THE DOCTRINE OF THE TWO SPIRITS IN THE QUMRAN LITERATURE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO 1QS 3:13-4:26
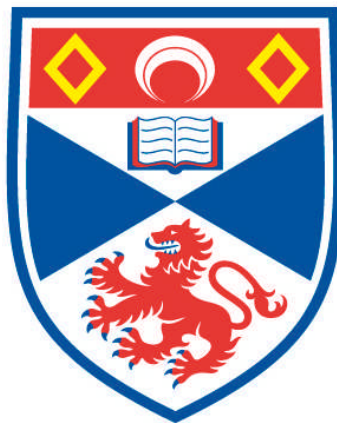
Phyllis Norma Smyth

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**

1973

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TWO SPIRITS

IN THE QUMRAN LITERATURE,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO 1QS 3:13 - 4:26

A Thesis submitted by

Phyllis Norma Smyth

To The University of St. Andrews, Scotland,

In application for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

July, 1972
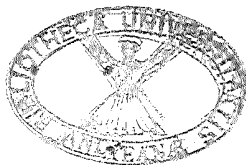
I hereby declare that the following thesis
is my own composition, that it is based on
the results of research carried out by me,
and that it has not previously been
submitted for a Higher Degree.

Phyllis Norma Smyth

STATEMENT OF HIGHER STUDY

Having obtained the Bachelor of Arts degree
from McGill University, Montreal, Canada in 1959, I
was privileged to spend the following two terms as an
occasional student at King's College, The University of
London, England.   In the autumn of 1960 I enrolled as
a student in the Faculty of Divinity, McGill University
and received in 1964 the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.
The award of the New Testament Prize and a growing
interest in Biblical studies led to my application to
The University of St. Andrews to pursue research in
this area under the supervision of Principal Matthew
Black of St. Mary's College.

I matriculated as a candidate for the M.Th. under
Ordinance No. 61 in October, 1964.   When, however, I
became a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
under Ordinance No. 16 in June, 1965, this was made
retroactive to include the preceding winter.   Research
was carried out within St. Mary's College for the first
six consecutive terms and the following summer.   An
exchange scholarship then enabled me to spend the Winter
Semester of 1966-67 at The University of Erlangen -
Nürnberg in Germany, where I continued my research with

the guidance of Professor E. Stauffer. For this
period The University of St. Andrews credited me with
two terms' work, thus bringing to completion the
requirement of nine terms under Ordinance No. 16.
Since then I have in fact spent three more terms
resident in St. Andrews before submitting this thesis.

Phyllis Norma Smyth

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Phyllis N. Smyth has spent
nine terms in research at St. Mary's College
in the University of St. Andrews, that she
has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance
No. 16 (St. Andrews) and that she is qualified
to submit the following thesis in application
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

                    Matthew Black,
          Professor of Biblical Criticism

SUMMARY OF THESIS

Research for this thesis was initiated by an interest in the Johannine teaching about the Spirit and the conviction that a fresh understanding of the third person of the Trinity was essential if the Christian Church were to make an adequate contribution to the second half of this century. Study of the New Testament evidence revealed not only the contrast between Johannine and Pauline preoccupation with the Spirit and the paucity of reference to it in the Synoptic Gospels, but also the dearth of recent scholarship in this field. A survey of the Old Testament usage of רוח as background brought to light the connotation of power which clings to the Spirit of God concept, serving as a reminder that 'spirit' in Jewish thought was functional and dynamic. It is commonly recognized that, while in the Old Testament רוח is on a higher plane than נפש , in Greek thought ψυχή is more important than πνεῦμα , which is a substantial concept. T. W. Manson has shown in a succinct statement the degree to which our contemporary thought-world reflects the latter emphasis: "We say 'psychic', 'psychology', but keep 'pneumatic' for things like bicycle

tires"[1].   Under the guidance of my supervisor,

Principal Matthew Black of St. Mary's College, The

University of St. Andrews, my interest was channelled

into the richly diverse meanings of רוח in the Hebrew

language and tradition, particularly in the relatively

unknown inter-Testamental period.   At his suggestion,

my attention was concentrated on the Dead Sea texts and

this thesis became an attempt to clarify the various ways

in which רוח was used by the Community that produced

them.   The already famous two-spirit passage of

1QS 3:13 - 4:26 was the obvious starting-point.

The traditional interpretation of this controver-

sial passage was that it clearly reflected the cosmic

dualism of Iranian religion;   the two spirits accordingly

were said to be the two opposing principles of good and

evil.   This view was set forth by K. G. Kuhn in

Z.Th.K. 47 (1950)[2], expanded two years later in his

article, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion"[3],

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1.   T. W. Manson, On Paul and John, (Studies in Biblical
     Theology No. 38;   London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963), p. 35.

2.   Karl Georg Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen
     hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament", Z.Th.K. 47
     (1950), pp. 192-211.

3.   Karl Georg Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische
     Religion", Z.Th.K. 49 (1952), pp. 296-316.

and accepted by the vast majority of scholars. In
1963 there appeared in Revue de Qumran two articles
challenging this position and suggesting that instead
the two spirits reflect the 'psychological' use of רוח
familiar to us from the Old Testament. Treves' argument
can be summarized by quoting one sentence: "In my
opinion these spirits are simply the tendencies or
propensities which are implanted in every man's heart"[4].
The much more detailed and scholarly treatment of
Wernberg-Møller deserves more thorough comment[5]. His
intricate examination of the passage remains, to my
knowledge, unchallenged and concern that his views should
therefore hold sway at least in the English-speaking
world of scholarship convinced me to make the refutation
of his position the central pivot of this thesis.

Wernberg-Møller begins his "Reconsideration" of
the passage with the statement that "the justification
for adding yet another article to those already written
on the subject of the two spirits in 1QS III, 13 - IV, 26
lies in the quite considerable amount of disagreement
which still exists among scholars as regards the precise

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4. Marco Treves, "The Two Spirits of the Rule of the
   Community", RQ 3 (1961-1962), p. 449.

5. P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconsideration of the Two
   Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1Q Serek III, 13 -
   IV, 26)", RQ 3 (1961-1962), pp. 413-441.

meaning of the term 'spirit' (R U A H), in the context"[6].
Despite his attempt at a definitive treatment, I must
plead the exact same justification for this thesis. For
it is my contention that in trying to redress the balance
of scholarly opinion, Wernberg-Møller has allowed the
pendulum to swing to the other extreme, with equally
dangerous implications.

Wernberg-Møller stresses the need for recognition
that the Qumran Community regarded the Hebrew Bible as
its sacred book. Accordingly this thesis begins with a
study of רוח in the Old Testament, followed by an
investigation of the Jewish inter-Testamental literature,
relying mainly, as does Wernberg-Møller, on the Testament
of the Twelve Patriarchs. For Wernberg-Møller further
states that his aim is to examine the possibility of
understanding 1QS 3:13 - 4:26 "as a Jewish document,
without drawing in for comparison either Persian or
Hellenistic ideas"[7]. The warning that reading of
Zoroastrian influence in the text may obscure what is
uniquely Jewish, as the recognition of Canaanite influence
has frequently done in Old Testament studies, is well
sounded, as is the reminder that the Testament of the
Twelve Patriarchs is a much more obvious and fruitful

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6. Ibid., p. 413.

7. Ibid., p. 416.

source in which to seek parallels.   Yet the reminder
is also needed that the desire to demonstrate the signif-
icantly Jewish need not and should not result in a denial
of all foreign influence.   There is therefore included in
this thesis a brief survey of Zoroastrian and Hellenistic
ideas of 'spirit' which Israel was bound to have encoun-
tered in the period under scrutiny.

Wernberg-Møller does recognize a distinction
between the view that the two spirits concept is 'ultimately'
Persian and that it is 'identical with' that expressed in
The Gathas[8].   The latter, in Wernberg-Møller's eyes, has
introduced a 'false note' into Qumran studies, resulting
in the assertion that the Community held 'dualistic' and
'deterministic' views.   As an alternative to Zoroastrian
or pre-Christian Gnostic influence, Wernberg-Møller
suggests that our text may be explained "partly as a
development of notions already present in the Old Testament,
and partly in agreement with concepts to be found elsewhere
in the Qumran literature"[9].   Full cognizance is taken of
the present uncertainty about literary or chronological
relationship between the various documents found at Qumran,
but Wernberg-Møller concludes that "the theology of 1QH
is not basically different from that of 1QS" and that it

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8. Ibid., p. 418.

9. Ibid., p. 415 and especially n. 5.

would be "precarious to argue that the Judaean documents
must not be treated as a whole".   I have adopted the
same assumptions in Chapter Three, which examines all
occurrences of   רוח in the now published, non-Biblical
Qumran texts.   In the present state of affairs we have
no choice but to regard all Qumran material as "originating
from the same circles", using each document to shed light
on the others unless or until this method points up
incongruities.   Wernberg-Møller stresses the importance
of his methodology, which he explains as "an exegetical
examination of 1QS III - IV, as that text appears against
the background of other parts of 1QS and of Qumran
literature as a whole"[10].   This I have tried to emulate
by making the detailed exegesis of Chapter Four the most
extensive part of this thesis.

Wernberg-Møller's article is a brilliant and much
needed critique of Kuhn's position, it raises all the
right questions about the 1QS passage and it approaches
them from the important stance of Jewish tradition.   It
is particularly valuable in that Wernberg-Møller con-
centrates on the interpretation of   רוח , leaving to one
side the other complex issues which so often cloud
discussion of this passage.   Dualism and predestination,
for instance, are dealt with by Wernberg-Møller in foot-

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10. _Ibid._, p. 416.

notes.   I have attempted to retain this sense of propor-
tion in discussing such issues, insofar as they are
relevant, in Chapters Five and Six, which follow the
exegetical study.

Wernberg-Møller's claim is that if the 1QS text is
examined "in its immediate context", and its key words
compared with their use in other Judaean manuscripts, an
interpretation very different from Kuhn's will emerge[11].
There are, however, weaknesses in Wernberg-Møller's
presuppositions.   His terminology of 'metaphysical' and
'psychological' betrays the twentieth century mind and,
when imposed on a text that is the product of a different
age, facilitates misinterpretation.   The Jews of the
first century B.C. were not concerned with metaphysics,
but with God - as an active force whom they experienced.
Their interpretation of life, then, was theocentric and
dynamic and when the concern was man, it was man in
relation to God.   For the reiteration of this insight
I am indebted to Daniel Lys, whose book, Ruach, has
demonstrated the primacy of the Spirit of God in Old
Testament thought[12].   His division of material into the
categories of (1) wind or breath, (2) Spirit of God,

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11. Ibid., p. 418.

12. Daniel Lys, 'Ruach': le souffle dans l'Ancien
     Testament, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de
     France, 1962).

(3) spirit of man, has been adopted as the basic scheme
of this thesis and in Chapter One prohibits a strictly
chronological survey.

Secondly, Wernberg-Møller assumes too rigid a
dichotomy between the human and divine, approaching the
interpretation of the two spirits with an either/or
alternative: they must be either 'metaphysical' or
'psychological'.   He forgets that man is a being who
can be inspired;   furthermore, he ignores the fluidity
implicit in the Hebrew concept of   רוח .   As this
thesis entered its final stages, there has been published
a book by my former Professor, Dr. George Johnston, whose
phenomenological approach to the Spirit/Paraclete in the
Fourth Gospel underlines this emphasis[13].   I cannot
agree with Dr. Johnston that the Qumran texts witness to
an identification of the Spirit of Truth with the angel
Michael.   Yet Dr. Johnston's conclusions about the
Johannine use of 'Spirit of Truth' (based on the theory
that this is polemic against the above, heretical view)
parallel my own conclusions about the significance of the
term in the Dead Sea Scrolls.   He writes: "The word

13.   George Johnston, The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel
      of John, (Society for New Testament Studies Monograph
      Series No. 12, ed. Matthew Black;   Cambridge: The
      University Press, 1970).

πνεῦμα , like רוח , fluctuated between the sense of
a divine power which could in Hebrew minds be personified,
like 'word', 'wisdom', 'hand of God'; and that of dynamic
energy immanently at work within men and women"[14]. I
would wish, then, to explore the possible continuity rather
than discontinuity of this fluid concept between Qumran
and the Fourth Gospel.

To return to Wernberg-Møller, there are points at
which he falls short of his avowed intention. He sets out
to examine the Qumran texts against the background of Hebrew
Scripture, yet he makes no reference to the cosmological
and apocalyptic strains in the Old Testament. Herbert May
has challenged Wernberg-Møller and Treves on this point.
In an article refuting their 'psychological' interpretation
of 1QS 3:13 - 4:26 [15] he claims that the Qumran doctrine of
the two spirits gives a cosmic, even cosmological reference
to good and evil. He then proceeds to illustrate, with
examples drawn chiefly from Ezekiel and the Psalms (both
thought to have been influential in Qumran), that this is
consistent with the Old Testament assumption of a cosmic
dimension to the conflict between the righteous and the

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14. Ibid., p. 123.

15. Herbert May, "Cosmological Reference in the Qumran
    Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament
    Imagery", JBL 82 (1963), pp. 1-14.

wicked.   Yet despite his insistence on attention to
Jewish sources, Wernberg-Møller completely ignores this
important aspect of the Old Testament.   Furthermore,
although he states that his aim is to contribute to "in-
sight into the religious teachings of the Qumran Com-
munity"[16], the questions Wernberg-Møller brings to the
text are psychological rather than religious.

Von Rad's plea for a 'theology' of the Old Testament
based on exegesis includes the reminder that the inter-
Testamental literature must be similarly analyzed and
incorporated[17].   The question of whether a unified theology
can be discovered is as valid in application to the Qumran
texts as to the Old Testament, but certain factors do
emerge as typical.   One is the frequency with which the
word   רוח is used.   The disciplines of linguistics and
theology are too often divergent;   despite the limitations
of word-study, the theological significance of tracing a
word's meaning in context is self-evident.   The method of
this thesis is exegetical - to determine what meaning the
word had whenever and wherever it was used in the Qumran lit-

16. Wernberg-Møller, loc. cit., p. 416.

17.   Gerhard von Rad, Old Testament Theology, trans.
       D. M. G. Stalker (Edinburgh - London: Oliver &
       Boyd, 1965), Vol. 2, p. 428, n. 15.

erature. The intention of the thesis is theological –
to determine what significance the various concepts of
רוח that emerge from such a study had in the religious
thought world of the Qumran Community. T. W. Manson has
said, "Paul, in placing πνεῦμα above ψυχή in the
scale of values is evidently thinking in Hebraic rather
than Hellenistic terms. And it is in Hebrew sources that
we should probably look for the explanation of his state-
ments about πνεῦμα "[18]. If this study illuminates in
any way the background of the New Testament use of 'spirit'
then its purpose will have been fulfilled.

