever' (P. Wernberg-Møller),
et al. Cf. Sirach 48.25.

The only rendering of עולם as an independent substantive in the Old Testament, as we noted above, occurs in Ecclesiastes 3.11, a much-disputed passage.¹ Because

עולם in the passage before us is used in a positive sense, the limitation by Qoheleth provides an excellent contrast. Qoheleth (3.11) declares:-

(God) has made everything beautiful in its time; also He has placed eternity (אֵת הָעוֹלָם) in man's heart - yet not so that man may find out the work which God has done from the beginning to the end.

The meaning of the crux הָעוֹלָם was disputed very early.²

As for modern views we will present a summary by H.J.

Blieffert as a contrast to עולם in the passage before us:

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1. Fragments of Ecclesiastes have been found in cave 4 at Qumran; J. Muilenburg, "A Qoheleth Scroll from Qumran" BASOR 135 (Oct. 1954), pp. 20-28.
 2. R. Gordis, Koheleth - The Man and his World (1962), p. 221:- (i) eternity (thus LXX αἰών); (ii) from the root עלם = 'hide' (thus the Targum = שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּה, 'the ineffable Name of God'); hence 'ignorance' of the day of death (cf. the Talmudic phrase הָעוֹלָם אֶתְךָ, Ker. 4.2 - 'in a single state of unconsciousness'; (iii) as the equivalent of the Arabic cognate which means 'knowledge'; (iv) 'world', as in later Hebrew (cf. Sirach 3.18- Hebrew fragment) - cf. footnote 1, page 127 below. We cite a few examples from Midrash Rabbah on Ecclesiastes 3.11: R. Benjamin in the name of R. Levi said, "Also he has set הָעוֹלָם in their heart": "אֲהַבְתָּ עוֹלָם he has set in their heart" - R. Berekiah and R. Abbahu add, "and a love of children"; R. Nathan said, "a dread of the angel of death (פְּחַדְתּוֹ שֶׁל מְלַאךְ הַמּוֹת) he has set in their heart"; R. Ahwah b. R. Zera said, "הָעוֹלָם should be read as הָעֵלָם (concealed), which means that the Ineffable Name was concealed from them."

One renders עולם = 'future' and thereby he means the impulse to search for the "dark future" (Siegfried) or "the hidden" (Unbreit and Bickell); or the fact that God has taught man to wait and hope (Kohler). Man is given a directed aspiration for eternity (Delitzsch; also Vahldieck, Kuhn, Vischer) or a possibility to envisage eternity (Wildeboer); "notio aeternitatis" (Grimm); "notitia Dei naturalis insita" (Zöckler). עולם is therefore regarded according to the above interpretations as something divine in man--even the image of God from the creation story (Hertzberg). God has bound man internally with Himself (Eichrodt). The inner impulse of human nature corresponds with the divine administration of the world, as with Stoic philosophy (Siegfried and Pfleiderer). The fact that God has placed a veil over man's understanding means that He has restricted the human possibility of knowledge from the first (Haupt).¹

There is some likelihood that the author of the hymn before us (IQS 11) has in mind the words of the angel to Daniel, "Go your way, Daniel, for the words are shut up and sealed until the time of the end ... none of the wicked shall understand, but those who are wise shall understand" (Daniel 12.9f). In Ecclesiastes 3.11 eternity (העולם) in man's heart fails to give him insight into God's work from the beginning to the end. But in the hymn of the Rule Scroll the light of the author's heart (האורה) (לבני) penetrates within the mystery which has come to pass and which is eternal (הנוא עולם): lines 3f). The light in the author's heart is from God's wondrous mysteries (line 5c; cf. Daniel 12.6). Here again the mystery which is revealed is further described: "In that

1. H.J. Blieffert, Weltanschauung und Gottesglaube im Buch Kohelet (1938), pp. 26f.

of "the future age" in the Apocrypha.¹ In I Enoch 71.15, the angel speaks to Enoch regarding the Son of Man, "He proclaims peace in the name of the world to come ..." (cf. 48.7).² Further, in II Baruch 14.13 we find "the age to come" (Syr: ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~; ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~; ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~) opposite "this age" (cf. 15.7f; 44.15). We also find "that endless age" (Syr: ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~ ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~; ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~ ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~) opposite "this passing age" (Syr: ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~; ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~ ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~) in II Baruch 48.50 (cf. 40.3,6). Other expressions in II Baruch include "the new age" (Syr: ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~ ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~ : 44.12) and "the immortal age" (Syr: ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~ ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~ : 31.3). (Syr): ~~ܘܠܝܢܝܐ~~ is further used as a time-concept in II Baruch 16.1, 44.11ff, and 51.8,10. In IV Ezra 7.50 it is told to Ezra that the Most High has made not "one age but two" (unum saeculum, sed duo).³ In IV Ezra 7.113, "The Day of Judgement shall be the end of this time and the beginning of the future immortal time" (finis temporis

1. G. Dalman, op. cit., pp. 148f. But עולם = 'age' (or even 'world') is found in the Hebrew fragments of Sirach published by S. Schechter and C. Taylor in The Wisdom of Ben Sira (Cambridge 1899). Sirach 16.7 mentions the princes of old time whom God did not forgive. These "rule (?) the world by their power" (~~המוריה עולם~~ ~~בגבוריה~~)--see above publ. p. 52, note 7, regarding the difficulties with ~~המוריה~~. Sirach 3.18a admonishes, "Diminish your soul from all the great things of the world" (~~מעט נפשך מכל גדולה עולם~~).

2. Both these passages are from the "similitudes", which is considered to be a later addition.

3. The main Latin equivalent for Greek: αἰών and Hebrew: עולם is "saeculum" = 'an indefinite long time';/...

huius et initium futuri immortalis temporis). But compare IV Ezra 6.8b-9, where " ... Jacob's hand held the heel of Esau from the beginning" (ab initio). The end of this age is Esau, and the beginning of the following one is Jacob (Finis enim huius saeculi Esau et principium sequentis Jacob: cf. 6.7-10; 7.29). Elsewhere in IV Ezra "hoc (praesens) saeculum" is opposite to "futurum saeculum" (4.2,27; 6.9; 7.12, 47, 112; 8.1f); "hoc tempus" is opposite to "futurum tempus" (7.113; 8.52). No similar expression pertaining to the future age is found in Jubilees or the Assumption of Moses which are considered first century B.C. (cf. II Enoch 56.4).¹

An addition to an alleged saying of Hillel (Ab. ii.7) declares that he who acquires for himself the words of the law "acquires for himself the life of the age to come" (קנה לו חיי העולם הבא). The earliest use of the phrase occurs in Daniel 12.2, where "many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to eternal life (להי עולם) and some to shame, to eternal filth". Also in Daniel the expression occurs as an appellative to God: בהי העולם , 12.7; ולהי

בלבא , 4.31. In I Enoch 37.4 the author acknowledges that from the Lord of Spirits the lot of eternal life has

time'); cf. R. Loewe, "Jerome's Rendering of ^cOLAM," Hebrew Union College Annual 22 (1949), Cincinnati, p. 271

1. ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος occurs seven times in the "genuine"/...

been given to him (cf. 40.9, 58.3, 62.54; see also 15.4,6). The author of the Psalms of Solomon rejoices that "those who fear the Lord shall rise to life eternal" (εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον): 3. (12)16; cf. 13.9).¹ ζωὴ αἰώνιος is found in the New Testament (Matthew 19.16,21; Acts 13.46; Romans 2.7; I John 1.2; Jude 21 et al. -- forty-three times in all

Having noted "eternal life" in the Old Testament, Apocalyptic, and the New Testament, we present a passage from cave 4 of Qumran, No. 181, 1.3b-6a.² After the author acknowledges the sins of mankind resulting from their rebellion (לפי פרותם), (line 2) from the "council of the sons of h/eaven/ and earth" he declares:-

- 1.3b So God has performed a miracle;³ his glory has brought near (some) of the sons of the world to
- .4 consider with Him in h/eaven/, for a holy congregation in the station unto eternal life (לתיי
- .5 עולם) and in the lot with His holy ones h/eaven/
He con/secrates⁴ him, each in accordance with his

"genuine" letters--Romans 12.2, I Corinthians 1.20 and 2.6(bis), 8 and 3.18, II Corinthians 4.4. (Cf. "this present evil age", Galatians 1.4; "this age" and "the coming evil age", Ephesians 1.21; see also Matthew 12.32, Mark 10.30, Luke 16.8 and 18.30).

1. Cf. II Maccabees 7.9,26; IV Maccabees 15.3; II Baruch 14.13, 15.7f, 44.15, 48.50; II Enoch 65.10, 50.2, 61.2.
2. First partly published in The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society 4 (1962-3), Leiden 1964, pp. 3-5. Now found in Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan V, ed. J.M. Allegro (1968), p. 79.
3. והפלא , hiph; cf. Deuteronomy 28.59; see also Isaiah 28.29.
4. לעבד

.6 lot which he had ca/s/t¹ for /him ---/2
to et/er/na/l/3 life - - -

Elsewhere we find the expression חיי נצח⁴ = 'perpetual life' in IQS 4.7⁵ and CD 3.20. Those who hold on to the firm house in Israel which did not stand in the former times up to the present and which God has built for them "belong to perpetual life" (CD 3.19f). M. Black, writing before the publication of the above fragment, No. 181 (which has the expression חיי עולם), identified חיי נצח with ζωή αἰώνιος of the New Testament.⁶ We find that the evidence from Scroll No. 181 which is found in cave 4 strongly substantiates that assessment. Also,

1. ל/י/ם

2. ---י/ל

3. ---ם/ל/י/ע

4. D. Hill (Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings (1967), pp. 168f) has a valuable note on the form חיים. His findings are as follows: (i) plural of mystery or majesty - "beyond man's grasp"; (ii) intensive plural - "the abstract idea of the qualities of the living being" or "diversity in unity" (G.K. Cowley); (iii) abstract plural -- "the idea of the primitive tendency to attribute vitality to various parts of the body and not to one single source" (Brockelmann); (iv) temporal significance, not abstract idea - "consists of successive instants or moments or days or years" (F.C. Burkitt).

5. See above, Chapter III, p. 51, in the translation of the "Doctrine of the Two Spirits".

6. Op. cit., p. 139. Black points out (p. 138 fn.) that over against the "joy in eternal life" is set the fire of the dark regions (אש מחשכים), IQS 4.13).

from cave 6 in No. 18 (Composition Hymnique), frag. 2 are חיי נצח (line 2) and חיי עולמים (line 5) in the same fragment.

We conclude this section by a brief summary of our results:-

1. Doubling and accumulation of expressions with עולם do not alter its meaning as a duration of time.
2. The plural of עולם which is found more frequently in the Old Testament is synonymous with the singular. It does not indicate "multiple ages" in the Scrolls. עפ certainly does.
3. There is no evidence that עולם brings an other-worldly spatial dimension into the picture.¹
4. It is nearly impossible to assess עולם (sing. or pl.) eschatologically when it is in the genitive -- although certain expressions would seem to extend into the after-life when (עולם) qualifies them, e.g. אוחוז = 'possession', כלה = 'destruction', etc. On the other hand, עולם with חיים would be redundant unless understood in an eschatological sense.