The wealth of material already written about the
Dead Sea Scrolls is intimidating. I have tried to consult
the most important and controversial. Chapter Three de-
pends on Kuhn's Konkordanz, plus whatever recently published
material I have been able to unearth. In challenging
Wernberg-Møller's "Reconsideration" of 1QS 3:13 – 4:26
I have paid special attention to the two works referred to
in his article: Dupont-Sommer's "L'Instruction sur les
deux Esprits dans le 'Manuel de Discipline'"[19] and his own

18. T. W. Manson, op. cit., p. 35.

19. A. Dupont-Sommer, "L'Instruction sur les deux Esprits
    dans le 'Manuel de Discipline'", Rev. H. Rel. 142
    (1952), pp. 5-35.

former book The Manual of Discipline[20]. The exegesis

in Chapter Four, however, is based on my own translation

and edition of the text, adapted from the plates produced

by Millar Burrows. The texts and translations at the

beginnings of Chapters Five and Six are based on the re-

productions of E. L. Sukenik. The most recent commentary

on 1QS, Leaney's The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning[21],

seems unaware of Wernberg-Møller's article, but does make

full use of Allegro's publication of "An Astrological,

Cryptic Document"[22], producing a strongly astrological

interpretation. This document, which was not published

at the time that Wernberg-Møller wrote, has clarified for

many the issues he raised. The text, for instance, con-

firms Wernberg-Møller's contention that the human spirit

partakes of both spirits, yet its astrological context

disallows a purely psychological interpretation. The

anthropological and cosmological have in fact been seen

by some scholars to be inseparable. Both May[23] and

20. P. Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline, (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, Vol. I; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957).

21. A. R. C. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning, (New Testament Library; London: SCM Press Ltd., 1966).

22. J. M. Allegro, "An Astrological Cryptic Document from Qumran", JSS 9 (1964), pp. 291-295.

23. May, loc. cit., passim.

Schweizer[24] have held together the cosmological setting

of ideas about   רוח and the expression of experienced

reality, but this remains to be explored in detail.

This, then, is the task at hand.

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24.   See Eduard Schweizer, "Gegenwart des Geistes und
      eschatalogische Hoffnung bei Zarathustra,
      Spätjudischen Gruppen, Gnostikern und den Zeugen
      des Neuen Testamentes", in The Background of the
      New Testament and its Eschatology, ed. W. D.
      Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: The University
      Press, 1964), pp. 482-508.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

BASOR   Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research

BDB   A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, by Francis Brown, S. R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs; revised edition. Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1952.

Bib. Or.   Bibliotheca Orientalis

BZ   Biblische Zeitschrift

CBQ   Catholic Biblical Quarterly

Diss.   Dissertation

DJD   Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan, Vols. I-V. Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1955-1968.

DSS   Dead Sea Scrolls

ET   Expository Times

Ges.   Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, edited by E. Kautzsch; 2nd English edition. Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1910.

HTR   Harvard Theological Review

IEJ   Israel Exploration Journal

JBL   Journal of Biblical Literature

JJS   Journal of Jewish Studies

JNES   Journal of Near Eastern Studies

JQR   Jewish Quarterly Review

JSS   Journal of Semitic Studies

JTS   Journal of Theological Studies

MT	Massoretic text
NEB	The New English Bible. Oxford: The University Press, 1970
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
RB	Revue Biblique
Rev. Hist. Rel.	Revue de l'histoire des Religions
RQ	Revue de Qumran
RSV	The Revised Standard Version of the Bible. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons Limited, 1946-1959.
ST	Studia Theologica
Str.-B.	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, by H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck. München: C. H. Beck, 1922-1926.
Th.Lz.	Theologischen Literaturzeitung
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
Z.Th.K.	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

In Chapter Four, which takes the form of exegetical notes, the following abbreviations are used:

D-S	Dupont-Sommer
H-N	Holm-Nielsen
NT	The New Testament
OT	The Old Testament
W-Mø	Wernberg-Møller

Abbreviations for Biblical, inter-Testamental, Rabbinic
and Qumran material, as well as references to Philo and
Josephus, follow the standard practice.

All English Biblical quotations, unless otherwise stated,
are from The Revised Standard Version; Old Testament
references are to the Hebrew rather than the English text,
using Biblia Hebraica, ed. Rudolf Kittel (Stuttgart:
württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1937).

The abbreviation LXX refers to the Septuagint translation
of the Old Testament.   The edition used is Septuaginta,
ed. Alfred Rahlfs (Stuttgart: Privilegierte württembergische
Bibelanstalt, 1935).

CHAPTER ONE

OLD TESTAMENT USES OF רוח

I   רוח AS 'WIND' OR 'BREATH'

The Semitic root רוח is onomatopoeic, signifying the rush of air in motion; the substantive רוּחַ , retaining this connotation, is thereby applicable to either 'wind' or 'breath'. Of the 378 occurrences of the word in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, at least 111 denote the former meaning, 28 the latter[1]. To which phenomenon the word was first attached is still open to debate among Semitic philologists. It is possible that the Hebrew mind never clearly distinguished between the two, but rather played upon the nuances of this word which also came to designate 'spirit'. Of special interest is Daniel Lys' recent emphasis that, in contrast to the internal, respiratory function of נֶפֶשׁ , the root רוח and its derivatives suggest action from a distance and its appropriation[2]. It can at the least be safely stated that the mysterious movement of air is basic to the concept.

As 'wind' רוח in the Old Testament bears the implication of strength or violence in all but seven instances[3]; it is associated with the monsoon rains, with the east wind of the desert that sweeps away objects in its path[4]. That such unpredictable, inscrutable displays

of power should in the primitive religious mind be connect-
ed with divinity is not surprising; Israel's significant
step was in interpreting this force as the purposeful
activity of her God in history.   רוח becomes the medium
through which Yahweh exhibits his power; created by him,
it remains under his control, and as his agent is fre-
quently destructive.   It is by the wind that God makes
the flood subside (Gen. 8:1), as he caused the waters to
divide at the Exodus (Ex. 14:21), and in eschatological
thought the same natural force is employed in effecting
the deliverance of his people (Is. 11:15; 41:16).   If
the wind, in its invisible strength, was the original
source of the רוח concept, the emphasis was not material,
as Gunkel and Volz claimed; it was instead the uncontroll-
able, awesome aspect of the natural phenomenon which lived
on in the word.   The essence of רוח is not substance,
but power[5].

It is an obvious step, taken by most primitive theist-
ic religions, to conceive of the wind as the breath of
the deity, animating all living things.   The argument
that within Israel רוח was not associated with 'breath'
in pre-Exilic times would seem to be refuted by Ex. 15:8
and 2 Sam. 22:16, which suggest a primitive conviction
that the wind was the breath of Yahweh[6].   In accordance

with this meaning, רוח seems at points in the Old Tes-
tament to be the creative principle of the Universe, as
well as of individuals.   In Gen. 1:2 רוח is actively
present at Creation and although the word does not occur
again in the narrative, its function may be retained in
the concept of the Word.   Despite the complexity of ideas
here, including remnants of the Marduk-Tiamat myth, there
seems no need to accept Von Rad's exegesis of רוח as
'a mighty wind of god-like proportions' [7].   Ps. 33:6
states:

> By the word of the Lord the heavens
> were made,
> and all their host by the breath
> [רוח] of his mouth.

This indicates that 'breath' may be the connecting con-
cept between the Word and the Spirit, the latter being
undoubtedly included in the nuance of רוח in Gen. 1:2.
David Hill writes:

> The divine word and the divine breath are
> not rigidly distinguished: both are active,
> efficacious entities ... it is fair to claim
> that the action of the life-giving breath is
> given order and direction by the divine Word.
> The creative 'breath', which is also the mighty
> power of the spirit, hovers, waiting, and at
> the command of God, enters into action
> constructively. [8]

This association of the divine breath/Spirit with the

creative Word confirms the sovereignty of Yahweh over the forces of Nature, thus safeguarding Israel from the dangers of both pantheism and polytheism, and giving her a unitary concept of the cosmos.

Israel shared with her Egyptian, Babylonian and Canaanite neighbours the observation that when breath ceases, death occurs; she also shared the reaction of seeing in this inexplicable, yet undeniable, reality the mysterious activity of the divine. The Old Testament reflects the combination within Israel of two primitive religious ideas: that the deity breathes the life-force into humanity, and that the divine breath bestows super-natural powers on man[9]. The Hebrews recognized life, synonymous with breath, as a gift from their Creator (Gen. 2:7; Job 33:4; Is. 42:5), who could at any time revoke it (Gen. 6:1-4). If this force was withdrawn, the result was loss of strength and consciousness (Jdgs. 15:19; 1 Kgs. 10:5) and eventually death; sustained, it was the source of vitality, open indeed to supernatural endow-ments. In this context Eichrodt writes: "Thus ruah is at all times plainly superior to Man, a divine power within his mortal body, subject to the rule of God alone"[10]. By post-Exilic times, רוח had become an anthropological term, often parallel with נפש as the 'breath-soul'.

Yet even then רוח remained a possession of man, rather than an inherent part of his nature, and Snaith has shown that to equate the two terms betrays a misunderstanding of Hebrew psychology[11]. He further suggests that רוח as 'breath' retains its connotation of violence, in that it is distinguished from the quieter, ordinary breathing described by נשמה [12]. It would appear that even when parallel with נפש , רוח still implies energy derived from God[13]. Yahweh's sovereignty over his Creation is thus further secured by the dependence of his creatures.

רוח , as life-giving power, is then firmly anchored in the concept of Israel's God. As the principle of energy in the Universe it is not discussed metaphysically, but portrayed dynamically in the religious context of Creation; as the breath of life within humanity, it finds expression in the precarious nature of man's finite existence, utterly dependent on his Creator. We may summarize with Snaith: "It [the word רוח] stands for Power, for Life, and it is of God as against of man"[14].

II רוח AS 'SPIRIT OF GOD'

1. charismatic power:

All the force and mystery implicit in the original concept of רוח is retained in the phrase רוח יהוה .
When men encountered in their own experience the same elusive, overwhelming element that they had seen in the tempestuous wind of the desert, they credited it to an invasion into the human realm of supra-human power. The word רוח was ideal to convey the sense of this power which was designated 'spirit' and its foundation in God became explicit in the phrase רוח יהוה . The earliest examples of the Spirit's manifestations are crudely animistic. Samson is empowered to tear apart a lion (Jdgs. 14:6), to wrench himself free from the ropes that bind him (Jdgs. 15:14); Saul's messengers are suddenly compelled to prophesy, and he too is overcome by the Spirit so that he 'strips off his clothes' (1 Sam. 19:20). The ecstasy was infectious (1 Sam. 10:10), resulting in strange, extravagant behaviour. The רוח יהוה 'comes upon', 'falls upon', 'jumps on' men with unpredictable power, inciting them to action, the moral value of which is unquestioned.

The Spirit provoked not only compulsive action, but
compulsive speech. When Balaam was commanded by King
Balak to curse the Israelites, he felt constrained by a
higher power to bless them; the Spirit 'came upon him'
and he could speak only what it directed him to speak
(Num. 24:2). Moreover, because of this inspiration, his
words were thought to have a creative force that would
bring into effect what had been uttered. It was only
when the Spirit rested on Elisha that he was considered
to be a prophet. His possession of the Spirit was
attested by his associates when they saw him strike the
Jordan with Elijah's cloak and walk through the then
separated waters; it was this verifiable manifestation
which legitimated him as a prophet in their eyes (2 Kgs.
2:8 ff.). In the story of the seventy elders too little
attention has been paid to Eldad and Medad who received
their share of the Spirit without joining Moses in the
tent. The narrative thus secures such professional
prophets as a legitimate class in Israelite society, with
origin and authority from the time of Moses. It has been
the tendency in Old Testament studies to decry the נביאים
as inferior to the later ethical prophets, but it should
be recognized that we have here a link between the Spirit
and prophecy which remained a significant part of Israel's
religious heritage. Eichrodt has attempted to restore

the balance to an evaluation of this early phenomenon called Nabiism[15], and Lindblom argues that the use of this term to designate solely primitive prophecy is misleading[16]. Later prophets are also referred to as נביאים and the continuity between the two groups has been lost sight of by recurring emphasis on their dissimilarities. Ecstasy, as Lindblom defines it, is common to both; the difference is in its frequency and character. A charismatic endowment of power which was temporary, sporadic, and amoral is what Lindblom terms 'orgiastic ecstasy', and in its attribution to רוח he sees the traces of an older tradition which thought of men and women as possessed by spirits.

The Spirit, then, moves where it wills, unpredictably transforming the human lives it contacts, evoking amazement from those who witness its effects. "It inspires alike prophetic word and heroic act"[17]. It is in the figure of Saul that we see most clearly the Spirit's charismatic power. Mowinckel has reminded us that Saul's court and household would have resembled that of a semi-nomadic chieftain rather than an Oriental monarch[18]; the position of such a chieftain was dependent on his personal qualities - his ability to advise, to settle disputes, lead his people, rally them in time of war,

and thus 'save' his tribe.   The unusual skill and insight
with which these tasks were performed marked the leader
as somehow different from other men and in this characteris-
tic Israel saw the operation of the divine Spirit.
Under the influence of the   רוח יהוה   the farmer's son
was singled out to be king: he became 'another man'
(איש אחד), displaying in his person the visible signs
that he was filled with divine power[19].   The men who rose
through circumstance to be Israel's leaders are portrayed
consistently in the Old Testament as being under divine
influence;   the seemingly political activity in which they
are engaged is interpreted as the purposive working of
the Spirit.   The   רוח יהוה   is associated with the
rise of the judges (Jdgs. 3:10);   Gideon and Jephthah are
enabled to lead the people in unexpected military victory
(Jdgs. 6:34;   11:29), by the same power with which Saul
defeats the Ammonites (1 Sam. 11:6ff.)[20].   Although it
remained unpredictable, the Spirit seems to have been
bestowed at moments of crisis for the safety and faith
of the nation at which time men, otherwise obscure,
became heroic.

This charisma of leadership was soon conceived as
a permanent endowment, especially in relation to Israel's
king.   In uniting the concept of the   רוח יהוה   with the

anointing of their monarch, the Hebrew people made a
unique contribution to the royal ideology of the ancient
East[21]. The custom of anointing persons and things had
originated in the belief that the sweet-smelling oil
possessed an abnormal 'holy' power, or 'mana', which could
be transmitted to the object over which it was poured.
With regard to the king, therefore, it was thought to
ensure that he ruled by the authority of the gods and was
imbued with justice, righteousness, and power. It is
important to stress that such royal ideology springs not
from myths of a 'saviour-king' or an 'Urmensch', but from
the primitive concept of a 'mana-chief', endowed with
special power, and possessing divine faculties and energy[22].
We have seen that in Israel if a man possessed powers
worthy of admiration, this was indication that the Spirit
of Yahweh had come upon him; as the ecstasy of the proph-
ets and the feats of heroes were so explained, the att-
ributes of kingship became similarly grounded in the
concept of endowment by the Spirit. Israel's monarch
was to combine in his person the pneumatic energy of
the early נביאים and the quieter wisdom of the judges
(1 Sam. 10:1-7; 2 Sam. 14:17). The power he received
was the power of Yahweh, and the anointing with oil was
therefore conceived as the occasion whereon the outpour-
ing of the רוח יהוה consecrated the king as Yahweh's

Anointed. This development is made explicit in regard
to David (1 Sam. 16:13) and was retained in the royal
ideology of the northern kingdom where the Spirit came
to be thought of as a permanent possession of the Davidic
house[23]. The king stands in unique relationship to
Yahweh[24]; ideally he will reflect this by conveying
peace and good fortune to his people. Although the
monarch never quite fulfilled the ideal in practice, it
was to his office that Israel continued to look for
deliverance. Thus when eschatological hope was born,
the Spirit was expected to rest on the Messiah[25].

The רוח יהוה then is essentially dynamic, inspir-
ing men to prophecy, to feats of notable insight or
strength, and equipping Israel's leaders, including her
kings, with the ability for their task. It is always
the action of God, producing in men remarkable capacities;
common to all human encounters with the רוח יהוה is
the fact that, relying upon their own natural resources,
men would not have been able to accomplish the things
with which they are here credited.

2. evil:

Although the רוח יהוה is not expressly ethicized
in pre-Exilic times, the phrase does bear the implication
that the activities of this power communicate something

of the nature of Yahweh. It is therefore important to note the few early instances where רוח coming from God is described as evil. When David was anointed king, we are told, the רוח יהוה departed from Saul and an evil spirit (רוח רעה) tormented him (1 Sam. 16:14). This spirit, which departed with the playing of a lyre, leaving him well again, was from God (מאת יהוה). It is elsewhere described as רוח אלהים רעה (18:10) and רוח יהוה רעה (19:9) and continued to plague Saul with extreme jealousy, approaching madness, throughout his life. In Jdgs. 9:23 God sends an evil spirit (רוח רעה plus שלח) between Abimelech and the men of Shechem to provoke enmity. It is difficult to know exactly what sentiments produced these stories. It seems obvious that even at this early stage Israel was searching for an explanation of the actions and events which neighbouring religions would have called demonic[26]. Affirming Yahweh's sovereignty over his entire Creation, Hebrew religion sought to bring even these seemingly negative forces within his control. Power belonged to Yahweh; it had been designated רוח ; therefore the only possible treatment of inexplicable evil was to portray it as רוח רעה emanating from God[27].

In 1 Kgs. 22:21 ff. Micaiah has a vision of the

heavenly court in which a spirit, presumably one of the
host of heaven, responds to Yahweh's call for a volunteer
who will entice (יפת) Ahab to go to Ramoth-gilead.
The spirit suggests that he accomplish this by becoming
a 'lying spirit' in the mouth of Ahab's prophets; in so
doing he fulfils the intention of Yahweh to bring
destruction on the king. Two significant points emerge
from this passage: the fluidity of Hebrew thought which
allows a personified, celestial spirit to become the power
of speech in a man while still retaining the designation
רוח , and the fact that 'false prophecy' could originate
from Yahweh. In contrast to Ahab's prophets, however,
Micaiah is said to have the רוח יהוה [28]. A similar
scene of the heavenly court is described in Job 1:6 and
Zech. 3:1, although the word רוח is not used. Instead
it is an independent being called 'the Accuser' (השטן)
who converses with Yahweh. His task seems to parallel
that of a Public Prosecutor, and was perhaps modelled on
such. In the Zechariah narrative he 'accuses' (שטן)
the high-priest Joshua, but is rebuked (גער) by Yahweh.
It is possible to infer that the rebuke comes because the
Accuser has been testing Jerusalem (cf. בחר in Is. 48:10).
The NEB translates: " ... the Lord rebuke you who
are venting your spite on Jerusalem". The more

traditional interpretation is that בחר refers to
Yahweh who has chosen Jerusalem; certainly this is the
most usual use of the verb (BDB 1 a). In the first
chapter of Job this figure claims to have been roaming
(שוט) the earth and obtains Yahweh's permission to test
Job's loyalty. The idea is the Accuser's, but Job is
not within his power until Yahweh agrees to let it be so.
Up to this point השטן seems to be an agent of Yahweh
and Eichrodt is quite right to stress that, since men
like Elijah were also expected to uncover human guilt,
there is nothing essentially evil in his actions[29]. In
1 Chr. 21:1, however, we find a significant development.
While in 2 Sam. 24:1 it is Yahweh's anger that incites
(יסת) David, the 1 Chronicles parallel assigns this
role to Satan, adding that he has set himself against
(עמד על) Israel. Moreover, for the first time, the
noun שטן appears minus the article. By the fourth
century B.C., then, Satan had become a definite figure,
associated with temptation.

Thus the stage was set for the introduction into
religious thought of a superhuman figure responsible for
evil, but this idea was not elaborated until inter-
Testamental times. R. R. Schärf adequately describes
Satan in the Old Testament as 'a personified function of

God which gradually develops into something outside the
divine personality and breaks loose from it' [30].   As
we have seen, the power of evil already had been brought
under Yahweh's ultimate control in Hebrew thought, so
that however the concept developed, it was unlikely to
threaten his sovereignty.

> I make the light, I create the darkness,
> author alike of prosperity and trouble.
> I, the Lord, do all these things.   [31]

3.   power inspiring the prophetic Word:

One of the most obvious and difficult problems in
any study of the Old Testament usages of   רוח   is that,
despite its relevance to prophecy in the early days of
the   נביאים   and in post-Exilic times, the great, reform-
ing, pre-Exilic prophets make little mention of it.   The
word does not occur in Amos, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habbakuk
or Jeremiah and singular references elsewhere seem at
first glance to be disparaging.   Is. 28:10 gives a
scornful caricature of ecstasy and Jer. 5:13 states that
the prophets will become wind because 'the Word is not
in them'.   On the basis of such texts, Mowinckel argued
that the classical prophets purposely rejected any affilia-
tion with the Spirit in an attempt to dissociate them-
selves from the primitive   נביאים   whose ecstatic frenzy

had created an unfavourable impression (cf. 2 Kgs. 9:11;
1 Sam. 10:11 ff.)[32].   The essential continuity between
these two groups of prophets, however, has been demonstrated
sufficiently by Lindblom to demand reappraisal of the
evidence[33].

In Hos. 9:7 'the prophet' is synonymous with 'the
man of the spirit' and Lindblom points out the obvious:
that the equation is Hosea's!   If Lindblom's exegesis
is accepted, that Hosea considered himself as one of
those ridiculed, then the main proof-text of invective
against the Spirit disappears[34].   What remains is crit-
icism of various types of prophecy.   Mowinckel has, in
fact, greatly underestimated the role of the Spirit in
classical prophecy, failing to take account of its
importance where it is mentioned[35].   רוח remains
expressly the inexhaustible power of the divine life as
contrasted with the transitory stuff of earth:

> The Egyptians are men, and not God;
> and their horses are flesh, and not
> spirit.   [36]

The Spirit inspires prophetic words (Ezek. 11:5) and
visions (Ezek. 11:24) at present and will be the source
of prophetic insight in the eschatological age (Joel 2:28);
it is to be the essential equipment of the Messiah, endow-
ing him with its traditional gifts of power and wisdom

(Is. 11:2). It is bestowed on a prophet when he is
anointed for his task (Is. 61:1) and remains his well-
spring of strength: Micah contrasts himself to seers
and diviners by saying that he is filled with power, with
the Spirit of Yahweh (3:8) [37]. The close connection
between the Spirit and classical prophecy is indeed
explicit: " ... my Spirit which is upon you, and my
words which I have put in your mouth, shall not depart
out of your mouth ... " [38].

There are still other passages where it seems that
the concept of Spirit has been retained without the word.
Jeremiah speaks of being enticed (פתה) and overpowered
(חזק) by Yahweh, both verbs implying coercion[39]. Else-
where he likens himself to one intoxicated, because of
the words of Yahweh[40]. No matter how these prophets
described the call which came to them, the result was a
transformation in their lives[41]. As Lindblom says,
"To any one of them might be applied what was said to
Saul ... 'you will become another man'"[42]. Yet if the
Spirit remained an essential part of the prophetic
experience, the question all the more demands an answer:
why did the classical prophets so seldom refer to it?

Mowinckel claims that what רוח had been in early

prophecy, the Word became in classical prophecy[43]. It
was indeed possession of the Word that qualified the
reforming prophets for their task. The formula 'thus
saith Yahweh' commanded immediate attention and the
ethical message which followed was delivered with reasoned
clarity as well as authority. The prophets of the eighth
and seventh centuries B.C. preached doom and annihilation
to a world ripe for judgment. Israel had broken her
Covenant vows, ignoring her relationship with Yahweh;
indeed her inclination seemed to be inherently at variance
with him (Jer. 3:17; 7:24; 11:18). Yahweh's gift to
the reforming prophets was the moral, intelligible Word
which spoke of righteousness and humility, bringing
sharply into focus the injustice and egoism rampant in
Israel. Furthermore the Word expressed the moral nature
of Yahweh himself who demanded an ethical transformation
in the nature of his people; if the significance of this
were grasped, surely appropriate behaviour would result.
The utterance itself was often an artistic unit, some-
times poetic, but the Word was recognizable by content
rather than form.

All that the prophet had to proclaim he believed
to be a message received from Yahweh. It was 'a word
from the Lord' [44] to him before he repeated it to the

nation.   By what means did it come?   Mowinckel suggests

that the Word was received and acknowledged in a state of

high mental tension resulting from preoccupation with one

thought, excluding all irrelevant ideas, and surpassing

inhibition[45].   This is what Lindblom calls 'concentra-

tion ecstasy' or 'the revelatory state of mind' [46].

Mowinckel also admits the suggestion of an irresistible

power, a strange, unpredictable zeal that overwhelms a

person.   His mistake, surely, is to identify this too

with the Word.   The Word, while inspired, is still

words and not power.   Lindblom is right in saying that

the objective nature of the Word leads us to the psychology

of inspiration[47] and it is the Spirit that traditionally

inspires, manifesting itself in extraordinary capacity.

We may postulate that in the pre-Exilic prophets the

Spirit was manifested in the ability to apprehend and

communicate ethical truth.   M. Black defines the Spirit

here as 'the divinely inspired genius for declaring God's

Word and Command' [48].   The Word did not replace the

Spirit, it was the product of the Spirit's inspiration.

Yet the clue to   רוח 's infrequency in the texts

does lie in the Word.   The call to hear the Word of

God was essentially an appeal to the will, the verb

שמע   often being used with its connotation of obedience.

In this new awareness of the necessity of ethical response
on the part of the individual is the answer to the lack
of emphasis on the Spirit; the aim was to elicit action
from man, not God. There was on the prophets' part no
wild, orgiastic frenzy to attract attention; in their
state of ecstasy "the content of the revelation was more
important than the psychic phenomenon itself" [49]. Un-
fortunately, Lindblom is not content with this insight.
The reason for the infrequent references to רוח , he
says, is that the thought of these prophets was essentially
theocentric and there was no need of an intermediary power.
But the Spirit never was an intermediary power; it was
Yahweh himself in active relation to his Creation.
Furthermore, as the moral majesty of God was being stressed
by the reforming prophets, the Spirit seems to have been
understood increasingly as the power of the divine nature
itself rather than a force proceeding from it; the con-
cept withdrew slightly heavenwards, in keeping with God's
transcendence. In Is. 30:1 rebellion against God is
equivalent to enmity against his Spirit. Our conclusion
must be, then, that while the theology of the classical
prophets may have been theocentric, their energy was
directed towards men in an attempt to evoke response to
God's message. It was the content of the revelation
that received emphasis; the Spirit remained in the back-

ground as the supernatural power that produced the 'revelatory state' [50].

4. power creative of morality:

Seen against the moral majesty of God, the sin of Israel caused a painful awareness of man's unworthiness to live in the presence of Yahweh (Is. 6:1 ff.) and his incapacity to translate divine commands into action:

> Can the Ethiopian change his skin
>   or the leopard his spots?
> Then also you can do good
>   who are accustomed to do evil.   [51]

In Is. 28:5 the prophet voices the hope that some day Yahweh will bring moral influence to bear upon his people and in 32:15 ff. envisages the life-giving Spirit poured out upon the earth, producing righteousness and peace. The realization had dawned that faithfulness to Yahweh would never be secured by human effort alone, but only in so far as men could be transformed by contact with the divine reality; the Spirit thus acquired ethical connotations. As in other areas, so in the moral sphere, the initiative would have to come from Yahweh. Jeremiah echoes this conviction in his concept of a new Covenant; it is Yahweh who will act: "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the

house of Israel ... <u>I will put</u> my law within them, and

<u>I will write</u> it upon their hearts ... <u>I will forgive</u>

their iniquity, and <u>I will remember</u> their sin no more" [52].

With its background of compelling force, resulting in

diverse abilities bestowed by God, it is not surprising

that it was רוח that eventually was conceived as the

agent of God's moral renewal.

Of the 66 occurrences of רוח in the prophetic

texts of Exilic times, 46 are found in Ezekiel, 23 of

these referring to the Spirit of God.   All the instances

dealing with renewal can be dated after 586, for these

were the years in which Ezekiel, developing the eschatolog-

ical perspective of Isaiah, encouraged his people with the

assurance that Yahweh would again come to their aid, not

because of their merits but to vindicate his name (36:23).