1. H. Sasse (TWNT, vol. I, under αἰών, p. 204), who sees that the spatial significance is just as definite as the temporal, cites habitantes saeculum (IV Ezra 8.41 etc.). R. Loewe (op. cit., p. 269) comments that "the step from the world duration to world is slight and αἰών thus came to be used in the latter sense, parallel in meaning to κόσμος."

The interpretation of עולם as 'boundless time' stresses its on-going character. With this definition עולם can apply equally well to a "this-worldly" eschatology or to the "other-worldly". (עולם later came to mean αἰών almost in the Platonic sense).¹

גומ עולם = 'eternal height' (line 20)

The author is brought up from Sheol Abaddon to an "eternal height" (גומ עולם). Shortly after the initial publication of the Scrolls A. Dupont-Sommer saw in this phrase a reflection of the Essene belief recorded by Josephus (BJ II, viii, ii) that "the soul, once detached from the ties of the flesh ... takes its joyful flight toward the height".² This interpretation has since then been much criticised. R. Laurin states that the phrase "everlasting height" is not a reference to heaven, but rather connotes the security enjoyed by the author.³ Laurin's interpretation--especially the word "connotes"--precludes any reality at all from the phrase. He in fact insinuates that it is figurative or symbolic of something else. J. Licht believes that "the mysticism lies in the

1. Plato (Timaeus 37D) distinguishes αἰών = 'eternity' from χρόνος = 'on-going empirical time'. The combination of both αἰών and χρόνος probably governs our thinking when we think of eschatological eternity.

2. The Dead Sea Scrolls (1952), p. 72.

3. "The Question of Immortality in the Qumran Hodayoth," JSS 4 (1958), p. 346.

metaphor and not in the subject".¹ Licht sees that it is a pregnant expression, but it is not an actual lofty place in eternity--or that the righteous live in the "height belonging to the coming world" (ibid.).

רום עלים does not appear in the Old Testament, and the noun רום is only found in the sense of 'pride' apart from Proverbs 25.3 where it is used figuratively for the 'height' (of heaven). מרום, while meaning height or elevation, may be equivalent to 'heaven' or the 'height of heaven' (Micah 6.6; II Samuel 22.17; Psalm 18.17; Isaiah 32.15). Isaiah 24.21 reads, "On that day the Lord will punish the host of מרום in מרום and the kings of earth on earth." מרום is also opposite to the earth in Isaiah 33.5 et al.; it may mean 'proud' in Psalm 56.3.

רום in the Scrolls means 'pride' in IQS 4.9. It is the paragon of God's strength which at the appointed time will shine "to the ends of /eternity/" (IQM 1.8), or it is even used as an epithet of God, 'Height of Glory' (רום כבוד : IQS 10.12). It may be translated 'height'-- as the 'height' of cedars (CD 2.19), 'height' of (river-) banks (IQ 3.29), 'height' (figuratively) of luxuries (IQH 10.30) or wickedness (IQH frag. 5.7). In two additional fragments of the Hodayoth we find 'pride without service' (IQH frag. 7.2), and 'a congregation of pride' (IQH frag. 55.2).

1. The Thanksgiving Scroll (in modern Hebrew) (1957), p. 84.

Besides the passage before us רומ עולם occurs in the Book of Blessings (IQSb 5.23), "The Lord shall lift you to 'an eternal height' and as a tower of strength at the elevated wall." The lacunae are numerous, but the sense is quite clear, for from this position "you (the one lifted up) shall exterminate the earth with your rod and by the breath of your lips you shall slay the wicked." Equipment for this undertaking shall be "eternal strength", "the spirit of knowledge", "the fear of God", "a girdle [---] (which) is righteousness", "horns of iron" and "hoofs (or feet) of bronze" (cf. Ephesians 6.10-17). רומ

רומ in the Book of Blessings seems to be the mental and spiritual state which empowers one for Holy War. The following expression, "a tower of strength", further describes this ecstatic condition (cf. IQM 12.5).¹

In the passage before us (IQH 3.19-20) we must note two ideas in the immediate context in which רומ עולם occurs. Firstly, it appears as an antithesis to Sheol Abaddon.² Secondly, the result of this deliverance

1. M. Black (op. cit., pp. 151ff) believes that this passage may refer to the Davidic Messiah. In CD 1.15f A. Dupont-Sommer and G. Vermes translate גבוה עולם as 'everlasting heights' in the passage where the Man of Contempt led Israel astray "in order to bring low ([---] גבוה עולם)..." E. Lohse translates 'ewigen Stolz' and alludes to Habakkuk 3.6. We have a picture of the insidious shattering of Israel's ideal--not necessarily an eschatological destiny.

2. This is H.-W. Kuhn's main argument, as we noted at the beginning of this chapter, p. 95ff.

is that the author is able to "walk to and fro on a level place (or plain) without limit" (line 3.20b); and he now knows that there is hope (line 20c). We also note the larger context, viz. the entire deliverance section (lines 19-23). Here the "eternal council" (סוד עולם - line 21a); the "estate with the host of holy ones" (מעמד עם צבא קדושים) - line 21c); and "the congregation of the sons of heaven" (עדת בני שמים - line 22b) are parallel terms to רום עולם . The appearance of these metaphors in the same context suggests that we understand רום עולם at least as an esoteric realm. A passage in one of the hymns of the Rule Scroll (IQS 11.2-9), which we examined in connection with עולם , discloses that the author has been granted extraordinary vision through the wondrous mysteries of God--that light is in his heart by way of the mystery which has come to pass and his eyes behold wisdom which is hidden from other men. An esoteric sect envisions life in terms of its own inner experience. This vision may border on illusion to outsiders, but to the esoteric it is reality. The world of the Qumran sectarian and that of the angels he mentions seems identical. רום עולם , an inner state of extraordinary strength in IQSb 5.23, identifies an inner realm in the passage before us (see also IQH 2.20-21).

M. Mansoor notes that רום עולם appears twice in the Jewish daily morning service as the seat of His divine majesty, where angels attend on him.¹ However, this does not mean that the expression in the Scrolls had assumed such proportions: that it was an external realm and belonged to the coming world. We cannot discount the idea that it meant 'security' for the author--in light of similar expressions in the Psalms (above). But we note that the Epistle to the Hebrews uses celestial or heavenly expressions in reference to a heavenly place believers have come to in the present--where there is no doubt concerning an after-life (Hebrews 12.22-23). The point at issue is not whether רום עולם means present 'security' or 'heaven', for in the sense of Hebrews 12.22-23) it could mean both (I Enoch 100.6 reads, "And the children of the earth shall see the wise in security ..."). The point at issue is whether it belongs also to the coming world (which Licht denies) and is identical to heaven, the abode of the blessed.

A comparable form of רום עולם is found in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch (II Baruch 51.10), a composite apocalyptic work of the latter half of the first century A.D. or early second century and originally

1. In addition H.-W. Kuhn (op. cit., pp. 56f) finds further support in the tannaitic literature for the expression = 'heaven'. רום עולם occurs in the Targum Jonathan (Jeremiah 31.15).

The adjective "high" or "lofty" (Syr. *ܡܘܨܝܘܢ*) in the Old Testament is used adverbally in II Kings 19.22 where we can translate 'haughtily'. The idea of "security" is present in Isaiah 33.16. And in Isaiah 33.5 it refers to "heaven" (Hebrew *מרום*): "The Lord is exalted, for he dwells on high." In Sirach 24.2 (of the apocryphal literature) it is the dwelling-place of wisdom (Greek *ἐν ὑψηλοῖς*). In the New Testament it appears in the Gloria in Excelsis of Luke 2.14, "Glory to God in the Highest", see also similar uses in Matthew 21.9, Mark 11.10, Luke 19.38). In Hebrews 1.3b it is the resting-place of Christ ("at the right hand on high") after he had made purification for sins. In Ephesians 4.8 "when Christ ascended on high (*ἐν ὑψοῦς*) he led a host of captives..."

(Syr.) *ܡܘܨܝܘܢ* in latter Christian literature came to be used as an equivalent to heaven, especially in liturgical formulae.¹ In a sermon about the God-bearing virgin (Codex Nitr. V. fol. 69), St. Jacob (451-521 A.D.), bishop of Serugh and a Monophysite, uses (Syr.) *ܡܘܨܝܘܢ* as the realm ("glorious in the heights") of the Son of God's co-existence with the One sending Him.² A homily on the nativity of the Lord by St. Jacob (BO vol. i, p. 304) quotes the Gloria in Excelsis (Luke 2.14). Bar Hebraeus (1226-1286) in his history of the eastern division of the Syrian Church from St. Thomas the apostle onwards includes a certain Jaballaha in the names of the oriental patriarchs who are reviewed. There he writes, "Jaballaha, simple and wise in the church, tended the sheep of the Most High as long as he was commanded from (Syr.) *ܡܘܨܝܘܢ*."³ One of several ascriptions of praise to God in a prayer of Elias III the Patriarch (1176-) appearing in the Catalogue of Books by Abhd- isho (-1318) is the phrase, "Now to thee who dwells in the heights..."⁴ The liturgical proclamation of the about-to-be-consecrated bishop's decision concerning his selection includes "... and with the eyes of his mind free in the

1. The following examples are taken from Bibliothecae Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana (abbrev. BO below), recensuit J.S. Assemanus, tom. i, ii, ii.i, iii.ii, Romae (1719-1728).

2. BO i, p. 295.

3. BO ii, p. 390.

4. BO iii.i, p. 292.

heights with thee who dwells in the heavens ..."¹

(Syr.) ܡܘܨܝܘܢ and its Hebrew equivalent מרום may mean 'heaven' but there is no indication that they took on an eschatological dimension in the Old Testament. (Syr.) ܡܘܨܝܘܢ in II Baruch 51.10 definitely is the "paradise" of the next world. Its cognate רוּם in the passage before us (IQH 3.19-20) is very comparable--especially in connection with a "like-angelic" existence.

"A plain without limit" (3.2 : מישור אין חקר) is parallel to רוּם עולם (above). Although M. Mansoor and K.G. Kuhn translate מישור as 'uprightness', recalling Psalm 119.45 and 143.10, the meaning 'level place' or 'plain' is most likely meant. (Without אין חקר there would be considerable doubt: see I Enoch 92.4,5.) The accompanying expression אין חקר means 'unsearchable'--cf. Psalm 145.3, Proverbs 25.3, Isaiah 40.28, Job 5.9 and 9.10. A plain within the first heaven is found in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (III Baruch 2.3). There Baruch asks the angel Phanuel² "the thickness (τὸ πάχος) of heaven in which we journeyed, or what is its extension (τὸ διάστημα), or what is the plain (τὸ πεδίον) ...?" (2.4). The angel answers that the length of the plain is "as great as is

1. BO iii.ii, p. 693; other comparable liturgical expressions in the rites of the consecration of the Nestorian hierarchy are found in BO iii.ii, pp. 673, 687, 703, 807, 841.