If, as we have seen, the Israelites before the Exile

were caught in the paralysis of their recurring disobed-

ience to the God whom they claimed to worship, the fact

of their captivity was the death blow.   There now seemed

no possible way in which they could again become the

faithful remnant.   In a vivid illustration Ezekiel gives

his answer: in the valley of dry bones Yahweh reveals to

him that these carcasses, which represent the house of

Israel, may be made to live again if רוח   enters them

(37:1-14).   The rich nuance of the word is used to the

full in this passage where power, prophecy, breath, wind
and spirit are intermingled, but the climactic verse
leaves no doubt that all is of Yahweh's initiative: "And
I will put my Spirit within you, and you shall live, and
I will place you in your own land; then you shall know
that I, the Lord, have spoken, and I have done it, says
the Lord" (vs. 14)[53]. The phrase 'I will put my Spirit
within you' occurs again in 36:27; in both cases the **verb**
(נתן) is used with the preposition ב instead of the
usual על when applied to רוח [54]. (The effect of this,
according to 36:27, is to be that men will walk in God's
statutes and obey his ordinances. The Spirit has become
creative of obedience!) It no longer descends upon a
man, but works within, giving him 'a new heart' and 'a
new spirit'.

We now encounter the problem of the Spirit's rela-
tion to the spirit of man, mentioned in both 11:19 and
36:26. Lys is correct in seeing here a concept of
inspiration parallel to that of respiration in Chapter
37 [55]. He draws a most useful analogy, describing the
relationship between a flute player and his instrument.
As he points out, the noise which emerges belongs most
certainly to the flute, yet the breath which produces
that noise remains the property of the player[56]. So

the reorientation of the human will is the result of God's
Spirit bringing into the human heart the moral influence
for which Isaiah had hoped.   Lys points to the use of
נתן and קרב as indicative of the reception and
appropriation of a gift, of communication within a dynamic
relationship[57].   If the Spirit is manifested in the pre-
Exilic prophets in the apprehension and communication of
ethical truth, in Ezekiel's vision of the future it is to
be manifested in the apprehension and enactment of right-
eousness.   This too is in the tradition of extraordinary
capacity and may be designated a genius for goodness[58].

The concept of the Spirit of God then underwent
various changes during the Exile.   Power was still its
essence, but it now operated chiefly within the moral
sphere, where it continued to produce noteworthy effects
by engaging the innermost resources of the human personal-
ity.   The endowment was no longer conceived as sporadic,
but as a permanent indwelling of the Spirit, resulting
from a new, intimate relationship with Yahweh, which would
be initiated by him in willingness to forgive and renew
his people.   There was in fact to be a new creation[59],
this time within man, in which רוח would act with all
the subtle nuance implicit in the Gen. 1:2 reference.
Yet this rich hope remained strictly eschatological; it

provided encouragement to Israel in exile, but she saw no hint of its realization in her midst. It was after the return to Palestine that present experience began to blend with future expectation, causing the idea of the Spirit again to suffer modification.

5. cleansing, regenerative power:

The post-Exilic Jewish community struggled to become once again the holy people of God. The general orientation of life was to the Law, the Scripture in which Yahweh had revealed the ideal standard of behaviour, the foundation of Judaism. In this focus, the Spirit's association with prophecy was retained. It was known that through the prophets the Spirit had warned Israel against disobedience (Neh. 9:29-30), but that the nation had rebelled (Zech. 7:12). Moreover, the Spirit was believed still to inspire the spoken word (1 Chr. 12:18; 2 Chr. 24:20) and by its gift of wisdom to allow interpretation of the Torah by sage and priest, as well as prophet. In fact the present situation was contrasted favourably with the past: "For a long time Israel was without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law ..." [60]. Yet hope lay in the future when all God's people would be prophets, all having received the Spirit[61]. Certainly such a vision accorded with Ezekiel's message that the

future recreation would be the prerogative not of a
select few, but of the whole house of Israel.

In essence the future hope was one of national
restoration[62], centered on the kingly rule of Yahweh
which would subdue all his enemies and bring in the Day
of the Lord.   In this kingdom of which the Hebrews
dreamed the house of David would again occupy the throne,
the monarch corresponding to the ideal portrayed in the
royal Psalms; he was referred to as the Messiah[63].   As
various attempts to see his realization in contemporary
persons went unfulfilled[64], the concept gradually was
dissociated from the historical process and became an
eschatological vision.   The Messiah, like the actual king,
remains the obedient instrument of God who will establish
the eschatological kingdom.   As its ruler, however, he
acquires supra-human powers, the source of which is the
Spirit of God[65]; like former kings, the Messiah becomes
the Lord's Anointed.   Isaiah, looking forward to the
Davidic 'shoot', again combines the concepts of Spirit
of God and spirit of man: the Spirit of Yahweh is to
rest upon him, endowing him with a spirit of wisdom,
understanding, counsel and might (11:2).   This is to
be his permanent equipment.   As thought about the Messian-
ic office developed, endowment by the Spirit became its

chief qualification[66] and was to be manifested physically,
intellectually and morally. The Messiah will rule in
the strength of Yahweh (Mic. 5:3), he will be a warrior
in defence of his people (Is. 9:5), securing for them
peace and security (Is. 9:4; Mic. 5:4; Zech. 9:10).
Such peace (שׁלוֹם) implies not just the absence of strife,
but good fortune, morality and everything synonymous with
well-being (Ezek. 24:23; Jer. 23:6; Is. 4:2). The
Messiah is to be a light to his people who have so long
dwelt in darkness (Is. 9:1). Perhaps the most signif-
icant aspect of his task lay in the ethical realm, for
he is to rule by righteousness (Is. 11:3-5), causing a
moral revival in the land (Jer. 33:5 ff.; Is. 32:3-8).
To this messianic king are ascribed priestly functions;
he is to be a mediator between man and God, ensuring the
reality of the Covenant (Jer. 30:21-22). He is thus
acquainted with the divine will and is able to communicate
to the people his knowledge of Yahweh (Is. 11:9).

As thought about the future developed, there was
speculation not only about the leader, but also about the
nature of the eschatological community. By action of
the Spirit, Israel would be reconstituted as the people
of God:

> I will pour my Spirit upon your descendants,
> and my blessing on your offspring.

> They shall spring up like grass amid waters,
>   like willows by flowing streams.
> This one will say, 'I am the Lord's',
>   another will call himself by the name of
> Jacob,
>   and another will write on his hand, 'The
> Lord's',
>   and surname himself by the name of Israel. [67]

This outpouring of the Spirit was likened to rain falling on dry, thirsty ground (vs. 3a; 35:7), for the ethical soil had indeed become barren and awaited nourishment. The 'Day of the Lord' in its negative aspect was the advent of Yahweh's vengeance (Is. 34:8), when even the animals would be gathered into their appropriate place (Is. 34:14-17). The Spirit would bring first order (Is. 34:14-17)[68] and then regeneration. The recreative power of the Spirit was pictured as resulting in luxurious vegetation, healing of human ills (Is. 35:5-6), and explicitly in justice and righteousness (Is. 32:13-17). For the perfecting of Israel would be achieved by the destruction of threatening nations and the purification of its own members; God would "pour a spirit of pity and compassion into the line of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (Zech. 12:10, NEB). This moral purification developed a ritualistic aspect. Zechariah speaks of a fountain being opened to remove all sin and impurity and the spirit of uncleanness (13:1-3). The motif of cleansing water had found association with the Spirit in the

vision of Ezekiel: "I will sprinkle clean water over you
and you shall be cleansed from all that defiles you"
(36:25 - NEB); as we have seen, parallel to this is the
phrase "I will put my Spirit within you".   When the ideal
had been reached, there would be through the formerly
barren desert a path called the 'Way of Holiness',
restricted to those who had been cleansed (Is. 35:8).

Yet despite the fact that a company of Jews had
returned to Palestine, the temple had been rebuilt, and
a descendant of David had been governor of Judea, the
Messianic age seemed to lie far in the unattainable future.
The so-called Servant Songs witness to the sense of impa-
tience and religious frustration current in post-Exilic
Judaism.   In the person of the Servant[69] was seen a means
of effecting that religious and moral transformation nec-
essary to salvation; not just by his preaching, but by
his submission to opposition, suffering, and eventual
death he would reorientate Israel to Yahweh[70].   He is
presented in Is. 42:1 as upheld by Yahweh, and endowed
with his Spirit to bring 'right religion'[71] to the nation.
He is the prophet par excellence who, empowered by the
Spirit, lives, preaches, and dies in such a fashion as to
effect the conversion of Israel.   For the thought soon
developed that for Israel to become the renewed 'people

of God' a thorough transformation of every aspect of life would be necessary. We find, then, in post-Exilic Judaism a conscious effort to widen the scope of the Spirit's operation; at the same time that Israel relegated the outpouring of the Spirit to the realm of eschatological hope, she began to recognize its stirrings in her midst.

Any remarkable human ability became recognized as the result of the Spirit's activity. רוח is now applied to wisdom in government (Deut. 34:9), discretion (Gen. 41:38), intelligence, craftsmanship, and artistic ability (Ex. 31:3; 35:31). In two of these instances the individual is said to have been filled (מלא) by Yahweh with his Spirit, in another to have the Spirit of God in him, and in Deut. 34:9 to be full of the Spirit of wisdom because Moses, who had the prophetic Spirit of God, had laid his hands upon him[72]. M. Black has pointed out that the German word 'Geist' is a more adequate transla-tion of רוח than the English 'spirit' here, where again genius is implied. "The German language speaks of a 'Geistlicher', meaning 'a man of religion', but it also speaks of a man who is 'geistreich', that is to say, in the sense of the German 'Geist', rich in qualities of mind" [73]. The modern Western man tends to think of such abilities as natural; to the ancient Hebrews they

were gifts from God.   We retain this concept when we speak of a 'gifted' person.   רוח   in this later usage implies the same power that was earlier manifested in the ecstasy of the prophets or the leadership of the judges, only now the concept has been interiorized.   The effect remains the same: inasmuch as the Spirit of God influences a man in anything he does, that he does superbly.

The Spirit became the means by which God drew near to his people, as Ezekiel had prophesied would happen when they were regathered in their own land[74].   God's רוח   is parallel with his presence in Ps. 139:7 and identical with it in Hag. 2:5.   As the creative, energizing, renewing power of God at work in the lives of men, רוח   was at times spoken of in almost personal terms, seemingly as a synonym for God.   Yet there is no justification for the view that it achieved independent hypostasis[75]; in developed Old Testament thought the Spirit remains the energy of God as it affects man in dynamic encounter. When personal categories are used the aim is not to depict an independent being, but to stress an objective divine reality which lays claim upon humanity.   As such רוח now acquires adjectives, being described in Ps. 143:10 and Neh. 9:20 as good and in Is. 63:10-11 and Ps. 51:11 as holy.   It was the Spirit which had instructed Israel

in the past (Neh. 9:20) and Zechariah foresaw its creative work even in the Gentile world (6:1-8).   In the present, to the post-Exilic Community struggling to become the holy people of God, the Spirit was power, power not so much to conceive ideas as to realize them.   There is no power except from God[76].   To the temple builders Haggai gave as encouragement the reminder that God was in their midst[77]; to the governor who had neither troops nor allies at his disposal, Zechariah proclaimed that the new Jerusalem would be built not by might, nor by strength, but by God's Spirit[78].   "Pour l'oeuvre sainte, il faut la force sainte" [79].   The apex of holiness lay, however, not in temple-building but in moral response to Yahweh; in this context Old Testament thought about the Spirit of God reaches its height with the two references to God's holy Spirit.

6. God's holy Spirit:

(a) Is. 63:7-14:

The context is one of praise to God for his goodness to the nation, especially at the time of Moses.   His gracious acts are seen as steadfast loyalty to the Covenant people whom he trusted; in their affliction he became their Saviour, not by some **objective** show of strength, but

by his very presence in the midst of their distress[80].
"But they rebelled and grieved his holy Spirit". The
thought then turns specifically to the leadership of
Moses during the Exodus, vs. 11 asking, 'Where is he who
put his holy Spirit within him (<u>i.e</u>. Moses)?' [81]. It is
said that Yahweh led his people through this experience
as one might guide a flock of animals and that finally
the רוח יהוה gave them rest (vs. 14). The import
of this passage is that God achieved victory for his
people by entrusting them to Moses, in whom was his holy
Spirit. Whereas in other Exodus narratives the Spirit
of God plays a cosmic role, it here acts only through
man[82]; as Joshua was chosen to be shepherd of Israel
because the Spirit was in him (Num. 27:18), Moses is here
depicted in the same role. Through this shepherd (vs. 11)
the Spirit of Yahweh leads his flock to rest (vs. 14).
The background is that of the divine Spirit acting upon
Israel's charismatic leaders. Although that action is
now interiorized, there is no attempt made to attribute
it to the spirit of man; that the Spirit of God remains
an objective reality which encounters the nation is made
clear in vs. 10. It is, in true post-Exilic fashion,
the expression of God's presence in the midst of his
people (cf. פניו in vs. 9). In this light it is not

surprising that the Spirit should be described as holy[83],
for holiness was the distinctive attribute of Yahweh[84].
In lines 10 and 11 the Hebrew רוח is not qualified by
the adjective קדוש but by the substantive with the
suffix[85].   M. Black rightly warns against attaching too
much significance to this phrase, as it here means little
more than the traditional רוח יהוה ; its importance
lies in its future adoption as a classical term[86].   To
grieve the holy Spirit is to grieve God himself.   We
may assume, however, that the qualification קדש, appear-
ing in vss. 10 and 11 but not in vs. 14, lends a slight
ethical stress.   It was through Moses that God gave to
Israel his holy Law, and it was in rebelling against this
ethical standard that she broke the Covenant and grieved
her Lord[87].   The holiness of Yahweh was offended by his
people's immorality and worship of other gods (vs. 10),
but it was this same divine quality which was operative
in Moses to influence Israel toward good.   Similarly in
Neh. 9:20 God is said to have given his good Spirit to
instruct the Israelites in the wilderness.   In short,
this passage depicts the holy Spirit as the divine moral
influence which has guided and led the nation, and was
especially manifest in the leadership of Moses.

(b) <u>Ps. 51</u>:

Here the reference to God's holy Spirit occurs
within the prayer of an individual. Even if Dalglish's
theory that the author is a royal personage be accepted,
he speaks here not as representative of his people, but
in recognition of personal sin[88]. The opening plea for
mercy stresses the unmerited nature of grace and is follow-
ed by a request for cleansing[89]. Obsessed by the knowl-
edge of what he has done, the psalmist realizes that his
sin is essentially against God; furthermore he recognizes
that the capacity for evil he has seen in himself is
inherent in human nature[90]. It results in moral impotence,
to use Dalglish's phrase: "Accordingly, we must understand
the psalmist as saying that right from the very first
moment of his life, he was enmeshed in a sinful context;
all his antecedents were from an avowedly sinful source;
<u>he had not transcended this innate endowment</u>" [91]. The
contrasting demand of God in vs. 8 emphasizes the gulf
between the ideal and the real: God desires faithfulness
in the inner fibres of man's being[92]. The prayer for
forgiveness, which follows the psalmist's confession, is
clothed in cultic language, implying the complete submiss-
ion of the culprit[93]. It is the next three verses that
are of specific interest, for here the author attempts to

deal with the discrepancy outlined above.   He prays:

> Create for me a clean heart, O God,
>   and (put) a new, steadfast spirit within me.
> Cast me not away from thy presence,
>   and take not thy holy Spirit from me.
> Restore to me the joy of thy deliverance,   [94]
>   and uphold me with a willing spirit.

Thereafter the psalm consists of rededication and reaffirmation of trust in God's forgiveness.   The last two verses are obviously a late addition.

Dalglish is right in stressing that the psalmist's problem is not a sin of inadvertence or ignorance, but of the will[95].   The petition for a clean heart and a new spirit in vs. 12 uses רוח and לב to describe the volitional centre of man's personality, just as in Ezek. 36:26[96].   The author sees no way out of his human predicament but that God should create anew this capacity for decision within him.   His sin does not bring disintegration of will power; rather has he sinned because of disintegration of will power[97].   Therefore he prays for a spirit that will be steadfast, consistently faithful as God requires (n.b.: the connotation of 'firmness' in אמת ; see vs. 8)[98], for he knows that such stability is not within his native power.   The use of the verb ברא in vs. 12 emphasizes that it is God who must remedy this condition.

The following petition (vs. 13) is that God not cast

the psalmist from his presence nor take his holy Spirit
from him, in which Dalglish correctly sees fear of
severance from the divine fellowship. Dalglish, however,
further claims that in relation to the king "the notion
of holiness here must be understood as sacredness rather
than of purely ethical import", which is surely to miss
the point[99]. The distinction of ethical amelioration as
the subject of vs. 12 and the divine-human fellowship as
that of vs. 13 is artificial; vss. 12-14 form a unit
concerned with the inability of human nature to fulfil
the divine ethical demand[100]. Following the prayer for
a steadfast spirit we find this stress on the importance
of fellowship with God, in which the divine presence is
certainly parallel with the divine Spirit (cf. Ps. 139:7).
We have seen that in Ezek. 36:26 God is to give man a new
heart and spirit by putting his own Spirit within him,
and it is this divine Spirit that is creative of obedience.
Do we not have implicit in Ps. 51 what is made explicit
in Ezekiel, the insight that the Spirit of God is a power
that works for righteousness[101] within man? It is the
thought that this power might be taken from him that fills
the psalmist with dread, for it is his only resource for
meeting the categorical imperative expounded by the proph-
ets; it is the Spirit of the holy God which enables his

people to be holy[102].   In relationship to God the psalmist

knows that his spirit is open to the power of moral

influence from God's holy Spirit; deprived of his pres-

ence he knows he would be helpless against temptation[103].

This interpretation is borne out by the third petit-

ion.   The prayer for the joy of God's salvation refers

to the divine deliverance from this moral dilemma in which

the psalmist finds himself; both Weiser and Oesterley

render the line, "Restore me to the joy of thy help".

Although the word נדיבה can mean 'noble'[104], this seems

unlikely in the context; the phrase רוח נדיבה should

be seen rather in the light of passages such as Ex. 35:5,

22; 2 Chr. 29:31 where נדיב לב occurs in a sacrificial

context.   This is the attitude of heart which moves

people to give offerings to God[105].   In vs. 19 we read

that the sacrifice acceptable to God[106] is a broken heart

and spirit; of the qualification Dalglish writes:

> These two participles form the common
> predicate which must characterize
> personality if it would become an
> efficacious sacrifice within the spiritual
> realm.   The crushed and broken personal-
> ity vividly portrays the violent fragmenta-
> tion and pulverization of the life of the
> psalmist and presents a picture of complete
> helplessness. [107]

Is it not possible then that in vs. 14 the implication is that

of a spirit, crushed into recognition of its own impotence,
willing to be itself the sacrifice offered to God?   This
would seem to fit with the fact that the stress of vs. 14
is not on this phrase at all, but on the verb   תסמכני.
The prayer is that God, through the operation of his holy
Spirit on the psalmist's willing spirit, will uphold,
strengthen, and sustain him in his battle against sin.

III   רוח   AS 'SPIRIT OF MAN'

Ps. 51 makes it apparent that when Ezekiel conceived
the Spirit's future, moral role in the recreation of the
nation, the parallel function of God's Spirit within the
present life of the individual was not unknown.   A full
discussion of Hebrew anthropology does not fall within
the scope of this thesis, but because of the increasing
reference to man's spirit in inter-Testamental and Qumran
literature it is necessary here to give a short resumé of
the development of that secondary use of רוח which is
sometimes termed 'psychological'[108].

We have seen that רוח as the source of vitality
within man eventually became an anthropological term,
frequently parallel to   נפש , but that even then it

maintained the sense of energy derived from God[109].

If we accept Snaith's theory that each word has a vast

circle of meanings which only overlaps with others where

the respective circumferences meet, then רוח and נפש

interlock only at a late date when both have developed

to mean 'the individual' as a determining entity[110].

Both words express the invisible, immaterial aspect of

humanity as opposed to the flesh; it is נפש which

constitutes 'a living body' and is the seat of appetites,

emotions and passions, whereas רוח appears as animation

describing one's disposition. The latter is specifically

obvious in anger, vivacity, courage, unpredictable behaviour

and prophetic utterance. נפש is the unalterable essence

of life, while רוח is a dynamic, fluctuating power.

In contrast to נפש , לב indicates the mental and

volitional aspects of conscious life, and the circle of

its related meanings intersects with that of רוח at the

point of will and intention. The Hebrews must have

observed the connection between anticipatory emotion and

breath, for רוח came to denote the expression of the

moral will, as did לב . The terms overlap in that

moral renewal requires regeneration of both[111], but רוח

retains its sense of power to the point that it is difficult

to control. Certainly it seems to be an overwhelming

sense of bitterness that Esau's two Hittite wives effect
in Isaac and Rebecca[112] and an irresistible power that
leads to the declaration of shame in Num. 5:14, 30.
As a parallel to these two incidents Snaith cites the
classical Oedipus Rex, driven to his own destruction by
a power of Fate he could not resist[113].   לֵב connotes
whatever is of innermost concern in present circumstances,
whereas רוּחַ implies an internal force so strong that it
compels toward action.   This same irresistible power is
illustrated in negative fashion in Is. 29:10; Mic. 2:11;
Hos. 4:12; 5:4.   Evidently a man can control both his
נֶפֶשׁ and his לֵב but not his רוּחַ ; it is the latter
which controls him[114].   We have seen this uncontrollable
power manifested in physical prowess, mental agility and
prophetic insight; in all these cases we might say today
that a man's native abilities had been heightened or his
potential unleashed.   When in Israel the Spirit of God
came to be no longer conceived of as necessarily ecstatic
and temporary, its endowments were similarly described as
characteristics of man.   It is extremely doubtful, how-
ever, that the Hebrews ever lost the sense that such
attributes were the gift of God.

By means of a simple generalization, רוּחַ once
used to describe psychic circumstances, became the organ

of psychic life.   It was the seat of thought, where ideas
originate (Ezek. 11:5; 20:32) and, together with לֵב
the controlling power of the moral and religious life,
that through which the will finds expression.   In this
development the direction of the will is almost always
conceived in ethical terms.   It is in Deut. 2:30 that
רוּחַ first appears as the centre of reflection and ethical
decision upon which God acts, and it is with this same
anthropological concept that we have to do in Ezekiel.
In Zech. 12:1 God is said to have formed (יֹצֵר) the
spirit of man within him.   This רוּחַ is not the יֵצֶר
of inclination (see below, p. 353); it is used here as
the principle of life, implying not the essence of life
which would be נֶפֶשׁ but rather man's essential responsibil-
ity.   In later usage, רוּחַ designated 'man' or 'human
being', while maintaining this connotation.   It is no-
where clear whether this centre of decision within man
is essentially neutral or inclined towards evil, but it
seems likely that the continuous record of Israel's
disobedience would have convinced Ezekiel of the latter.
This view is further supported by Gen. 6:5 [115].   Ezekiel's
use of the word חֲדָשָׁה further indicates that improvement
is not sufficient; complete recreation is necessary.
What is explicit in Deut. 2:30 is that this centre within

man is open to divine influence, a point further developed
by Ezekiel. Indeed 'spirit of man', when used in this
particular sense, is peculiarly susceptible to invasion
from the divine realm, although this must not be taken to
suggest a substantial point of contact between man and
God[116]. It is precisely this openness which at times
makes it difficult to decide whether Ezekiel is talking
about the spirit of man or Spirit of God.

Daniel Lys strikes the right emphasis when he states
that the problem disappears if we concentrate on the dyn-
amic nature of רוה [117]. In Ezekiel, as the dry bones
are reanimated, so the רוה of man is recreated; although
it is a fully human spirit, it is given by God and, like
respiration, it must be constantly sustained by God's
grace. In Is. 11:2 the Spirit of the Lord rests (נחה)
on the Messiah, yet in the next line the spirit he possesses
is described as one of 'knowledge and the fear of the
Lord'. Any static notion of רוה , however subtle,
renders this inconceivable. It is only when we think
of 'breath' which, even as the principle of life within
man, exists precariously in complete dependence on God,
that we appreciate the tenuous position of the human
spirit. Yet if we speak of breath as our own, it is
easy to understand how the Hebrews came to speak and write

as though the human spirit were autonomous.   "Il faut
ce don pour la respiration comme pour l'inspiration.
Mais si, malgré cela, ma respiration peut être dite
mienne, ne pourrait-on parler de mon esprit?" [118]   Where-
as before the Exile רוח was primarily associated with
Yahweh, Lys' statistical survey has shown that in post-
Exilic times the word most often refers to man.   It
may well be that Ezekiel's message of recreation supplies
the bridge between the two extremes, for while רוח is
most frequently used here in relation to God, it in this
capacity secures רוח as a true anthropological concept.
The 'new spirit' which God will put in man is parallel
to a 'new heart' [119].   Ezekiel had grasped the paradox
that the spirit of man, totally dependent on God, has
at the heart of that dependence complete freedom of choice,
that the Spirit of God's most miraculous display of
power is its ability to effect obedience, for this is
accomplished not by force but in freedom, by a profound
decision in the human spirit.   Lys correctly points out
that in the Old Testament anthropology is derived from
theology, not as an intellectual discipline, but as the
consequence of an experienced ontological reality[120].
It is not man, but God, who is the subject of the Hebrews'
interest.   The adjective 'psychological', then, is a

misleading description of this centre of ethical decision
within man; it is an anthropological concept, properly
understood only when seen in the fluidity of its rela-
tion to the Spirit of God. "Il n'y a pas de rûah humaine
sans le rûah de Dieu" [121].

What emerges as certain in this survey of the Old
Testament usage of רוח is the consistency of several
factors: רוח is essentially dynamic power and its
force is creative; inasmuch as it contacts man it does
so with amazing results, whether physical, intellectual,
or moral; and even when immanent to the point of being
described as the human spirit, it never loses contact
with its divine source - רוח is supremely of God.

Footnotes

1. For an excellent statistical survey of רוח in the
Old Testament, see Daniel Lys, 'Ruach': le Souffle
dans L'Ancien Testament, (Paris: Presses Universi-
taires de France, 1962), passim. Accepting the
total of 378 in B. Davidson's Concordance, Lys then
categorizes 111 of these occurrences as 'wind'.
David Hill, Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings, (Soci-
ety for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
No. 5, ed. Matthew Black; Cambridge: The University
Press, 1967), p. 206 accepts H. W. Robinson's figure
of 131, about one third of the total. The
categories Lys uses are 'God', 'man', and 'wind';
Young's Analytical Concordance to the Bible cites 28
cases in which רוח signifies 'breath'.

2. Lys, op. cit., pp. 19-24. Compare the more tradi-
tional view, as expressed by Norman Snaith, The
Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, (London:
The Epworth Press, 1944), p. 143, that the root
means 'to breathe out through the nose with violence'.

3. Ps. 78:39; Job 41:8; Zech. 5:9; Ecc. 11:4;
Gen. 3:8; Jer. 2:24; 14:6.

4. 1 Kgs. 18:45; 2 Kgs. 3:17; Ezek. 13:11; Prov.
25:14, 23; Ps. 1:4; 35:5.

5. See W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, (2nd
ed.; London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 183 for refuta-
tion of Gunkel's 'Lichtstoff' concept. Snaith,
op. cit., p. 156, argues against Volz's idea of
'ruachstoff'.

6. See Walther Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament,
trans. J. A. Baker (Old Testament Library; London:
SCM Press Ltd., 1967), Vol. 2, p. 47, for the view
that this accords with the evidence of other primitive
religions. H. Wheeler Robinson, however holds that
all occurrences of רוח as 'breath' are post-Exilic,
a position also supported by E. Burton. See Robinson's
"Hebrew Psychology", in The People and the Book, ed.
A. S. Peake (Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1925),
p. 360 ff.; /

p. 360 ff.; the argument is refuted by David Hill, op. cit., pp. 205-206, with reference to the Ras Shamra texts. See also Paul van Imschoot, "L'Esprit de Jahvé, Source de Vie dans l'Ancien Testament", RB 44 (1935), p. 481 ff.

7. Von Rad's interpretation of Gen. 1:2 is expounded in his commentary, Genesis, trans. John H. Marks (Old Testament Library; London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963), p. 47 ff. For support of this position, see Eichrodt, op. cit., p. 105, especially n. 3. The exegesis is challenged by Hill, op. cit., p. 214, on the grounds of the slow, fluttering movement implicit in מרחפת . The complex imagery of the narrative seems to supply an argument for rather than against the translation 'breath/Spirit'; there is no reason why this concept should not exist alongside the remains of Marduk and Tiamat! Completely unwarranted is the view of Köhler that the verse is "an unconnected relic of a cosmogenetic myth which proves eloquently how improper it is to build consciously a conception of the Spirit of God within Old Testament teaching". See Ludwig Köhler, Old Testament Theology, trans. A. S. Todd (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957), p. 119.

8. Hill, loc. cit.

9. The reflection of this latter idea will be seen in the charismatic power of the רוח יהוה ; see below, pp. 6-11. For the religio-historical background, see Eichrodt, op. cit., p. 47, especially n. 1, where he criticizes A. R. Johnson for omitting this aspect and thus underplaying the power of רוח.