2. The name occurs in the Slavonic version.

the distance from North to South" (2.5). There is also a plain in the second heaven (3.3), and a "plain and a serpent" (which resembles Hades--but in 5.3 it equals Hades) in the third heaven (4.3). In the fourth heaven there is a single plain (πεδῖον ἀπλοῦν) and in the middle of it a pool of water (10.2). The angel tells Baruch that the plain which contains in it the pool and other wonders is the place where the souls of the righteous come (10.5).

In IV Ezra 7.96 one of the joys of the fifth "order"¹ which awaits the righteous is that they "rejoice ... that they see the restriction and pain from which they have been delivered, and the spaciousness (spatiosum-- Syr: *ܡܘܨܝܐ*) which they are destined to receive with enjoyment and immortality" (cf. IQH 9.28, 15.16). The heavenly world which is shown to the righteous in II Baruch 51.11 is described as "the extents of Paradise" (Syr: *ܡܘܨܝܐ ܕܥܕܝܢ*).²

It may be argued that *קוים עולם* has not yet come to mean 'heaven' as had its equivalents in "later" (?) literature. The key to our appraisal rests in its contrast to *עמם* and *עמל*. Their eschatological dimension will be further defined in section 2.

1. Ordo = ἡ τάξις , a disposition of the mind: G.H. Box, A&P, p. 588 fn.

2. The Syriac word *ܡܘܨܝܐ* means 'latitudo' (πλάτος), (Syr.) *ܡܘܨܝܐ* means both 'latitudo' and 'amplitudo': R. Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus.

סוד עולם = 'eternal council' (line 21)

The question inevitably arises whether סוד עולם in the phrase, "I know that there is hope for him whom thou hast formed from dust unto an eternal council," pertains to an earthly or heavenly community. S. Holm-Nielsen believes that it is the community and life within it which are depicted as a paradise.¹ J. van der Ploeg earlier had proposed that the community is visible in this world, but nevertheless continues its activity in the other.² In a more detailed description F. Nötscher suggests that the new company in order to express the always continuing obligation and availability to their institution consider themselves "an eternal covenant" (ברית עולמים : IQS 4.22, 5.5f) or (fully) "a covenant of an eternal community" (ברית יחד עולמים : IQS 3.11f). סוד עולם is an expression of the destination of man formed from dust and delivered from Sheol.³

The meaning of סוד by itself, however, is most variable and offers little insight toward an interpretation

1. Op. cit., p. 67. M. Delcor ("L'Eschatologie des Documents de Khirbet Qumran," RSR 26 (1952), p. 377) states that the expression refers to angels. Delcor questions what the expression "whom thou hast formed from the dust" could mean if the eternal assembly was the Sect. All men are formed from dust.

2. The Excavations at Qumran (1958), p. 171.

3. TTQT, p. 156.

of the phrase. Four meanings are assumed in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew: 'foundation', 'council', 'counsel' and 'secret'.¹ Whatever more precise meaning $\gamma\iota\sigma$ originally had is evidently lost. Even at the time of the LXX translations the gist of it was dependent on the context in which it was found. Out of the twenty-two instances of $\gamma\iota\sigma$ in the MT it is rendered by no less than thirteen different Greek words (in addition Proverbs 20.19 is left out in the LXX and Proverbs 3.32 and 25.9 are modified from the Hebrew). Also $\gamma\iota\sigma$ may belong to one or more of the following themes

(1) The heavenly council: cf. Job 15.8, Jeremiah 23.18,22.

The divine council participates as a cosmic or heavenly army in the eschatological wars of Yahweh, those military activities associated with the Day of Yahweh. These conflicts involved a joint participation of human forces and

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1. M. Mansoor, The Thanksgiving Hymns (1961), p. 117. S. Mowinckel ("Some Remarks on Hodayoth 395-200," JBL 75 (1956), p. 272) considers that in Biblical Hebrew $\gamma\iota\sigma$ means 'council' rather than 'counsel'. It is the intimate fellowship and harmony, the group of intimates and the confidential talk within a group. L. Kohler (The Hebrew Man, 1956, p. 102) cites Jeremiah 15.17, Ezekiel 13.9 and Psalm 111.1, and states that in these places $\gamma\iota\sigma$ can be translated 'circle'.
 2. We find βουλή (Genesis 49.6, Psalm 88(89).7 and 110 (111).1, Proverbs 11.13); γνώμη (Psalm 82(83).4); οἱ εἰδότες (Job 19.19); ἐπισκοπή (Job 29.4); κραταίωμα (Psalm 24(25).14; ὁμονοία Psalm 54(55).14(15)); παιδεία (Ezekiel 13.9, Amos 3.7); συναγωγή (Jeremiah 6.1); συνέδριον (Jeremiah 15.17, Proverbs 11.13 and 15.22); σύνταγμα (Job 15.8); συστροφή (Psalm 63(64).2); ὑποστάσις (Jeremiah 23.22); ὑποστήμα (Jeremiah 23.18).

divine or heavenly armies.¹

- (2) The council of the pious (συνέδριον ὁσίων): Psalms of Solomon 4.1; cf. the previous verse 3.(12)16 where those who fear the Lord shall arise unto eternal life. See also 17.(18)16, συνέδριον, which may stand for ἡ , also designates the council of the enemy--IV Maccabees 17.17 συμβούλιον - Codex Sinaiticus); cf. II Maccabees 14.5. R.H. Charles believed that "the council of the nation" (ἡ γερουσία τοῦ ἔθνους), I Maccabees 12.6) later developed into the Sanhedrin.² The earliest reference to the Sanhedrin may perhaps be II Chronicles 19.8. See also Josephus, Antiq. XII, iii.3; XIV, ix.4.

- (3) Temple symbolism. The link between the community and the world of the angels in heaven has formed an intrinsic part of the temple symbolism in the Qumran texts. The holiness of Israel has become concentrated in the community which thereby becomes a substitute for the Jerusalem temple.³ The angels and members of the sect make up a holy council of eternal significance.

1. P.D. Miller, Jr., "The Divine Council and the Prophetic Call to War," VT 18 (1968), pp. 100f.

2. A & P I, p. 111 fn.

3. B. Gartner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament (1965), p. 64.

(cf. Ephesians 2.19, Hebrews 12.22, I Timothy 5.21).¹

- (4) Council for the prophets. מוֹד conveys the mystery (or decision) of God which he manifests to his servants the prophets; cf. Amos 3.7; see also Psalm 25.14 and 64.3, Proverbs 3.32, 11.13, 20.19 and 25.9, Job 29.4.² F. Nötscher can even call it a synonym for the late-biblical מוֹד = 'mystery'.³

Survey of מוֹד in the Scrolls. The word denotes a circle of people with the same plans or aims--generally of the Qumran community (IQS 2.25, 6.19; CD 14.10 et al.), but also of their antagonists, the congregation of Belial (IQH 2.22 et al.; cf. IQS 4.1); and is used of both communities (IQS 11.3-9). The author of the Hodayoth can refer to "my council" (IQH 5.24, 7.9, 14.18). The author of the Rule Scroll hymn even considers that he belong "to wicked humanity and to an assembly of unjust flesh (וּלְמִוֹד וּלְמִוֹד) ... an assembly of worms (מִוֹד רָמָה) those who walk in darkness" (IQS 11.9f; cf. IQH 1.22).⁴

1. Ibid., p. 96. M. Delcor (op. cit., p. 382) cites I Peter 2.4f in this connection; M. Mansoor (op. cit., p. 117) refers to I Enoch 60.2.

2. H. Kosmala, Hebräer ..., p. 237.

3. TTQT, p. 76. See also R.E. Brown, "The Semitic Background of the New Testament Mysterion (II)", Bib. 40 (1950), p. 738.

4. IQS 11.9f is probably a confessional section of the liturgy.

The phrase "the council of (thy) truth" often occurs. God is the source of the "council of truth" (IQH 1.27) which is the means to knowledge (IQH 11.4,9,16) or to a strengthening of the heart (IQH 5.9). The author in turn is made a "council of truth" to the upright (IQH 2.10). Guilt can cause the "council of truth" to be covered (IQH 5.26). The works of the spirit of truth which enlighten the heart of the righteous are called "the counsels of the Spirit" (IQS 4.6). The author of IQH 6.25f exclaims, "I delighted myself in7 thy truth, my God, for thou wilt lay the foundation (טוּד) upon rock."¹ In a passage similar to the one before us, God cleanses man in order "to raise from dust the worm of the dead to [- - -] council (טוּד), and from a perverted spirit to [Thy] (bestowed) understanding" (IQH 11.12). The ideas of "assembly", "purpose" and even "mystery" shine through the above passages. The same diversity which the Old Testament has rendered prevails in the Scrolls. The question whether טוּד עולם pertains to an earthly or

1. It has been suggested that טוּד has taken on the meanings of טוּד (M. Mansoor, op. cit., p. 117 fn.) or vice versa (J. Pryke, "'Spirit' and 'flesh' in the Qumran Documents and some New Testament texts," RdQ 5 (1964-66), p. 348). Pryke suggests for טוּד the meanings "foundation", "institution", "assembly", "secret", or "fellowship" of friends engaged in common interests. טוּד in the Scrolls does indeed develop beyond an architectural term ("foundation" or "base") to denote the idea of "constitution" or "principle" and may perhaps mean "assembly." טוּד may be "foundation" in IQH 6.25f (above).

heavenly community may be limiting, or perhaps premature, to an elucidation of עפר = 'dust'.

Three plausible meanings for עפר emerge:-

- (1) עפר in the Scrolls is widely used as a metaphor for the frailty and transience of man. The author of IQH 10.5 bemoans the fact that he is "dust and ashes" (עפר ואפר). In IQH 15.21 he questions, "And can (the one who is) dust establish his steps?" In IQH 12.25 the author calls himself a "container of dust" (מקוי עפר) or in IQH 13.15 a "building of dust" (מבנה עפר) or in IQH 18.24 a "heart of dust" (לב עפר), et al.
- (2) עפר denotes the origin and destination of man, viz. the physical element of the earth¹ (IQH 12.26f; re. origin, IQS 11.21, IQH 12.24, frag. 2.4; re. destination IQH 10.4, 12 and 12.24, 26 et al.).
- (3) N.H. Ridderbos shows rather convincingly that עפר in certain texts of the Old Testament does not mean "dust of the grave", but much more, the dust of Sheol² (cf. IQH 11.12, 6.34).

The expression " ... for him whom thou hast formed from

1. Cf. CD 11.11; 12.16.

2. " עפר als Staub des Totenortes," Oudtestamentische Studiën, Deel V (1948), pp. 174-178. Ridderbos cites the controversial Job 19.25; also 21.26, 40.13, 41.25; Psalm 22.30, 30.10; Daniel 12.2. We may also consider Isaiah 26.19.

dust" (לאשר יצרתה מעפר) recalls Genesis 2.7, "And the Lord God formed (וייצר) man of dust from the ground" (cf. Sirach 17.1, 36(33).10). However, the activity of יצרתה = 'thou hast formed' does not pertain to the original creation of man from dust.¹ Rather it includes man's deliverance to "an eternal council" so that a new creation of belonging to the community is meant.² Four times³ in the Hodayoth (1.8,15; 4.31; 15.22) is the spirit (רוח) of man the accusative result of the verb יצר (only in Zechariah 12.1 is this idea found in the Old Testament). "Hope" (מקוה)⁴ is not merely for an "eternal council", but--much more-- what lies beyond that. When man has already been formed from "dust" to an "eternal council" therein is his new basis for hope. The "eternal

1. H. Kosmala translates 'Staubgebildeten'.

2. K.G. Kuhn ("Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament," ZTK 47 (1950), p. 201 fn.) states, "Es ist zu beachten, dass hier mit dem Wort יצר nicht von der Schöpfung des Menschen die Rede ist, sondern gewissermassen von einer Neuschöpfung, nämlich der Zugehörigkeit zu der Gemeinde."

3. Five times, if the conjecture in 10.22 is (רוח)-- thus J. Licht and E. Lohse.

4. מקוה comes from the root קוה from which emerge two different ideas: (i) 'to wait for', and (ii) 'to collect'. מקוה respectively means either 'hope' or 'collection' ('collected mass'). M. Wallenstein ("Some Lexical Material in the Judaean Scrolls," VT 4 (1954), p. 214) favours the second root meaning and takes to mean 'abode'. But note 'expectation' (חיתה) is parallel to 'hope' (מקוה) in IQH 9.14.

council" then assumes a dimension appropriate to "dust". We conclude by re-examining the three plausible meanings for "dust".

If עפר = 'a frail man of dust' (No. (1) above) is formed into the membership of an "eternal council" he has reason to hope--even though his new identity has only a this-worldly dimension. He belongs to the new Israel and can be confident of her continual existence. He dies, but the community lives on.¹

If עפר = 'a physical man of the earth', (No. (2) above) does not allude to the original creation story ('Staubgebildeten'). But on the other hand it does not exclude the possibility that when God forms man "from dust to an eternal council" He re-creates man whose origin and destiny once belonged to the physical element "dust".² Indeed the author re-emphasizes that idea in the "lament" (lines 23c-25). In an eschatological sense we note the contrast in I Corinthians 15.47f between the χοϊκός and the ἐπουράνιος (see also Galatians 6.1: ὑμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοί).³

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1. A.R.C. Leaney (op. cit., p. 136) would add that the assembly will be the form in which Israel, after the final struggle with evil, will enter the world to come.
 2. H.-W. Kuhn rejects the meaning that עפר means "Stoff, woraus der Mensch geschaffen ist"; op. cit., p. 49.
 3. This contrast is suggested by K.G. Kuhn ("Die in Palästina ...," p. 201.

If עפר = 'the dust of Sheol' (No. (3) above), hope is for the future world. As a contrast to "dust" which includes all the aforementioned possibilities the future world is a heavenly community. We might compare the hope expressed in Job 17.13-16. Job despairs:-

- 17.13 "If I look for (אקוה) Sheol as my house,
(If) in darkness I spread my couch,
14 (If) I say to corruption, 'You are my father,'
And to the worm, 'my mother,' or 'my sister,'
15 Where then is my hope (תקוה)?
Who will behold my hope (תקוה)?
16 They (Job's hopes) shall descend to the bars
of Sheol;
When together we go down unto the dust."

Since there exists the possibility that עפר = 'a frail man of dust' (No. (1) above), we cannot state conclusively that סוד עולם belongs to the future world. However, we must call attention to the fact that when "hope" belongs to the man who has been formed "from dust unto an eternal council" one cannot help but sense that there is something beyond. Or on what grounds would he have reason to hope? (cf. Romans 8.24f).

גורל עולם = 'eternal lot' (line 22)

M. Delcor sees the "eternal lot" as "équivant pratiquement à 'vie éternelle'" as in Daniel 12.13b: "You shall stand at your allotted place at the end of the days" (ותעמד לגורל לקץ הימים).¹ The question we

1. "L'Eschatologie des documents de Khirbet Qumran," RSR 26 (1952), p. 384.

must ask is whether the "eternal lot" as life ad perpetuum might be too strongly stated in light of the Levitical inheritance which amounts to perpetual priestly service to God on earth (Numbers 18.20) (in CD 7.5f the covenant of God stands firmly to sustain the sectarians for a thousand generations). The Levites, it is true, received cities by lot (Joshua 21.8), but the tribe of Levi received no (long) inheritance for "the Lord God is their inheritance" (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם): Joshua 13.33; cf. Jubilees 32.1, Test. Levi 8.3

The "lot" (as well as "inheritance" -- נַחֲלָה) is a characteristic concept in late Judaism in the description of eschatological salvation or disaster. H.-W. Kuhn has grouped the evidence for this into three categories: the spatial aspect, which corresponds to the Old Testament נַחֲלָה as the promised land; a designation for future salvation or disaster; and a subjective "state of health" of the pious.¹

(i) The spatial aspect of the "lot":

I Enoch 39.8: 'that dwelling-place'

I Enoch 71.16: 'dwelling-places' parallel to 'heritage'.

Psalms of Solomon 14.9: "...their inheritance is Hades and darkness and destruction" (... ἡ κληρονομία αὐτῶν ἄδης καὶ σκότος καὶ ἀπώλεια).

IV Ezra 7.9,11: 'the inheritance' is compared to a city.²

1. Op. cit., pp. 73f.

2. Note in vs. 17 that the "ungodly shall perish".

II Enoch 9: "for them is prepared this place for eternal inheritance" (cf. 10.6).
 II Enoch 55.2: (a) 'the uppermost Jerusalem';
 (b) 'the highest heaven'.

(ii) Future salvation or disaster:

I Enoch 37.4: 'the lot of eternal life'.
 I Enoch 48.7: "the son of man has preserved the lot of the righteous".
 Psalms of Solomon 14.9: (see (i) above).
 Psalms of Solomon 15.10: "the inheritance of sinners is destruction and darkness" (ἡ κληρονομία τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ἀπώλεια καὶ σκότος).
 Pseudo-Philo Ant. 23.13: there "would fall the lot on each one of you for eternal life".¹

(iii) The lot as a subjective state:

I Enoch 58.2: "Glorious shall be your lot" (verse 3, " ... in the light of eternal life").
 I Enoch 103.2f: re. the righteous " ... your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living".²
 Wisdom 5.5: "How is he reckoned among the sons of God, and his lot is among the holy ones?" (πῶς κατελογίσθη ἐν υἱοῖς θεοῦ καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ὁ κληρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστίν;).

H.-W. Kuhn considers that לַוּג in line 22 has all three meanings.³ The evidence for the "spatial aspect" (No. (i)) does not directly pertain to לַוּג (κληρὸς), but to מַלְחֶזֶדֶק (κληρονομία). Yet in cave 11, fragments on Melchizedek reveal both the expressions "from the heritage of Melchizedek" (מַלְחֶזֶדֶק מִלְּחֶזֶדֶק) in line 5 and "men [of the] lot of Mel[chi]zedek" (

1. H.-W. Kuhn includes Wisdom 3.14: cf. I Enoch 99.14, II Baruch 44.13.

2. Certain lines of the Greek translation are missing at this point.

3. Op. cit., p. 75.

(קדצ /כי/ מל/ג לר/ג י/אנא) in line 8. Also K.G. Kuhn compares לֵא לְרִגָּא (IQS 2.2) with κληρονομία (θεοῦ) in Ephesians 1.18 (cf. 5.5) and sees לְרִגָּא לְרִגָּא in our passage as an individual coinage that is part of a dualistic, all-inclusive background of Paul's cosmology.¹ We find also in the Pauline writings that he exhorts the Colossians to give thanks to the father "who has qualified us for a share of the destiny of the holy ones in light (... εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτί); He has delivered us from the realm of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son" (Colossians 1.12f). Elsewhere in the New Testament we find that Jesus' purpose for Paul's apostleship to the people is " ... that they may receive forgiveness of sins and the lot among the ones sanctified by faith in me". (τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ... κληρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ : Acts 26.18; cf. 20.32). The Epistle to the Hebrews 9.15 states that Christ is a mediator of a new covenant so that "those who are called might receive the promised eternal inheritance" (τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας : cf. I Peter 1.4). We note that ζωὴ αἰώνιος and κληρονομεῖν occur together in Matthew 19.29, Mark 10.17, and Luke 10.25 and 18.18 (κληρονομεῖν is generally used in the New Testament in reference to an eschatological inheritance).

1. "Die in Palästina . . .," p. 200; cf. H. Braun, op. cit., Band I, p. 216.

גורל appears in the Scrolls as the lot allocated by God in connection with retribution as reward or punishment (see particularly IQS 4.26, chapter 3). The one unfaithful to the covenant keeps his lot in God in "the midst of the eternal curse" (בתוך ארורי עולמים : IQS 2.17). The lot of wrath (גורל אף) falls in judgement in the time of wrath when God abandons sinners (IQH 3.27f-- see below; cf. IQM 4.1f). When the sectarian thanks God that He has not cast his lot to him by the congregation of nothingness (IQH 7.34), he considers that he is not numbered with sinners nor does he share their destiny.¹ So F. Nötscher can say that in the positive sense it is the fortune and happiness of the content of the eternal lot which God apportions to righteous man. It brings him into the state and community of the "spirits of knowledge" (IQH 3.22), the "angels of the Presence" (IQH 6.13) and the "holy ones of God" (IQH 11.11f).² The sectarians not only are in the midst of the community of angels, but also participate in their destiny. See IVQ No. 181, 1, 4f in the excursus to עולם (above), where the "lot with His holy ones" is parallel to "eternal life" (חיי עולם). In the Book

1. Y. Yadin (The Scroll of the War ..., p. 79 fn.) suggests that גורל = $\mu\sigma\lambda\alpha$. He refers to Josephus, Bel. Jud. III, viii.10 and Antiq. VII, xiv.8.

2. TTQT, p. 173.

of Blessings (IQSb 4.26) it is written that the sectarian shall be "decreeing destiny מפיל גורל together with the angels of the Presence". A. Dupont-Sommer, who also suggests IQS 4.26, adds that this responsibility "would then allude to the justiciary role, the role par excellence of the priest at the Last Judgement".¹

We can conclude with certainty that the "eternal lot" pertains to an eschatological salvation which endures beyond this earth. This is shown to be true by the fact that those who are delivered share the destiny of angels (see especially Wisdom 5.5, Colossians 1.12f). The opposite lot (or fate) of the wicked appears in the apocalyptic section (lines 25, 27) which we will now examine.

2. Deliverance from Corruption/Destruction in the Context of the Lament and Apocalypse

We have included the "lament" (lines 23c-25) as part of the context of the "apocalypse" (lines 26-36). The expressions of salvation in the "introduction" (lines 10-23) only reach their full magnitude when the dynamic eschatology of the "apocalypse" unveils a fuller expression of the disaster from which the author is delivered. The "lament" relates the author to this fuller expression of deliverance in light of the deliverance which has been acknowledged

1. EWQ, p. 112.

in the "introduction". The following paragraphs correspond to the numbered expressions in our translation.