10. Ibid., p. 48. See n. 2 for distinction between this cosmological concept of רוח as the breath of life, and the anthropological concept as the organ of psychic life.

11. Snaith, op. cit., pp. 148-150. On this later use of רוח , see below, p. 39 ff.

12. Ibid., pp. 143-145.

13. So Robinson, loc. cit., p. 360 ff.

14. Snaith, op. cit., p. 143.

15. /

15. Eichrodt, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 309-338. The point is here made that the נביאים and the later prophets were united in their struggle against Canaanite religion and in the proclamation of the will of Yahweh, and in their concern for national affairs. The 'reference of everything to a divine will which applies to a whole people' does not at this stage have a strong ethical content, but Eichrodt is right in saying that awareness of God's activity in national history can be seen even in the early נביאים . The group character of Nabiism allowed it to vocalize this insight with a breadth of scope unavailable to the individual. When, with the later reforming prophets, the emphasis shifted to the ethical response of the individual, the same power of the Spirit was, as we have seen, operative in the nation's mouthpiece. As the differences between the נביאים and the later prophets has in the past been overplayed, so the communication of spiritual energy common to both has been underplayed.

16. J. Lindblom , Prophecy in Ancient Israel, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), p. 47 ff.

17. So T. W. Manson, On Paul and John, (Studies in Biblical Theology No. 38; London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963), p. 33.

18. Sigmund Mowinckel, He That Cometh, trans. G. W. Anderson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 57. See p. 56 ff. for Mowinckel's thesis that the two traditions of Canaanite kingship and the tribal chieftain, blended in Israel's monarchy, remained in hostile tension.

19. See Eichrodt's view that it was not native ability that made the king, but the outward proof that he was possessed of the divine power. op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 443.

20. See Eichrodt on the 'charismatic leaders' of Israel, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 289-303.

21. Such a concept is entirely lacking in the traditions of both Egypt and Babylon. Israel brought to the idea of kingship her ancient conviction that a vocation authorized by Yahweh was inseparable from the bestowal /

bestowal of his Spirit. So von Rad, who emphasizes
that the dynasty in the north was understood as
basically charismatic in the tradition of Moses
and the Judges. Gerhard von Rad, <u>Old Testament
Theology</u>, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (Edinburgh -
London: Oliver & Boyd, 1962), Vol. 1, p. 306 ff.

22. See Mowinckel, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 55. The ideal of
kingship that Israel accepted from the Canaanites
was essentially Mesopotamian: the royal personage
was chosen and equipped by the gods to be their
representative before men and vice-versa; in return
for divine protection, he rendered trust and obedience
and shepherded his people.

23. 1 Sam. 16:13 and the later association of the Spirit
with the eschatological scion of David; Is. 11:5
and below, p. 26 ff.

24. This relationship springs from the fact that the
king in ancient Eastern mythology was chosen and
equipped for his office by the gods; it found
expression in the formula of adoption, "You are
my son whom I have begotten". (Cf. Mt. 3:17;
Mk. 1:11; Lk. 3:22 and the descent of the Spirit
in Jn. 1:32).

25. See below, p. 78.

26. In the ancient East disease and misfortune were
attributed to evil spirits who inhabited the nether
world and the wilderness. Reference to the שדים
(Deut. 32:17; Ps. 106:37) and the שעירים (Is. 13:21;
34:14) indicate that such demons lived on in the
popular mind of Israel; Azazel even achieved a
place in her cultic rites (Lev. 16:8). Yet
fundamentally, belief in demons was incompatible
with belief in an omnipotent Creator and with the
proclamation of this latter conviction, Israel
managed to keep the demons at bay, never allowing
them to become a rival object of worship. For the
later development of demonology, see below, p. 351 ff.

27. To say, as does Schweizer, that the Spirit of God
becomes active as an evil Spirit can be misleading.
The Hebrews somehow managed to hold in tension the
ideas that evil sprang from the realm of God's
power, yet was opposed to him and the latter convic-
tion /

tion soon issued in hypostasis. See Eduard Schweizer, Spirit of God, trans. A. E. Harvey (Bible Key Words from Theologisches Worterbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. Gerhard Kittel; London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960), p. 6.

28. See Lindblom's interpretation of the conflict within prophetic circles; op. cit., p. 210 ff. He points out that 'false prophets' is not an expression found in the prophetic texts themselves. It was not prophets who were false, but rather their utterances, as illustrated in the story of Ahab who was told by a 'lying spirit' that he would find success at Ramoth-gilead where, in fact, he found death.

29. See Eichrodt, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 205 ff. for discussion of Satan. The verb שטן is also used of men (Ps. 38:21; 109:4).

30. R. R. Schärf, "Die Gestalt des Satans im Alten Testament" (Diss. Zürich, 1948), p. 60, quoted by Eichrodt, ibid., p. 207, n. 1.

31. Is. 45:7 (NEB).

32. Sigmund Mowinckel, "'The Spirit' and 'the Word' in the Pre-Exilic Reforming Prophets", JBL 53 (1934), p. 204 ff.

33. See above, p. 8.

34. Lindblom, op. cit., p. 175, especially n. 108. The antagonism was caused, according to Lindblom, by the prophets' forecast of doom.

35. Cf. Lindblom's criticism of Mowinckel's view; ibid., p. 177, n. 112.

36. Is. 31:3.

37. The phrase רוח יהוה is eliminated by many as a gloss. Lindblom defends it on the grounds of rhythm and lack of evidence for deletion; ibid., n. 109.

38. Is. 59:21. The RSV has 'spirit' with a small 's'.

39. Jer. 20:7. For this interpretation, see Lindblom, op. cit., p. 195.

40. Jer. 23:9.   Cf. Acts 2:12 ff.

41. Cf. the calls of Isaiah (6:8), Hosea (1:2), Amos (1:1-2) and Micah (1:1).

42. Lindblom, op. cit., p. 193.   Ibid., p. 183 ff. for interpretation of Amos 7:14, "I am no prophet".

43. Mowinckel, "'The Spirit' and 'the Word'", p. 211 ff. It has also been argued that for the reforming prophets both terms had the same meaning; for refutation of this view, see Lindblom, op. cit., p. 177, n. 112.

44. Cf. Jer. 37:17.

45. Mowinckel, op. cit., p. 213.

46. Lindblom, op. cit., p. 173 ff.   "Typical of the revelatory state of mind is the feeling of being under an influence external to the self, a divine power, the consciousness of hearing words and seeing visions which do not come from the self, but from the invisible divine world, into which, in the moment of revelation, an entrance has been granted. This feeling of being subject to an external influence is perhaps the most constant element in the revelatory state of mind".   Ibid., p. 173.

47. Ibid., p. 114.

48. M. Black, in The Hoyt Lectures, unpublished, 1963. Lecture No. 1, p. 8.

49. Lindblom, op. cit., p. 178.

50. Before giving what he thinks to be the 'reason' for lack of emphasis on the Spirit, Lindblom in fact summarizes it when he says: " ... the spirit was the supernatural power that evoked the revelatory state of mind, while the 'word' referred to the revelation itself ... ".   Ibid., p. 177, n. 112.

51. Jer. 13:23.

52. Jer. 31:31-34, my underlining.

53. It is interesting that of two earlier passages it
is 11:19 and not 18:31 that is reflected here.
The latter had urged people to cast away their
transgressions and get themselves a new heart and
spirit; by the time of the Exile it was realized
that this was humanly impossible.

54. In 1 Kgs. 22:23; Num. 11:25, 29; and 2 Kgs. 19:7
the verb נתן occurs with רוח . In the
first and third instances the preposition is בּ
conveying the sense of fleeting, evil inspiration;
in the second, the inspiration is permanent and
good, but the preposition is על.

55. Lys, op. cit., p. 133.

56. Ibid., p. 142.

57. Ibid., p. 336, n. 1.

58. So M. Black. loc. cit., p. 11.

59. The adjective חדשׁ applied to 'heart' and 'spirit'
in Ezek. 36:26 implies newness in the sense of being
completely different. Cf. its use in Ex. 1:8 to
describe a new king, a different person, in Is. 65:17
to describe a new heaven and earth, and in Jer. 31:31
in speaking of an essentially different Covenant.

60. 2 Chr. 15:3. Cf. the Teacher of Righteousness in
the DSS and especially the occurrence of הכוהן
מורה ה[in 4QPs. 37 2:15.

61. Num. 11:29; cf. Joel 2:28.

62. Mowinckel distinguishes between future hope and
eschatology, the former being primarily conceived
as national restoration, the latter essentially a
doctrine of 'the last things'. Mowinckel, He That
Cometh, p. 125.

63. The term is a regal one, identical in its main
features with the kingly concept of the early royal
ideology. It is therefore quite wrong at this
stage to speak of a 'prophetic' or 'priestly'
Messiah and the phrase 'kingly Messiah' is redundant.
So Mowinckel, ibid., p. 168. That the early hope
was centered on the Davidic house rather than a
single individual is borne out by Jer. 17:19 which,
although /

although post-Exilic, still speaks of kings in the plural. For a list of passages dealing with the restoration of the dynasty and kingdom of David, ibid., p. 16.

64. Zechariah and Haggai certainly had pinned their hopes on Zerubbabel; Second Isaiah called Cyrus 'the Lord's Anointed' (45:1), and it seems likely that Is. 9:1-6 sprang from historical circumstances.

65. It must here be stressed that the future king is always thought of as a mortal man born of the Davidic line; the idea of him as a supernatural being or David redivivus is completely foreign to Old Testament thought. Accordingly his awe-inspiring qualities are not the result of divine birth or the attributes of an 'Urmensch', but are the gifts of the Spirit of God as a permanent endowment for his task. See Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp. 160-162. The Messiah never becomes a threat to monotheism even when depicted in mythical language, for he remains the servant of Yahweh. The initiative in bringing in the kingdom is always accredited to Yahweh and we find in Is. 9:1-6 the same ascription in this context that we saw in Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones: 'Thou hast done it' - this time in the birth of a royal child.

66. For the development of this idea in the inter-Testamental literature, see below, pp. 78, 411, 424, n. 90.

67. Is. 44:3b-5; cf. Zech. 6:8 in which Lindblom thinks the Spirit is the means by which dispersed Jews are brought from Babylonia to establish the new community. For this interpretation see Lindblom, op. cit., p. 413, n. 231[a].

68. Note the similarity to Gen. 1:2 and Ps. 33:6. Is. 34:16 reads "For with his own mouth he has ordered it and with his own רוח he has brought them together" (NEB).

69. The identity of the Servant is not important for this discussion. It is assumed above that the Servant was thought of as an individual; if in fact the collective theory can be sustained, this only adds weight to Israel's expectation that she would /

would be endowed with the Spirit.   See Mowinckel,
He That Cometh, p. 246 ff.

70.   <u>N.b.</u> especially the fourth Servant Song, Is. 52:13-
53:12.   Mowinckel stresses that in bringing Israel
back to Yahweh the Servant does what the Messiah was
never expected to do and that rather than influencing
the Messianic concept, that of the Servant in fact
surpasses it; <u>ibid.</u>, p. 244.   Yet in inter-Testament-
al times it was the concept of Messiah that gripped
the Jewish imagination, while that of the Servant
lay dormant till the advent of Christianity.   See
T. W. Manson, <u>The Servant Messiah</u>, (Cambridge: The
University Press, 1961), <u>passim</u>.

71.   So Mowinckel translates   משפט ; <u>He That Cometh</u>,
p. 244.

72.   Here we have a blend of the prophetic and priestly
traditions.

73.   Black, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 6.

74.   Ezek.39:29.

75.   <u>Contra</u> Eichrodt, <u>op. cit.</u>, Vol. 2, p. 46 ff., who
claims that the idea of the Spirit became sufficiently
independent to warrant this designation, acquiring
a mediatory position between man and God.   Yet he
admits that the Spirit is never completely divorced
from God and exists only as a form of his revelation.
Guignebert's theory that the Spirit was only one of
many intermediaries conceived by the post-Exilic
Jews to bridge the gap between man and a transcendant
God misses the point of the personal, dynamic nature
of רוח .   He himself is forced to admit that his
exegesis of Gen. 1:2, in which he sees רוח אלהים
as having claim to hypostasis, runs into difficulty
on the fact that רוח   embodies the idea of divine
power rather than distinct personification.
1 Kgs. 22:21 cannot legitimately be used to argue
for hypostasis of the Spirit in general, but merely
of the power of evil.   See C. Guignebert, <u>The
Jewish World in the Time of Jesus</u>, trans. S. H.
Hooke (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and
Co. Ltd., 1939), pp. 90-91.   For the case against
hypostasis of the Spirit, see Schweizer, <u>op. cit.</u>,
p. 15.

76. See Mic. 3:8.

77. Hag. 2:5.

78. Zech. 4:6.

79. Lys, op. cit., p. 236.

80. Emending vs. 9, on the basis of the LXX, to read
    לֹא עִיר וּמַלְאָךְ פָּנוּ הִשְׁעָם . So Eichrodt and
    Muilenberg. No reading is completely satisfactory,
    but the general context and the promise to Moses
    in Ex. 33:14 seem to support this interpretation.
    For this meaning of פָּנִים see Eichrodt, op. cit.,
    Vol. 2, p. 38. The LXX is as follows: οὐ πρέσβυς
    οὐδε ἄγγελος, ἀλλ᾿ αὐτός ἔσωσεν αὐτούς.
    בְּכָל צָרָתָם now falls naturally with the preceding
    phrase, rendering "He became their Saviour in all
    their affliction"; contra Delitzsch who argues for
    לֹא צָר on the strength of the Talmud and Jerome.
    Franz Delitzsch, Biblical Commentary on the Prophe-
    cies of Isaiah, 4th ed., trans. J. Martin (Edinburgh:
    T. & T. Clark, 1892), Vol. 2, pp. 418-420.

81. The ambiguity of בְּקִרְבּוֹ allows the possibility
    that the suffix refers either to Moses or to the
    people of Israel, but the context stresses Moses
    who was known to have possessed the Spirit (Num. 11:17).
    Vs. 11 describes the 'days of old' as the days of
    Moses. Eichrodt, Delitzsch, and Muilenberg
    translate "in the midst of them". For the transla-
    tion "within Moses" see Lys, op. cit., pp. 155-156.

82. Ibid.; cf. Ex. 14:21b; 15:8-10; 2 Sam. 22:16.

83. There is no need to see in the use of this word a
    purposive distinction between various divine
    spirits; (ibid., and p. 195 in relation to Neh. 9:20).
    The Spirit of Yahweh is God's activity in relation
    to the world and as there is only one God, so there
    is only one Spirit. It would be true to say that
    in varying circumstances men perceive in the Spirit
    different aspects of God's nature; so here it is
    his holiness that is offended (probably bearing the
    sense of separation as well as morality).