(1) The first two cola (line 24) express the reason, the author's human frailty, which causes him to identify himself "within the boundary of wickedness" (line 24c)↓ "A formation of clay" (יצר המר), which only occurs in the Hodayoth among the Scroll literature, portrays man as a frail human being (cf. IQH 1.21, 4.29, 11.3, 12.26,32, 18.12, frag. 1.8, frag. 11.7).

(2) מגבל is the pual participle of the verb גבל . The root גבל which means 'mix' or 'knead' in Aramaic is not found in the Old Testament. J.C. Greenfield gives copious examples from the Mishnah which illustrate this meaning.¹ In Christian Palestinian Aramaic גבל means 'finxit' or 'formavit'. Syriac also translates 'creavit'. Greenfield stresses that the author of the Hodayoth has used the generic creation of man rather than the conception and development of the individual man as a sign of man's inherent lowliness.² This is true, but the author also wishes to make clear in what way he belongs "within the boundary of wickedness" (line 24c). He could also say that he is "flesh and blood", if it were not for the fact that he wishes to identify himself with the physical elements of the universe (which are consumed by fire--lines 29-31). S. Holm-Nielsen has called יצר המר and מגבל מים technical terms for man's sinfulness as contrasted with divine nature.³ We should rather say "humanity" than "sinfulness". The author has used these designations not especially to call attention to a "creator/creationis" distinction, but--most significantly--to the ephemeral mode of existence which he shares with all humanity. The fact that the author is "delivered from שנת" (line 19) and yet stands within the boundary of wickedness suggests that he now belongs to a different sphere while he yet can identify himself (line 24f) within

1. "The Root 'GBL' in Mishnaic Hebrew and in the Hymnic Literature from Qumran," RdQ 2 (1959-60), pp. 156f.

2. Ibid., p. 161.

3. Op. cit., pp. 24f.

the present wicked world which is soon to be consumed in the great conflagration (lines 29ff).

(3) "The boundary of wickedness" (גבול רשעה : cf. Malachi 1.4). גבול could be translated 'realm' or 'domain' (A. Dupont-Sommer, G. Vermes, M. Mansoor et al.), but it seems that 'circle' (M. Black) is too strong a word, for it suggests a kinship with evil in the sense of being a part of its company. The author's picture of himself circumscribes his state as "cleansed from much transgression" (line 21). (Yet see IQS 11.9f). T. Gaster translates 'where wickedness reigns'. This rendering seems to capture the meaning quite well. The idea of a boundary connotes a restriction (G. Lambert suggests 'Sheol'). Note also the idea "without hope" (line 27b) and more so "without escape" (line 28c).

(4) "The persecutors" (הלכאים) bring about and hence define the "boundary of wickedness", (line 24). הלכאים in the Hodayoth always occurs in connection with גבול רשעה = 'boundary of wickedness', מצודות רשעה = 'snares of wickedness', etc., and always means 'persecutors' according to O. Komlos.¹ חלכה in the Old Testament means 'hapless' or 'unfortunate'. Komlos notes that חלכה has a passive meaning, 'persecuted', whereas חלכה is active and means 'netlayer'. "The net of the persecutors" (מכמרת הלכאים), line 26c) impels us to use the active meaning (cf. IQH 2.8). When the author stands "with the persecutors by lot" this does not mean that he belongs to their company, but on the contrary, his fate (or lot, גורל) is that he is subject to persecution.

(5) Opposite "the persecutors" and victim to their maltreatment is "the soul of the poor one". The appellative "poor one" (אביון) in the Old Testament Psalms does not have in mind oppressed laymen in the lower strata of society. The term (in the plural) refers to "Israel", the people and the congregation themselves, who are "weak" and "helpless" and actually "suffering" in relation to powerful pagan enemies and oppressors.² The idea of weakness is implied in its use in this passage, not mendicancy

1. "The Meaning of הלכאים - חלכה", JSS 2 (1957), p. 245.

2. S. Mowinckel, The Psalms ..., Vol. 2, p. 91.

as T. Gaster, who translates 'beggar', believes. The distinction is not based on social or political, but on national and religious grounds. We must understand Qumran as a sectarian group cut off (voluntarily) from mainstream Judaism. Whatever factors or doctrines were responsible for this break constitute a new division of piety, a new distinction of Torah and a new definition of enemies.

(6) The notion of sojourning (line 25b) is significant--especially "within the boundary of wickedness" (line 24c). The author is stationed within a "realm" but his relationship to it is one of a sojourner in a strange land. Where is his true homeland? טור עולם ? רום עולם ? (line 20f). The author comes close to a dualistic dichotomy of body and soul (cf. Philo Judaeus).

Elsewhere in the Scrolls גור pertains to an exile "in the land of Damascus" (CD 6.5; cf. 4.6 where the "years of their being exiled" (ושני ההגורם) probably precludes a metaphoric use of גור and restricts it to an historical one). In the Hodayoth (IQH 5.5), the author thanks the Lord, "for thou hast not abandoned me when I sojourned (בגורי) among a stran/ge/ people ..." (גור also occurs in frag. 3.15, but the context is unclear). The noun מגור is found in the same psalm as the verb noted above (which begins at IQH 5.5). The author declares, "And thou hast set me in a place of exile (מגור) among many fishermen who stretch a net upon the face of the waters" (IQH 5.7-8). מגור עם הוליים occurs in IQH 8.26 where most scholars translate in the sense of 'exilium'. K.G. Kuhn lists מגור here under 'formido'; E. Lohse supports this with 'Schrecken'; M. Mansoor takes the root as מגר = 'cast' or 'throw' and compares Ezekiel 21.17 and Psalm 89.45. The very figurative context really allows for all three translations. The last instance of מגור occurs in IQS 6.2. Here the sectarian is instructed to walk in the given precepts, each with his neighbour, in all their places of exile (במגורים). G. Vermes probably captures the meaning most simply: he translates 'wherever they dwell'.

The notion of "sojourning" has a definite eschatological meaning in portions of the New Testament. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (11.13) the writer testifies to the faith of the patriarchs who did not receive what was promised, but seeing and greeting them from afar, they confessed that "they were strangers and exiles on the earth" (ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). The writer to I Peter (1.17) exhorts his readers to conduct themselves with awe "during the time of (their) exile" (τὸν τῆς παροικίας (ὕμῶν) χρόνον). It may be argued that the writer has in mind the historical dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, etc. (1.1), but elsewhere he considers his readers "as aliens and exiles" (ὡς παροίκους καὶ παρεπίδημους) and beseeches them to refrain from the fleshly passions which wage war against the soul (2.11). Paul considers his citizenship (πολίτευμα) to exist in heaven (Philippians 3.20). (In II Corinthians 5.1ff Paul speaks about his future existence as "a building from God" (οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ), "a house made without hands eternal in the heavens", "the dwelling which is from heaven". His present abode is "an earthly tent-house" (ἡ ἐπίγειος οἰκία τοῦ σκηνοῦς). In Ephesians 2.19 the writer's (Paul's) readers are no longer considered strangers and sojourners (ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι), but this is in relation to the household of God with whom they are "fellow-citizens" (συμπολίται; cf. 2.12).

(7) The sojourn is accompanied by "much disquietude" (מהומות רבה) and "raging devastations" (הווה מדהבה). W.F. Albright has pointed out to M. Mansoor¹ that הווה (usually translated by 'desire' or 'destruction' in the Old Testament) has a cognate in the Ugaritic 'hwt' which means 'word' or 'deed' like the Hebrew דבר.² S. Holm-Nielsen also notes this, and applies this knowledge to the Old Testament.³ He finds the idea of an action which can find its expression also in a word especially clear in Psalm 38.13 and 52.4, where it means possible 'words of sorcery'. In Psalm 38.13, parallel to

1. Op. cit., p. 105.

2. Cf. G.F. Glanzman, "Sectarians Psalms from the Dead Sea," TS 13 (1952), p. 510.

3. Op. cit., p. 33.

in line 19, but their essence is the same. It would be awkward and even redundant to translate, "All the traps of the Pit", although the idea that *נחש* represents the "Pit of the underworld" underscores the demonic element in this apocalypse.

(9) The dominion of evil represented by the "traps" and "snares" and "net" (line 26) is further accentuated by "the relentless flying of all the arrows of corruption which disperse without hope" (line 27a). T. Gaster holds that *לא ין השב* pertains to the victims of the arrows who are unable "to turn them back" (cf. M. Black--"without being repelled"). Most translators indicate that the arrows fly relentlessly without ceasing. S. Holm-Nielsen notes that the expression *אי ין השב* does not appear in this form in the Old Testament, but in Esther 8.5,8 *אי ין* is used of an edict which cannot be withdrawn.¹ Arrows are released by the wicked (Psalm 11.2; cf. 64.4, 91.5,6, and 120.4) or by God on his enemies (Psalm 18.15; cf. 7.14, 64.8, 144.6) or on the psalmist (38.3). The expression "the arrows of corruption" is also found in IQH 3.16 with the qualification, "with their pursuit" (*עם מצמדם*). The picture of the relentless, unrestrained movement of wickedness is presented. The idea that "all hell is breaking loose" emerges.

(10) "... the line fell upon judgement" (*קי* , *על משפט*) and "the destiny of wrath" (*גורל אף* , line 27c) and "the time of burning anger" (*קץ* , *הריג*, line 28b) are parallel expressions. The phrase "the line fell upon judgement" recalls II Samuel 8.2 where David having measured the Moabites with a line (*בהבל*) put to death two-thirds and spared the rest (cf. Isaiah 28.7). The verb *נפל* which describes the line marking off for judgement is often idiomatic with *גורל* , which occurs in construct with *אף* in the following colon, and supplies the verbal elipsis. "The lot of wrath" suggests a period of time (*גורל*) where the armies of Belial prevail. IQM 1.13-14 reads, "For three lots the sons of light shall be strongest and for three (lots) the army of Belial ... in the seventh lot the mighty hand of God shall subdue /Belial and al/1 the angels of his realm."²

1. Op. cit., p. 70.

2. Cf. Y. Yadin (The Scroll of the War ..., pp. 261f) comments that these lots are "pre-ordained occasions"--cf. II Baruch 1.53-69, I Enoch 2.22, ch. 42).

The phrase "the line fell for judgement" is a definite sign of the sudden catastrophic beginning of the final conflagration. These pictures dramatically build up to indicate the thorough, unrestricted and unrestrained unleashing of the forces of corruption.

(11) "The forsaken" (נֶעְזְבִים) and "the concealed" (נֶעְלָמִים) in line 28 are nearly always translated in the Scrolls as appellatives for the wicked. Scholars generally translate נֶעְלָמִים as 'hypocrites' or 'dissemblers'. The niph. plural part. form of עלם = 'conceal' is found in the Old Testament in Psalm 26.4 parallel to מְהֵי שׁוֹשׁ = 'false men'. T. Gaster notes that it is quite common in the Samaritan dialect and means 'wrong-doers'.¹ The "concealed" conceive the devices of Belial (IQH 4.13); and the expression סוּד נֶעְלָמִים is parallel to עֵדָה שׁוֹי = 'congregation of vanity' in IQH 7.34. E. Lohse translates 'Verborgene' (= 'those hidden'). Is there reason to isolate the wicked? The judgement may be universal--upon good and evil alike (cf. Ezekiel 21.3). In Ecclesiastes 12.14, "God will bring every deed into judgement, upon every hidden thing (עַל כָּל נֶעְלָמִים), whether good or evil." The judgement may be so thorough that even the hidden do not escape (cf. Amos 9.1-4). I Enoch 100.4 reads, "In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places and gather together into one place all those who brought down sin ..." (a judgement on the fallen angels). But I Enoch 104.5 reads, "You shall not have to hide on the day of the great judgement" (cf. I Enoch 23.11,13). Nevertheless, it is a strong assumption in this passage to identify only the wicked with the "forsaken" and the "concealed". In the term "forsaken" we have the counter-expression to the fate of the author who is delivered (line 19). The fate of the wicked is that they are forsaken and given up to the "outpouring of rage".

(12) "All Belial" (כּוֹל בְּלִיעַל) is seen by H. Huppenbauer as a special collective term for the "miserable", "forsaken", or "cunning men"-- as they are found in other places--who stand against the pious.² S. Holm-Nielsen translates 'all corruption'.

1. The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation (1956), p. 206.

2. "Belial in den Qumrantexten," TZ 15 (1959), p. 83.

which is more suitable, for it brings the demoniac element into play. An Aramaic fragment of the Testament of Levi (IVQ Levi aramb) contains a comparable expression. In a prayer of Levi (which is an addition to our Test. Levi 2.3 found in the Mount Athos MS--10th century) he prays, "Do /n/ot let all of Satan (or every Satan) rule over me" (אֵלֵּי שַׁטָּן בִּי לְרַשֵּׁתָּהּ לְכָל שַׁטָּן אֵלֵּי שַׁטָּן) (... καὶ μὴ κατισχύσῃτω με πᾶς σατανᾶς πλανῆσαι με ἀπο ὁδοῦ σου ...):¹ cf. XIQPSa 15f, DJD IV, pp. 76f). The expression conveys the solidarity and thoroughness of the agents of destruction. Other expressions emphasize the same exhaustive and conclusive idea: "the arrows of corruption fly away without return" (line 27); "they disperse without hope" (line 27); "the cords of death encompass without escape" (line 28); "(both) moist and dry tree are destroyed" (line 30); "the fire roves about ... until the ones drinking of them are no more" (line 30); "the torrents of Belial shall break open (as far as) Abaddon" (line 32); "the destruction is decisive forever; and there is nought like it" (line 36).

(13) The expression "the cords of death encompass me" (אֵלֵּי שַׁטָּן בִּי לְרַשֵּׁתָּהּ לְכָל שַׁטָּן) is found in Psalm 18.5 and 116.3. But whereas the psalmist is delivered, the author of this hymn declares that there is no escape. The expression is similar to the previous descriptions of evil: "all the traps of corruption", "all the snares of wickedness", "the net of the persecutors" and "all the arrows of corruption" (lines 26-27). The present world to the Qumran sectarian comes under the grip of wickedness. Evil is conceived as a constant threat to the righteous community. No longer is the power of wickedness a recurring threat as in the Old Testament world; it has now become the general environment of everyone. Only the righteous community offers security.

(14) "The torrents of Belial" (נְחָלֵי בְלִיעֵל) occurs twice in the hymn before us (see also line 32). Reminiscent of I Samuel 22.5 (= Psalm 18.5; LXX χεῖμαρροι ἀνομίας) it yields a clear eschatological character.² But the torrents of

1. J. T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en Araméen," RB 62 (1955), p. 400.

2. F. Nötscher, TTQT, pp. 158f.

Belial, as H. Huppenbauer observes, are in no way against God, as one would expect; the torrents of Belial carry out His judgement.¹ In CD 19.14 God visits the unfaithful members "for destruction by the hand of Belial". "The torrents of Belial" (line 29) describe a physical destruction. W. Bousset alleges that the fire of the West, the torrent of fire, the great streams of the underworld, etc., are almost reminiscent of the Greek Acheron, Pyriphlegethon and the remaining streams of Hades, (but also) almost reminiscent of an oriental (Iranian) presentation² (cf. Daniel 7.10f; Revelation 19.20, 20.10, 14f and 21.8). "The torrents of Belial" in line 32 further the response to its destructive action: the panic which is aroused seems to contribute to the great upheaval and mental devastation. The expression is parallel to "the breakers of death" (מַשְׁבְּרֵי מוֹת) in II Samuel 22.5 and parallel to "the pains (or cords) of death" (חַבְלֵי מוֹת) in Psalm 18.5. "The torrents of Belial" in the poetical-mythical sense of the Old Testament become literally "torrents of fire" in the hymn before us.

(15) אַגְפֵּי in the Old Testament only appears in the plural in Ezekiel (38.9, 39.4 et al.) where it means 'armies'. In Rabbinical literature it means 'river-bank' which is suitable in the present context. "The torrents which overflow their high banks" recalls the Noachian flood. The devouring fire is descriptive of the streams of molten lava which pour down from out of a volcanic eruption. M. Black believes that the fire in line 29f is a mere metaphor for the overflowing torrents of Belial, but in lines 31-36 it is a "grim eschatological reality".³ It seems though that the eschatological significance is present in the first mention of the "torrents" (line 29).

(16) Must we read שְׂנֹאבֵיהֶם for שְׂנֹאבֵיהֶם (line 29b) with A.M. Habermann, E. Lohse, P. Wernberg-Møller et al.? אֲשֶׁנָּה (prosthetic: אֲ) is some kind

1. Op. cit., pp. 82f.

2. Die Religion des Judentums im spathellenistischen Zeitalter (1926), p. 498. Cf. K.G. Kuhn, "Die Sekten-schrift und die iranische Religion," ZThK 49 (1952), pp. 296-316.

3. Op. cit., p. 138 fn.

of aperture parallel to חלון = 'window' in Judges 5.28 and Proverbs 7.6. In the Noachian flood the fountains (מעינות) of the great Abyss burst forth at the same time as the windows (ארבה) of heaven open (Genesis 7.11, 8.2). However (in agreement with the above scholars), by emending שואבים to שואבים, (all) 'that draw from them', we are able to have a parallel expression to שותיהם = 'the ones drinking of them'.

(17) "The green and dry trees" recall an allegory in Ezekiel where trees represent the Pharaoh of Egypt and his people. Ezekiel 31.14 reads, "... and that all trees that drink water may not reach up to them in height, for all of them are given over to death, to the netherworld in the midst of the sons of mankind, to those who go down to the Pit (בור)." The fourth form of fire (out of six kinds) which the Rabbis refer to consumes both what is moist and what is dry. This distinguishes the fire of the altar (b. Joma, 21b, Barl; see TDNT (Kittel) Vol. VI, under πυρ, p. 938, for other forms of fire).

(18) It is very evident that destruction in lines 30ff is thorough and excludes neither man nor nature. The metaphors in those lines are reminiscent of the Song of Moses: "For a fire is kindled by my anger, and it burns to nethermost Sheol; it consumes the earth and its increase, and sets on fire the foundations of the mountains" (Deuteronomy 32.22). In Amos 7.4, "God was calling for a trial by fire which consumed the great Abyss and ate up the territory" (cf. Isaiah 34.9). In the apocalypse before us there is little doubt that a literal conflagration is meant. In I Enoch 83.4 (cf. 7) there is mention of a catastrophic judgement in which the heaven and earth will sink into the Abyss of fire and be destroyed. The Abyss is mentioned along with "fire" in I Enoch 10.13, 18.11, 21.7, 54.5f, 90.23-26 (these last citations refer to a forensic judgement).

(19) Cf. Job 31.12.

(20) Most scholars read מחשבי = 'depths' for מחשבי (cf. Psalm 74.20 and IQS 4.13 where מחשבים = 'dark regions' appears). But H.E. Del Medico translates 'phantoms'; M. Black, 'prisoners'

S. Holm-Nielsen, 'those who plan, reckon' (pi. part. of **השב**). The **מחשבים** belong also to the earth (line 33). In IQH 4.12f we find the expression "all the devices of Belial" (**כל מחשבת בליעל**). "The devisers of the Abyss" may be seen as the instigators of the "torrents of Belial" (see line 32).

(21) Cf. II Samuel 22.14. But in the Scrolls God thunders' in assent to what has been pre-ordained: the destruction of the world.

(22) Cf. Isaiah 63.15, Jeremiah 25.31f.

(23) The army of heaven participates actively, not passively, in the judgement over the world.¹

(24) **אוש** does not occur in Biblical Hebrew but is known from Aramaic **אשׂא** (plural emphatic) meaning 'foundation' (cf. Ezra 4.12, 5.16, 6.3). The root **אשׂא** = 'establish', 'found' is behind the hithpo. verbal form in Isaiah 46.8 and it may be this root **אוש** which is behind **אוש** in the Scrolls. **אוש** is always in the construct plural in the Scrolls with the meaning 'foundations'--twice with the attributive **צולם** in the genitive (IQH 3.35 and 7.9; elsewhere **אוש** is found in IQH 3.13, 30, 7.4, frag. 15.7; IQSb 3.20; No. 36 17.2). Nothing could describe the destruction of the world more than the "melting of its eternal foundations" (cf. I Enoch 83.4).

(25) The **גבורים** in the Scrolls either designate the valiant Advocates within the sect which are of a divine nature (IQM 12.8,9; IQH 5.21, 6.30, 8.11; et al.) or the "Mighty" (fallen angels or strong human opponents) who are enemies of the sect (pH 2.12; IQM 10.6, 11.1,13, 12.4,8, 14.8,11; IQH 2.25, 6.33; CD 2.17, 3.9; et al. See also No. 19 2.5, No. 40 2.1). In our context, "the war of the Mighty of heaven", **גבורים** most likely refers to divine advocates (cf. "the host of heaven", line 35a). But see the following note.

(26) "War" and cosmic destruction" occur together in I Enoch 56.5-8. Note that the torrents of

1. F. Notscher, "Heiligkeit in den Qumranschriften," RdQ 2 (1959-60), p. 326.

Belial which become as fire "rove about" utterly consuming everything (line 30). The type of warfare which wickedness employs appears as self-destructive.

(27) Cf. Isaiah 46.9, Daniel 9.27.