84. Cf. Hos. 11:9: "I am God and not man, the Holy One
    in your midst".

85. /

85. The Vulgate translates "spiritum Sancti ejus (or sui)" in Is. 63:10-11, "spiritum sanctum tuum" in Ps. 51:13, although LXX has throughout τό πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον . In Is. 63:14 the Vulgate has "spiritus Domini"; the LXX has separated the verb ירד from the image of the cattle, making 'Spirit' the subject of the verb, hence producing another reference to the outpouring of the Spirit. Imschoot, arguing that קדש is used only in reference to sacred objects, places and times, thinks that 'spirit of holiness' in Is. 63:10-11 has replaced רוח יהוה or רוח אלהים to avoid the divine name. This is hardly tenable since רוח יהוה appears in verse 14. Against Imschoot see Lys, op. cit., p. 155, n. 1.

86. M. Black, loc. cit., p. 8, n. 1.

87. So Lys, op. cit., p. 155, against Black and Hill who see here a more direct reference to the later prophetic ministry. See Black, ibid.; Hill, op. cit., p. 211.

88. For the most recent commentary on this psalm see Edward R. Dalglish, Psalm Fifty-One in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), especially chapter 7 for his theory of kingly authorship.

89. Note the use of חנן , חסד , רחמים, all principal Old Testament terms to convey the unmerited love of God.

90. See Dalglish's exegesis of these opening verses, op. cit., p. 82 ff.; especially the distinction between the awareness and confession of sin, pp. 104-105. His exegesis of vs. 7 (p. 118 ff.) rightly stresses that the point is not to attach sin to the moment of conception, but to underline that it is innate to humanity. For this belief cf. Ps. 58:4; Job 14:4; 15:14; 25:4.

91. Ibid., p. 122, my underlining.

92. Taking אמת in the sense of 'faithfulness' as in Is. 38:3. It is exactly this walking in faithfulness with a whole (or steadfast) heart which the psalmist has found impossible, yet he knows it is the inner attitude which God desires. Weiser is probably /

probably right to take 'wisdom' in its highest
sense as the 'fear of God' - i.e.: the recognition
in one's heart of the terrible discrepancy between
the nature of God and the nature of man. See
Artur Weiser, The Psalms, trans. Herbert Hartwell
(Old Testament Library; London: SCM Press Ltd.,
1962), p. 406; as against Dalglish, op. cit.,
pp. 124-127, who interprets בטחות and בסתם
as references to the womb, thus implying that truth
and wisdom are also part of man's natal endowment
(see p. 124, n. 165). There is no reason to see
here an anticipation of the later idea of conflict-
ing yēsers (p. 127, n. 177); indeed the whole tenor
of the psalm is the contrast of man's potential with
the demand of God.

93. Note the image of purging with hyssop which is found
in the Old Testament in connection with two rituals:
the cleansing of a leper (Lev. 14) and the purifica-
tion of one defiled by death (Num. 19). It also
occurs in connection with the sprinkling of blood
in the first Passover (Ex. 12:22).

94. Ps. 51:12-14.

95. Dalglish, op. cit., p. 127, especially n. 178.

96. See Dalglish's criticism of Schoemaker's chronological
method and dating of the psalm, op. cit., p. 154,
n. 301. Against Robinson he argues from the
use of רוח in this psalm for a pre-Exilic usage
of it as a constituent of human nature. Since this
usage is obvious from the time of Ezekiel, Eichrodt
thinks it probably emerged towards the end of the
monarchy; op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 132.

97. So Dalglish, loc. cit. Cf. M. Black's state-
ment, " ... man is not a sinner because he commits
sin. He commits sin because he is a sinner... ";
op. cit., Lecture No. 2, p. 5.

98. See Dalglish, op. cit., p. 125.

99. Dalglish, op. cit., p. 160. The two considerations
which Dalglish claims establish the truth of this
sentence "beyond doubt" are in fact dependent on
his view that vss. 12 and 13 deal with two distinct
topics.

100. /

100. <u>Ibid</u>.

101. Cf. Eph. 3:14-20.

102. קדש then obviously takes on its ethical meaning, in accordance with the moral preaching of the prophets which this same presupposes.

103. The commentary of J. J. Stewart Perowne grasps this meaning: "The petition expresses rather the holy fear of the man who has his eyes opened to the depth and iniquity of sin lest at any moment he should be left without the succour of that divine spirit who was the only source in him of every good thought, of every earnest desire, of every constant resolution. It is the cry of one who knows, as he never knew before, the weakness of his own nature and the strength of temptation and the need of divine help, and to whom, therefore, nothing seems so dreadful as that God should withdraw his spirit". As quoted by M. Black, <u>op. cit</u>., Lecture No. 2, p. 8.

104. So LXX.

105. Note the noun נדיבה meaning 'freewill offering'.

106. Reading with Weiser זְבָחִי ; <u>contra</u> Dalglish who emends to זִבְחִי . Weiser, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 410.

107. Dalglish, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 195.

108. So Wernberg-Møller in relation to the Qumran texts; see below, p. 203.

109. See above, p. 5.

110. Snaith, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 148.

111. Ezek. 11:19; 18:31; 36:26.

112. Gen. 26:35.

113. Snaith, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 146.

114. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 150.

115. Lit.: "the whole inclination of his heart's devices is surely continually evil". See also Eichrodt, <u>op. cit</u>., Vol. 1, p. 215.

116. Eichrodt, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 131, argues that
when spirit of man is used in this wider sense
it is concerned primarily with higher spiritual
functions, thus being the organ most receptive
to Yahweh's direct influence.   As such it is
stirred to decisive moral action.   Eichrodt
further claims that in those instances where רוח
designates man's own consciousness the word usually
retains its connotation of external influence upon
man.
Cyril H. Powell, in The Biblical Concept of Power,
(London: The Epworth Press, 1963), p. 18, supports
the view that in the later Creation account God's
'image' implies that man is uniquely related to
God and capable of responding to him.   Man is
thus peculiarly open to the invasion of psychic
influences, of which God's Spirit is one; demonic
influences, the power of the blessing and the curse
are listed as others.

117. Lys, op. cit., p. 142.

118. Ibid., p. 120.

119. Ezek. 36:26.

120. Ibid., p. 145.   On p. 143 Lys suggests that one
can think of this decisive centre within man as
inherently evil or as neutral, becoming evil the
moment that it seizes autonomy.   God has taken
the risk of reanimating man in relation to himself,
giving man with the gift of his Spirit, the freedom
to choose autonomy.   Yet according to Lys' analogy
of respiration, lack of communication with God's
Spirit means lack of life.   When the spirit of
man rebels, does it then wither and die or become
evil?   Lys is confusing at this point.

121. Ibid., p. 142.

CHAPTER   TWO

רוח/ πνεῦμα   I N   I N T E R - T E S T A M E N T A L

L I T E R A T U R E

> When the last prophets Haggai,
> Zechariah and Malachi died, the Holy
> Spirit ceased out of Israel ...   1

This Rabbinic sentiment has, until recently, been responsible for the general opinion of scholars that inter-Testamental Jewish literature had little to teach us about the Spirit. The concept was believed to have reached its height towards the close of the Old Testament with the two occurrences of the phrase 'holy Spirit' [2], to be picked up and expanded in New Testament times under the impact of Greek thought and the person of Jesus. The intervening years of Judaism, while producing the codification of traditional rules and judgments, had been devoid of the prophetic Spirit. T. W. Manson, however, has made the point that the cessation of prophecy in the Old Testament sense marked the emergence of two complementary developments, Rabbinism and Apocalyptic, which together comprised the Jewish attempt to answer life's fundamental problems in light of the prophetic revelation[3]. It is to these two phenomena that this study is now directed, to determine the extent to which their usage of רוח mirrors or modifies that of the Old Testament.

Such literature reflects the political and religious resistance of the Jewish community to the Hellenizing influence which threatened Hebrew tradition from the rise

of Alexander the Great in 334 B.C. until the power of
Rome overshadowed Palestine in 65 B.C.   Yet by the same
token any concept therein expressed may bear the imprint
of Judaism's encounter with foreign intellectual and
religious worlds.   It is therefore judicious when
examining the texts to bear in mind ideas about 'spirit'
with which Israel was bound to have come in contact.
These must be sought not only in the dominant Greek cult-
ure of the period, but in the deposit of Persian tradition
which survived to make its strongest impact in the
cosmopolitan world effected by Alexander's conquests.
A detailed study of the concept's development outside of
the Hebrew tradition is neither practical nor necessary
in the present endeavour;   the following presentation of
connotations attached to the word 'spirit' in the Persian
and Greek thought-streams is in the nature of a summary.

I 'SPIRIT' IN PERSIAN THOUGHT

Israel lived under Persian rule for two centuries
about which we know almost nothing, but we may assume
that every aspect of her life, including the religious,
was in some way affected[4].   A. T. Olmstead points out

that the political situation demanded a certain religious,
cultural unity and that because of Persia's tolerance no
strong resistance to her beliefs developed among her
subject peoples[5].   In this syncretistic environment,
Jews, Persians, and Greeks are the three ethnic groups
whose religions show definite development;   this was not
achieved in isolation one from the other.   R. C. Zaehner,
in The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism, reminds us
that Isaiah did not hesitate to hail the liberator Cyrus
as 'the Lord's Anointed'[6].

Although cross-fertilization of ideas was complex,
this discussion of Persian thought will concentrate on
the Zoroastrian myth of the two spirits, due to the con-
troversy about its influence on the DSS.   It is difficult
to determine the exact interpretation of Zoroastrianism
that was in ascendancy during any one period.   What seems
clear is that there existed simultaneously various attempts
to explain the origin of evil.   The obscurity of the
Prophet's teaching through the distortions of the Magi
priesthood has been abetted by loss of oral tradition,
the lack of exegetical material, and the variety of em-
phases in later sects, including the adoration of Zoroaster
himself.   Increasingly, political pressure forced the
monarchs to recognize ancient deities and by the time of

Artaxerxes I Mithra was restored to equal position with
Ahura Mazdāh.   The purer, reforming faith of Zoroaster
did survive, however, in a community devoted to the
preservation of his teaching; by the time of Alexander
it was only one of many sects, but it is thought that
the Zoroastrian credo is preserved in Yasna 49:3[7]:

> But in our profession of faith is
> embodied: Rtam shall be strengthened!
> in our law: the DruXš shall be
> destroyed! I desire union with
> Vahumano, I renounce every communion
> with the drugvant!

The traditional Iranian view of reality was one
of antithesis.   It saw a natural enmity between certain
types of animals, an inherent conflict in politics, a
basic opposition of thoughts and ideas; everything had
its counterpart.   Accordingly, the pre-Zoroastrian cult
of Mithra spoke of those who threatened the peace and
order of society as MithradruXš.   Herzfeld has shown
that the linguistic origin of this word does not accord
with the concept of 'lie' or 'falsehood', but more
properly connotes a sense of 'injury'[8].   The social
background is one of order based on moral obligation which
is attacked by chaos in the form of invading nomads.
Zoroaster (570-500 B.C.) projected this conflict onto a
cosmological screen, postulating an essential, universal

dichotomy between the Principle of Good (Rtam) and the Principle of Evil (DruXš). These were no vague abstractions: the principle of evil was an aggressive, destructive force at war with all that works for good. The nomadic hordes were thus called 'followers of the DruXš', Zoroaster's disciples 'followers of Rtam'. Both these principles Zoroaster subjected to the one God, Ahura Mazdāh and in place of the old Mithraic cult he stressed the ethical decision of each individual.

The moral choice confronting man was universalized to be incumbent even on Ahura Mazdāh himself. He unites with the good, condemning evil, as do the 'asuras', the gods who were traditionally responsible for the right ordering of the cosmos; the 'daēvas', however, in their role as gods associated with powerful tribes, were easily transformed into demons rebelling against Ahura Mazdāh[9]. Basically, the moral conflict is personified in the Primal Twins known as the Bounteous, or Holy, Spirit and the Destructive, or Evil, Spirit, the former being the bearer of life, the latter of death. In The Gathas the Holy Spirit is an aspect of Ahura Mazdāh, thought into existence by him and therefore his son, but at no point identified with him. It ranks with other divine agencies such as Good Mind and Truth, except that whereas these

are attributes in which man can share, the Holy Spirit is appropriated exclusively to Ahura Mazdāh. This is more clearly understandable when it is recognized that the word translated 'holy' connoted abundance, bounty and increase, the overwhelming self-giving apprehended in the Prophet's experience of God and expressed in Yasna 43: "Then did I realize that Thou wast holy, Wise Lord ... ". Only Ahura Mazdāh possessed such an attribute, yet an aspect of his nature was what it remained, never becoming identical with the deity.

After Zoroaster's death, however, speculation about the other divine properties led to their categorization as the six 'Bounteous Immortals' and the Holy Spirit was in fact identified with Ahura Mazdāh. This latter development has been the cause of much confusion in the attempt to determine the origin of the Evil Spirit in Zoroastrian thought. Zaehner deduces that since the Two Spirits are Twins and Yasna 47:2-3 claims Ahura Mazdāh to be the father of the Holy Spirit, then he must also be the father of the Evil Spirit. Against Bianchi he argues that this is only absurd if Zoroaster's teaching is confused with a later dualism which assimilates Ahura Mazdāh (by then the Holy Spirit) with light and the Evil Spirit with darkness. The Gathas instead

declare that Ahura Mazdāh created both light and darkness (Yasna 44:3-7), thus preserving a fundamental monotheism[10]. In this framework the two Spirits were the personification of man's moral dilemma; they were what they were by choice. The objects of that choice, Righteousness and Unrighteousness, (the Truth and the Lie)[11], the two opposing moral principles, were assumed without discussion of their origin. The passage in Yasna 30:3-4 confronting each individual with the choice once made by the two Spirits later became the focus of speculation about the origin of evil:

> In the beginning those two Spirits who are the well-endowed (?) twins were known as the one good and the other evil, in thought, word, and deed. Between them the wise chose rightly, not so the fools. And when these Spirits met they established in the beginning life and death that in the end the followers of the Lie should meet with the worst existence, but the followers of Truth with the Best Mind. Of these two Spirits he who was of the Lie chose to do the worst things; but the Most Holy Spirit, clothed in rugged heaven, (chose) Truth as did (all) who sought with zeal to do the pleasure of the Wise Lord by (doing) good works.[12]

Yet even of late diverse interpretations, at least two held that the Evil Spirit was derived from Ahura Mazdāh.