Summary of the Apocalypse

H.-W. Kuhn rightly observes that the "lament" (lines 23c-25) does not pertain to the still vain existence of the author, nor to a look in retrospect on the situation of one standing outside the community, but to both: the present existence of the author is meant.¹ The author is an alien who has a double environment. He sojourns in a corrupt environment which God will allow to unleash its full fury and culminate in a great conflagration. H.W. Huppenbauer observes that until line 25 the author speaks of himself. After that there is a question whether the three infinitive constructs which follow (בהלחה , line 26; בהתעופף , line 26a; בנפול , line 27b) refer to past or future events. Huppenbauer suggests that the experiences of the pious are the precursors of the coming judgement, so that the author can relate to either.² J. Licht explains that the author speaks of the future deliverance in terms of

1. Op. cit., p. 63.

2. H.W. Huppenbauer, Der Mensch ..., p. 73.

the past.¹

Because of the "apocalypse", deliverance from "corruption" (line 19) gains a dual eschatological dimension: (i) the present (preconflagration): the author is a "sojourner" within the boundary of wickedness (line 25); and also (ii) the final fiery judgement: the complete unleashing of corruption brings in its own ultimate destruction (lines 29ff). Evil has become unrestrained: "the torrents of Belial overflow all their high banks" (line 29). The previous colon, "The cords of death have encompassed without escape" (line 28c), emphasizes the finality, the eschatological character of this hymn.

We can state with certainty that when the author is delivered from נַחַשׁ (line 19), he is delivered also from the sphere of corruption portrayed in the apocalyptic section (lines 24-36). The author exists as a sojourner within the corrupt world. Since this world is heading toward ultimate destruction, the author can also relate himself to deliverance from Sheol Abaddon (line 19) in the most ultimate sense. נַחַשׁ = 'corruption' in the present becomes = 'final destruction'. At the climactic

1. "The Doctrine . . .," p. 97.

moment of utter destruction in the apocalypse the extent of deliverance in the introduction for the author shines through even more. **יום עולם** is indeed 'security', but much more: 'heaven'. **שוק עולם** as a parallel expression is the new Israel which lasts forever.

גורל עולם expresses the author's ultimate destiny as that of the angels. Though the author is delivered from destruction it must be said that he belongs to a humanity which is given over to the forces of corruption (from which there is no escape and which eventually erupt into a final conflagration). He is "in the world", but not "of the world" (cf. John 15.19, 17.11,16).

3. The Doctrine of IQH 3.19-36

The doctrine of the new creation (even the renewal of man)¹ can be considered the theme of this hymn in the Hodayoth. Nevertheless another doctrine, we think, has more fully taken into consideration the dual eschatological dimension. The doctrine of immortality has come down to us through apocalyptic as a "negation of corruption" and has been preserved in the Latin and Syriac traditions. One belongs to either one of two spheres: corruption or incorruption (= immortality). Concerning its roots in the Old Testament, W. Eichrodt understands that when guilt was understood as a forced involvement in the sphere of destructive power retribution might involve either (i) a consequence inevitable in the nature of the morbid sinful matter which works upon the one inflicted by it; or (ii) the protective measure of the community which averts the contagion from itself.² Eichrodt notes that the suspicion is awakening in the Old Testament that there exist laws of the spiritual world, in accordance with which sin must work to undo and destroy its perpetrator. God punishes sin with sin (so creating a just requital), the consequence of which is then

1. H.-W. Kuhn, op. cit., p. 78.

2. Theology of the Old Testament, Vol. 2, p. 423.

inevitable catastrophe (Exodus 10.20,27; I Samuel 2.25; Judges 9.23f; Deuteronomy 2.30; Joshua 11.20; I Kings 12.15).¹

The consequence inevitable in the nature of morbid sinful matter which culminates in ultimate catastrophe finds a most dramatic and concrete description in the "apocalypse" of the hymn before us. The "lament" clarifies in what way the author belongs to a world which must be consumed in the great conflagration. He is deeply grieved when he perceives its end. The final destruction, of course, is in sharp contrast to the sublime "introduction" where the author already enjoys deliverance from corruption/destruction = immortality. This idea becomes filled out as we sketch the doctrine of corruption in the apocalyptic literature and the New Testament.

The idea of corruption occurs in the Wisdom of Solomon and the Fourth Book of Maccabees. Its negation is equivalent to immortality. In Wisdom 2.23 we read, "For God created man for incorruption and made him in the image of His own eternity" (ὅτι ὁ θεός ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ ἀφθαρσίας καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας ἀϊδιότητος ἐποίησεν αὐτόν). Devotion to the laws (of wisdom) establishes immortality (ἀφθαρσίας) which brings one near to God (6.18f). In the Fourth Book of Maccabees the writer describes the noble courage of the

1. Ibid., p. 426.

first of the seven sons who would not relinquish his faith despite painful death, "but as if being transformed by fire unto immortality (ἀφθαρσίαν), he nobly endured the torture ..." (9.22). After all seven sons had been martyred, the writer concludes (17.11f) that it was truly a divine combat (ἀγὼν θεῖος) which was waged by them. At the time that virtue was being tested through endurance it suffered for the prize of victory: "immortality in everlasting life" (ἀφθαρσία ἐν ζωῇ πολυχρονίῳ).

The doctrine of corruption is first found in Genesis 6.11f as a result of the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men (Genesis 6.1-4). Genesis 6.11f reads, "The earth was corrupt (חַשְׁדָּוָה) in God's sight, and the earth was filled with violence. And God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt (חַשְׁדָּוָה); for all flesh had corrupted (חָשְׁדוּ) their way upon the earth." But it was apocalyptic literature which developed completely the idea that whatever aspect or domain of mankind came under the influence of evil spirits or wicked angels was corrupt.¹

Jubilees 5.2f echoes the Genesis (6.1-4, 11f) tradition of corruption, but there is considerable development of the spirit-world. Noah prays to the Lord that the sons of the

1. I Enoch 6.1-6, 15.3, 69.4f, 86.1-3, 106.13; II Enoch 18.3-7; II Baruch 56.11-13.

Watchers, the spirits "who are malignant, and created to destroy", might be imprisoned and held fast in the place of condemnation (10.5). Mastema (the chief of the spirits) intercedes in order that some of the spirits might remain, "... for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these (spirits) are for corruption and leading astray before my judgement, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men" (10.8; see 11.5 and 23.21). Jacob guards himself in his spirit against sinning or being corrupted (which is usually associated with lust and fornication-- 25.7; see 20.5 and 25.10). After the wicked sons of man had slain one another (5.9), they were bound in the depths of the earth until judgement had been executed "on all who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord" (5.10; see 5.19); "and God made for all his works a new and righteous nature" (.12).

In I Enoch corruption results because of the teaching of Azazel and the Watchers. God's command to Raphael after binding Azazel and casting him into darkness is, "The earth shall be healed which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they shall heal the plague, in order that all the sons of men might not perish through the entire mystery which the Watchers 'smote' and taught their sons; and the corrupted earth was desolated

Although everything which is corruptible shall eventually pass away (44.8f), Baruch questions how long it will remain (21.19; cf. 28.5).¹ We recall 42.7f (above) where "life" (shall take) those which are its own". A possible vehicle of "life" is the principate of (God's) Messiah which will be revealed at the consummation of the fourth (and last?) kingdom (39.7). "The principate will stand forever, until the world of corruption is concluded and the previously-mentioned times are fulfilled" (Syr: *ܕܠܗܘܐ ܠܘܐܠܗܘܐ* ... *ܡܘܬܘܐ ܡܘܬܘܐ ܡܘܬܘܐ ܡܘܬܘܐ*): 40.3; cf. 75.8, 73.1). The (end) time is the consummation of that which is corruptible and the beginning of that which is not corruptible (74.2). "The hour comes which remains forever, and the new world, which does not turn to corruption all those who depart to its beginning" (44.12; cf. 85.5). Baruch is told of his death when he will pass from the places which he sees at the present and shall forget whatever is corruptible (43.2). (Syr) *ܡܘܬܘܐ* (*ܡܘܬܘܐ*) translates *מָוֶת* in Isaiah 51.14 and Job 17.14, (1) *מָוֶת* (ב) in Ezekiel 9.6 and Daniel 10.8. (Syr) *ܠܗܘܐ ܡܘܬܘܐ* renders *מָוֶת* in Psalm 7.16, 9.16; Isaiah 51.14; Job 33.28.)

1. R.H. Charles (The Apocalypse of Baruch (1896), p. 41 fn.) considers this verse to be an interpolation.

In IV Ezra corruption pertains more to the individual than in the Baruch Apocalypse. Instead of corruption as a domain, corruption is of the heart. Man struggles to overcome the innate evil thought (cum eis plasmatum cogitamentum) so that it might not lead him astray from life to death (7.92; cf. 3.20-22,25f; 4.30; 7.48). "The heart of the inhabitants of the world shall be changed, and be converted to a different spirit. For evil (the first Arabic version has "the evil heart") shall be blotted out, and deceit extinguished; faithfulness shall flourish, and corruption be vanquished" (6.26-28). The archangel asks Ezra, "Why are you disquieted that you are corruptible? Why are you moved because you are mortal?" (7.15). Ezra pleads to the Lord that man may be given "the seed of a new heart ... whereby every corruptible one may be able to live" (8.6). Mankind is a corruptible race; none of the earth-born have not done wickedly (8.34f). When Ezra despairs that the eternal age is promised but mankind has only done the works of death, he also expresses the future in terms of an imperishable hope (perennis spes, 7.120). The world is growing old and the Lord admonishes Ezra to "renounce the life that is corruptible"--which is further described as "the cares of mortality" (14.13f). Those who will perish have become corrupt in their manners (9.19). For the righteous Paradise means that "the (evil) root is sealed up, infirmity is

extinguished from (their) path; death is hidden, Hades has fled away; corruption forgotten (corruptio¹ in oblivionem), sorrow passed away ..." (8.53f). Those who have kept the ways of the Most High shall be separated from the vessel of mortality (a vaso corruptibili, 7.88). The Day of Judgment shall be the end of this age and the beginning of the eternal age that is to come; wherein corruption is passed away (7.113f). Corruption is not personal in 7.31 (cf. 7.111) where the age which is not yet awake shall be aroused, and that which is corruptible (corruptum) shall perish. In Paradise the fruit endures incorruptible (7.123). The archangel, after making Ezra fully aware of his ignorance in other matters, proceeds to ask him "how it is possible for a mortal in a corruptible world to understand the ways of the incorruptible" (4.11). IV Ezra 7.96f reads, "The fifth order: they rejoice that they have escaped the corruptible, and that in the future they shall possess an inheritance; furthermore that they see the restriction and excessive (toil) from which they have been delivered and enjoy the spaciousness (which) they begin to receive, and immortality. The sixth order: when it is revealed how their countenance begins to give light as the sun and how they begin to be like

1. Corruptio translates נחש in Jonah 2.7, Psalm 16.10 and 30.10, and Job 33.18,22,24,30.

the stars in respect to light, henceforth incorruptible" (Quintus ordo, exultantes quomodo corruptibile effugerunt¹ nunc, et futurum quomodo hereditatem possidebunt, adhuc autem videntes angustum et (labore) plenum, a quo² liberati sunt, et spatiosum, (quod) incipient recipere fruniscentes et immortalis. Sextus ordo, quando eis ostendeunt, quomodo incipiet vultus eorum fulgere sicut sol, et quomodo incipient stellis³ adsimilari lumini, amodo⁴ non corrupti).⁵

1. -"effugerint" in Bensly's collation, but found only in the Amiens bibl. comm. 10.
2. The other Latin variant, "quoniam", gives us the assumption that the righteous cannot see their former state until they are freed from it.
3. -"stellis" is found in the Spanish group of Latin MSS as distinguished by B. Violet and supported by both Arabic versions; "stellarum" is supported by the Syriac (ܨܘܪܐ, ܬܝܥܢܐ), Ethiopic and Georgian versions. The Armenian version has interpolated the "stars" of verse 97 and interpreted them as angels. B. Violet translates 'interangelos' (or 'cum angelis') (cf. Daniel 12.3, I Enoch 39.7, 51.5, 104.2; II Baruch 51.10; IV Ezra 3.13, 10,16, 5.6,11; Matthew 22.30); I Corinthians 15.41).
4. -"quomodo" corrected to "amodo" --thus R. Bensly, B. Violet and G.H. Box.
5. The Latin version is a collation of the text published by R. Bensly, The Missing Fragment of the Latin Translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra, 1875 and subsequent discoveries. Account has been taken of the Syriac version by A. Ceriani; Monumenta Sacra et Profana, Vol. 5 (1871); two Arabic versions (the published texts of H. Ewald (1863) and J. Gildemerstin (1877)); an Ethiopic collation by B. Violet (Die Apokalypse des Ezra und des Baruch in deutscher Gestalt, 1924); a Georgian MS with an accompanying Latin translation published by R. Blake ("The Georgian Version of Fourth Esdras from the Jerusalem Manuscript," H.Th.R./ ...

Other apocalyptic literature. In Slavonic Enoch paradise is said to exist between corruptibility and incorruptibility (8.5f). Both the Garden of Eden (= Paradise) (9.1) and Gehenna (10.1ff) are in the third heaven. After the Lord's great judgement, the righteous "shall have a great indestructible wall, and a paradise bright and incorruptible, for all corruptible things shall pass away, and there will be eternal life" (65.10(A); cf. 65.8(B)). In the Ascension of Isaiah, the writer in reference to a Messianic figure declares that he who shall be in the corruptible world (qui existet in corruptibili mundo) has not (yet) been manifested (8.26). Beliar is the king of this world at the present (4.2; cf. 1.3, 2.4, 10.29; John 12.31, 16.11; II Corinthians 4.4; Ephesians 2.2, 6.12). In the Psalms of Solomon the writer avows, "Let God destroy them that live with the pious in hypocrisy, by the corruption (φθορά) of his flesh and also (with) poverty, his life" (4.7).

In the Testament of Job 33.4f¹ Job predicts, "The whole world shall pass away and its glory shall be destroyed; and all those holding fast to it shall be in its destruction"

H.Th.R. 19 (1926), pp. 360f); an Armenian text found in the Armenian Bible (first printed in Venice, 1805). We are dependent on Violet (op. cit.) for the German translation of the Arabic and Ethiopic versions and the Latin translation of the Armenian version.

1. Chapter and verse division according to M.R. James and followed by S.P. Brock; 7.36f in L. Koehler's edition.

(ὁ κόσμος ὅλος παρελεύσεται καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ φθαρῆσεται καὶ οἱ προσέχοντες αὐτῷ ἔσονται ἐν καταστροφῇ). (Job's throne exists in the holy country (ἁγία γῆ)¹ and its glory is "in the world of what is imperishable" (ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τοῦ ἀπαραλλάκτου).

The author of one of the Odes of Solomon (22.11) praises God whose way and face are "without corruption" (Syr: *ܢܝ ܡܘܘ*), and makes Him responsible for the World's condition - for "Thou didst yield the world to corruption in order that everything might be dissolved and renewed" (Syr: *ܠܠܗܝ ܠܗܘܐ ܩܝܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܘܘܠ ܡܘܘܠܐ*). Ode 15. 8f² reads, "I have put on incorruption (Syr: *ܡܘܘܠ ܡܘܠܐ*) by means of His Name; and I have put off corruption (Syr: *ܡܘܠܐ*) through His goodness. Death has been destroyed before my face; and Sheol (Syr: *ܫܘܠܐ*) has been brought to nought by my word." In Ode 39 Truth makes clear to the author all the poisons of error and the sweet allurements of death (verse 8). He then (verse 9) sees the destroying effect of corruption (Syr: *ܡܘܠܐ ܡܘܠܐ*) when the bride of the corrupt one³ is being adorned (Syr: *ܡܘܠܐ ܡܘܠܐ ܡܘܠܐ*). This bridegroom both

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1. A Vatican MS, gr. 1238 foll. 340^r-349^r (13th cent.), reads ζῶη for γῆ .
 2. Probably an allusion to I Corinthians 15.54f.
 3. Reading the MS designated 'B' by R. Harris and A. Mingana, which is listed in Wright's Catalogue of Syriac MSS, Pt. ii, p. 1008.

corrupts and is corrupted (Syr: *ܡܘܘܐ, ܡܡܘܐ*
ܡܡܘܐ--verse 9). These two imitate the Beloved and His
bride, and lead astray and corrupt the world (verse 11) whose
inhabitants in turn wander about ravaging and corrupting
(verse 14). The destroying effect of corruption is expressed
also in Ode 33.1f (cf. 24.9; see also 28.14). The author of
Ode 28 expresses his confidence in being ready before des-
truction (Syr) *ܡܘܐ* comes for he has been placed on
(God's) imperishable (Syr) *ܡܘܘܐ* *ܡܡܘܐ* pinions (verse 5).
In Ode 33 Wisdom (personified as a perfect virgin--verse 5)
proclaims that those who are clothed with her shall not be
harmed "but shall obtain incorruption in the new world" (Syr:
ܡܘܘܐ *ܡܡܘܐ* *ܡܡܘܐ* *ܡܡܘܐ* *ܡܡܘܐ* *ܡܡܘܐ*): cf. 8.23,
9.4, 11.12, 17.2, 40); fellowship with the Lord is incor-
ruptible--2.15; cf. 7.11).

In the New Testament, Luke records in Acts 2.27 Peter's
apologetic for Jesus by citing Psalm 16.8-11: "... For thou
wilt not abandon my soul to Hades, nor let thy Holy One see
corruption (*διαφθοράν*) ..." (cf. 2.31; Paul's similar
apologetic occurs in 13.34-37). Paul writes in I Corinthians
9.25 that athletes contend for a perishable crown (*φθαρτὸν*
στέφανον), but Christians for an imperishable one (*ἀφθαρ-*
τον). The same contrast occurs in I Peter, where the author
declares, "You have been born anew, not of perishable seed
but of imperishable, through the living and abiding word of

God" (1.23). Paul writes in Romans 8.21 that the creation was subjected to vanity "... because it will be set free from the bondage of corruption ...". "One who sows to his own flesh will reap corruption, but the one who sows to the spirit will from the spirit reap eternal life" (Galatians 6.8). The righteous through the promises of God escape from the corruption (φθορᾶς) which is in the world because of passion and become partakers of the divine nature (II Peter 1.4). The lawless breed, described in II Peter 2.12 as irrational animals, having been born naturally unto chains and corruption, ... will be destroyed in the same corruption with the unrighteous who are being kept under punishment until the day of judgement. In I Peter 1.4 the inheritance which is kept in heaven is imperishable, undefiled, and unfading. Those who through the steadfastness of good work seek glory and honour and immortality (ἀφθαρσίαν) God will give eternal life (Romans 2.7). Paul professes in II Timothy 1.10 that Christ has abolished death and brought life and immortality (ἀφθαρσίαν) to light. The resurrection doctrine of Paul in I Corinthians 15.35-57 comes to a climax in the words, "When this perishable (φθαρτός) puts on the imperishable (ἀφθαρσίαν), and this mortal (θνητόν) puts on immortality (ἀθανασία), then the written word will happen, 'death is swallowed up unto victory' ..." (15.54; cf. 15.42, 50, 52f).

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ABSTRACT

Josephus and Hippolytus have attributed immortality of the soul and resurrection of the body, respectively, to the Essenes (and Qumran if indeed Qumran belongs to this sect). Their interpretations are clothed in Greek dress which is not tolerable to Old Testament Hebrew psychology. Our methodology must be established from Old Testament thought-forms. J. van der Ploeg has suggested that the Scrolls advance the beliefs which we find in Psalms 16, 49 and 73. Although many scholars see some indication of an after-life here, we note that 1) Sheol has not become a place of punishment; 2) heaven has not emerged as a place of eternal bliss (unless כבוד in 73.24 is accepted), 3) there appears to be no doctrine of the resurrection as in Isaiah 26.19 and Daniel 12.2f. Our examination of certain possible "resurrection passages" shows that in every case what constitutes belief in an after-life can also denote continuation of the community here on earth. A likely exception is IQH 15.17 where the phrase, "Thou wilt raise from flesh his glory" (וְתַרְמֵם מִבְּשָׂר׃) occurs after God has divided his creation "from the womb" into the righteous and wicked who are reserved for the "day of slaughter" (לְיוֹם הַרְגָה).

A clear expression of reward and punishment occurs

in the "Doctrine of the Two Spirits" (IQS 3.13-4.26). There is no pure dualism. The realm-of-the-dead has been taken up into the re-construction of the Genesis creation story - only the term is not "Sheol", but the "regions of darkness" which together with "fire" forms a precursor to the Jewish and New Testament "Gehenna". This agrees with the earlier opinions of Strack-Billerbeck and P. Volz who had hypothesised that "Hell" was an independent notion which came into the picture; and only after this was Sheol an intermediate place between death and final judgement and then a weak synonym for the place of punishment. "Everlasting light" denotes heaven. Heavenly exaltation is depicted by

כליל כבוד = both "the full perfection of glory" and "a crown of glory"; מדה הדר = both "the full measure of splendour" and "a garment of splendour".

In one of the most frequently studied hymns of the Hodayoth, 3.19-36, a strong expression of everlasting life is found in deliverance from שח. When this word is translated "corruption/destruction" (cf. LXX) it allows for both present deliverance from "Sheol Abaddon" to an "Eternal Height" in the introduction (19-23) and future deliverance from the world conflagration in the apocalypse (26-36). Thus the author is not merely delivered from imminent danger, but from corruption which materializes into cosmic dissolution.

Only through the apocalypse, we believe, can the full dimension of deliverance from שחח be positively seen to carry into the after-life. רום עולם = "eternal height" is indeed 'security', but much more: 'heaven'. סוד עולם = "eternal council" as a parallel expression is the new community which lasts forever. גורל עולם = "eternal lot", expresses the community's present/ultimate destiny with/as angels. W. Eichrodt notes that the suspicion is awakening in the Old Testament that laws of the spiritual world exist in which sin must work to undo and destroy its perpetrator. God punishes sin with sin (so creating a just requital), the consequence of which is inevitable catastrophe. A description of the consequence is found in the apocalypse (26-36). The doctrine which best describes the author's deliverance from corruption/destruction is immortality. From copious examples in apocalyptic literature we have filled out the idea of corruption and its negation: immortality. We avoid the complications of the metaphysics of the soul.