It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that there was at the time of their encounter a basic mono-

theism in Persian religious thought compatible with that
of Judaism and a radical moral dichotomy which pervaded
the cosmos and daily threatened to destroy man's integrity.
This dichotomy was expressed in a myth of two opposing
Spirits, the embodiments of good and evil. That Judaism
absorbed Persian ideas about the Last Judgment, millenial
periods, heaven and hell, angelology and demonology, is
well known from inter-Testamental documents. To use
Schweizer's words, "Das Spätjudentum ist vor allem unter
persischer Herrschaft geboren worden" [13]. Yet our con-
cern is with the concept of 'spirit' and evidence of
such influence is much more tenuous. Its extent must
be left an open question until we have examined the texts.

II   πνεῦμα   IN GREEK THOUGHT

"Derived from πνέϜ ω   the verbal noun πνεῦμα
means the elemental natural and vital force which, matter
and process in one, acts as a stream of air in the blow-
ing of the wind and the inhaling and exhaling of breath ...".
So begins Kleinknecht's article on "πνεῦμα in the Greek
World" in the recent Theological Dictionary of the
New Testament [14]. The definition could apply to the
same concept in any ancient mythology except for the

phrase "matter and process in one". πνεῦμα in classical Greek never loses its material character and so differs radically from the Hebrew רוח.

Basic to the root πνέϜ - is the idea of energy, which clings to the noun πνεῦμα [15]. It describes wind[16], breath[17], and the life-giving force which departs with the last breath to return to the higher realm from which it came (the air)[18]. In this latter capacity it is at once human and divine, material and spiritual. In its generative function, πνεῦμα maintains a subtle connection with the material, life-giving σπέρμα [19]. From the time of Hippocrates πνεῦμα is known to be an element of the human body that influences a man's constitution and character; permeating all nature, it is absorbed into the body through food and drink as well as inhalation, later to be transformed into a psychical quality. Under Aristotle's influence πνεῦμα became the breath of life which gives 'soul' in varying degrees to different organisms; as σύμφυτον πνεῦμα it is responsible for the differentiation of tendencies and organs within the embryo[20].

Yet πνεῦμα is sometimes thought to be divine because of its uncontrollable nature and extraordinary effects. It thus becomes the means whereby higher powers communicate with man, the image of breathing

providing the ideal channel.   Gods breathe energy into
warriors at battle, the Muses breathe inspiration into
the poets, and indeed Plato's four spheres of cultural
life - manticism, mysticism, poetry, and eroticism - all
exist by grace of the divine πνεῦμα .   The Oracles
achieved their importance in Greek society because their
prophetic words were believed to be divinely inspired
ἐπίπνοια .   In the later philosophy of the Stoics
πνεῦμα was finally used to portray the deity itself[21].

By transference of meaning, πνεῦμα eventually
came to signify the 'spirit' behind events, actions, and
relationships, for its etymology allowed it to be spir-
itualized into abstract concepts.   In describing man's
spiritual or emotional life, πνεῦμα stands in contrast
to νοῦς .   The latter describes calculated, intellectual,
mental activity, whereas the former retains its sense
of power in depicting those characteristics that are
dynamic and enthusiastic.   Yet to the Greeks πνεῦμα
was a concept of secondary significance.   A force imm-
anent and impersonal, it was always a thing, a subtly
corporeal substance.   "The Greek understanding of
πνεῦμα stops at the point where the term, even if only
figuratively, breaks loose from its etymology and origin
and is no longer tied to the natural sense-phenomenon of

wind or breath.   For the Greeks this cannot be
separated from the nature of 'spirit' in so far as it
is represented by   πνεῦμα " [22].

The Old Testament gives no hint of Alexander's
conquest in 331 B.C. and the historical books of the
Apocrypha are concerned with a later period.   There is
in fact no record of the initial impact that Hellenism
made on the internal life of Palestinian Jewry, although
it must have occasioned the unrest which under the
Seleucids mounted to active rebellion.   The evidence of
the Ptolemaic period that is of interest here comes not
from Palestine, but from Alexandria where the growing
Jewish community produced the Greek translation of the
Pentateuch which was the first instalment of the LXX.
In it we find occasional instances where Greek thought
accompanies Greek language.

In 277 cases the LXX renders רוח   by   πνεῦμα   , in
52 by   ἄνεμος ;   numerous other substitutes are used when
רוח   refers to the centre of moral decision in man[23].
Since the Greeks had no concept comparable to the רוח
יהוה , this phrase is consistently translated as
τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ   and   πνεῦμα   came to designate 'spirit',
both divine and human, in Biblical Greek.   The LXX also
introduces the phrase   τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον σοῦ (Ps. 51:13;

Is. 63:10); there was no concept in secular Greek
adequate to translate the suprasensual idea of God's
holy Spirit.

אלהי הרוחת לכל בשר is translated in the
LXX by θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός (Num. 16:22;
27:16). This may indicate recognition of the πνεύματα
as individualized entities, precursors of the spirits
which surround God's throne in later Apocalyptic[24].
Certainly the independent existence of evil spirits is
made explicit in 1 Sam. 16:14 and 1 Kgs. 22:21. Equally
important in the two Numbers passages is the change of
emphasis from a Creator of all flesh to a universe in
which the world of flesh is contrasted to the world of
heavenly spirits. A similar subtle change is found in
Job 33:4 where the Hebrew has 'the Spirit of God made me'
and the LXX reads ' πνεῦμα θεῖον ' for ' רוח אל '.

In Wisdom πνεῦμα appears identical with σοφία [25].
As such it is not the life-force that permeates all things,
but rather comes later in life to men who are morally
deserving of it. These persons are πνεύματα and Solomon
is the supreme example. In this capacity πνεῦμα stands
in a unique relationship to God and it may be argued that
it achieves hypostatic independence. It is difficult
to tell whether the connotation of substance so essential

to ordinary Greek usage of the word passed over into this concept; Hebrew influence, however, is obvious in the subjugation of both σοφία and πνεῦμα to God.

As the conflict between Hellenism and the Jewish tradition heightened, philosophers and historians, whose loyalties were torn, made more sophisticated attempts to reconcile the two. Little of their writing remains, although their methodology can be surmised from the later work of Philo and Josephus. It is doubtful if Judaism would have survived, however, if it had not been for the spontaneous emergence of groups within it who found their raison d'être in resistance to change.

III   APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

Of the vast amount of Jewish literature that must have been in circulation between the time of Ezra and Nehemiah and the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., relatively little has survived. Extra-canonical writings exist mainly in Greek, many being pseudonymous as well as apocryphal. Regarded en masse, however, the literature of this period presents overwhelming evidence of a new genre, explicable only by the historical circumstances

which produced it.   Such writing is designated 'apocalypt-
ic' because of its claim to reveal secret truths, partic-
ularly those relating to God's culmination of history,
but there is no unanimity of opinion about literary integ-
rity or dating of documents or even about the characteris-
tics which mark this classification.   Russell mentions
mythology, dualism, the division of time into ages,
cosmological surveys, numerology, esoterism, interest in
the fall of men and angels, the source of evil, God and
Satan, the transcendent figure called 'Son of Man', belief
in life after death, heaven, hell, Paradise and Gehenna,
but stresses that none of these features is essential to,
or always present in, apocalyptic literature.   "It may
be said to consist rather in a religious mood or temper
which is different from, though related to, that of
prophecy" [26].

Despite von Rad's argument that apocalyptic writers
assume a radically different view of history from the
'Heilsgeschichte' of the Old Testament prophets[27], it
seems clear that they considered themselves to be the
contemporary recipients of divine inspiration, thus stand-
ing in the prophetic tradition.   Russell has convincingly
demonstrated that the roots of this literature precede
Daniel, lying in the battle motif of Ezekiel which portrays

the final destruction of evil.   It is indeed 'prophecy
in a new idiom', largely influenced by the esoterism of
the East[28].   It is the literature of a people who, see-
ing no hope in the politics of human history, looked
beyond to the eschatological intervention of God.   This
was an expression not of escapism but of a deep conviction
that as God's chosen people against evil they were fight-
ing a battle on a spiritual level which could be properly
understood only in terms of "spiritual powers in high
places".   In this context the overriding message is not
one of pessimism, but a ringing declaration of faith that
God's ultimate purpose could not be thwarted by evil.

That the bizarre speculations of Apocalyptic do not
label it as 'sectarian' was recognized by Charles[29] and
has been upheld by Russell.   He contests the view of
G. F. Moore that Judaism should be judged only by the
'normative' corpus of canonical Scripture plus the 'oral
tradition' which was eventually captured in writing by
the Rabbis and points out the fallacy of assuming that
the orthodoxy of the first century A.D. adequately reflects
the developments of the inter-Testamental period.   Justly
he repeats W. D. Davies' warning that 'the Rabbinic
sources represent the triumph of one stream within Ju-
daism, the Pharisaic, and even of only one current within
that one stream, that of R.Johanan b. Zakkai'[30].   Further-

more, before A.D. 70 'orthodoxy' was an unknown concept;
variety of religious views and parties was the accepted
reality.   The existence of Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes,
and Zealots is known to us from Josephus, but Russell
correctly rejects the description of these as 'sects'
since the very word presupposes orthodoxy.   The situation
has been aptly described by M. Black as "one of a wide-
spread and dangerously proliferating and fissiparous
heteropraxis, a kind of baptizing nonconformity, with
many splinter groups, extending from Judaea to Samaria
and beyond into the Dispersion itself" [31].

That the DSS are the product of this period, and
presumably of one such group within it, is sufficiently
certain to be an assumption of this study.   It is of
interest that many of the previously unknown writings
which were found at Qumran share numerous characteristics
of the more familiar Pseudepigrapha.   Furthermore, many
of the latter have been found in the Qumran library, in
particular 7 mss.relating to Daniel, the Book of Jubilees,
Enoch (minus the Similitudes), an Aramaic Testament of
Levi and a Hebrew Testament of Naphtali.   Despite
Qumran's knowledge of apocalyptic literature, there is
no evidence of the reverse;   the oft-repeated terminology
of the non-Biblical Scrolls is not found elsewhere.   It

is then primarily the Pseudepigraphal works which can be dated B.C. that assume importance in a study of the inter-Testamental use of 'spirit', the purpose of which is to provide illuminating background to the Qumran usage.

1. 'wind' or 'breath':

The traditional use of πνεῦμα as 'wind' is maintained in the translated works as well as those originally Greek[32]. Most frequently it appears in lists of the natural elements (Song of the Three 43), but occasionally the emphasis is on the power of the wind (Sir. 39:28), or its destructive force (Wsdm. 5:23); yet even in its devastating might, the wind is under the control of God (Sir. 43:17).

Illustrations that πνεῦμα also retained the meaning 'breath' can be found in almost all the inter-Testamental writings[33]. As such it is a gift from God (2 Macc. 7:23), the life force whose termination brings death (Tob. 3:6); though in Wsdm. 16:14 it is parallel to 'the imprisoned soul' there is no evidence that a man's personality was identified with his πνεῦμα . Only in Enoch does the word designate 'a human being after death', a new usage which seems synonymous with ψυχή [34]. Ambiguity of 'breath' and 'spirit' in reference to God reappears

in Judith 16:14 where πνεῦμα is related to the Word
at the time of Creation:

> Let all Thy creatures serve Thee,
> for Thou didst speak, and they were made.
> Thou didst send forth Thy πνεῦμα and it
> formed them;
> There is none that can resist Thy voice.　35

2. Spirit of God:

(a) charismatic power:

Although the phrase 'Spirit of God' does not often
occur, the inter-Testamental writings echo the tradi-
tional operations of the divine Spirit.　It was active
in Creation (2 Bar. 21:4; 2 Esd. 6:39), it transports
men as it did in Ezekiel (2 Bar. 6:3; 7:2 (?); and
1 En. 68:2; 70:2 of the dead), and it is the life-giving
power in contrast to impotent flesh (Jub. 5:8).　At
times the impression is given that the Spirit pervades
the created order, filling all things with its substance
(Wsdm. 1:7; 12:1).　As we have seen, Alexandrian theol-
ogy is reflected in the close association of God's Spirit
with Wisdom, the two being almost identified as the
expression of divine activity in the world whereby men
gain insight (Wsdm. 9:17; Jub. 40:5) and understanding
(T. Levi 2:3).　Yet despite Greek influence, the Hebrew
insistence that רוח belongs not to the human realm but

the divine has not been lost; it is illustrated in
1 En. 106:17: "And they shall produce on the earth
giants not according to the spirit, but according to
the flesh ...".   πνεῦμα   also denotes divine power in
the traditional Hebrew sense of endowment.   It bestows
upon man the gifts of courage (Sir. 48:12), vision
(Sir. 12:24), and goodness (T. Sim. 4:4; T. Benj. 8:2);
it is supremely the equipment for the Messianic office
(T. Levi 8:14; T. Benj. 9:2, both probably referring to
John Hyrcanus).   The vision of Is. 11:2; 28:5 is
variously elaborated: the Messiah will be made strong
by the holy Spirit (Pss. Sol. 17:37), he will embody the
spirit of wisdom, the insight of teaching and might
(1 En. 49:3), the spirit of insight and holiness will
rest upon him (T. Levi 18:7), and the Spirit, the bless-
ing of the holy Father, will be poured upon him (T. Jud.
24:2).   For it is in the expression of eschatological
hopes that the Spirit is mentioned most often, and the
Messiah upon whom it is to rest in its fullness.

(b) power inspiring prophecy:

The association between prophecy and inspiration
by the Spirit was sufficiently close that it was automat-
ically assumed that the cessation of prophecy indicated

the withdrawal of the Spirit. The belief that prophecy had ceased was foreshadowed in the Old Testament (Mal. 4:5, 6; Zech. 13:4-6), as was the expectation of its return with the eschatological outpouring of the Spirit (Mal. 4:5, 6; Joel 2:28-29); both these ideas are confirmed in 1 Maccabees (9:27 and 4:46; 14:41). Relegation of the Spirit of prophecy to past and future became a dominant conviction of post-Exilic Judaism, yet there are indications that individuals believed themselves to be 'inspired' to continue proclamation. In 1 En. 91:1 the Word and Spirit together give Methuselah ability to see into the future; in the legend of 2 Esd. 14 Ezra implores God to send his holy Spirit so that he may write again the Law and 'secret tradition'. The Spirit seems to be presently claimed in Sib. Or. 3:701 and Sir. 48:12, Rebecca blesses Jacob by virtue of the spirit of righteousness that has descended into her mouth (Jub. 25:14), and it is explicitly the 'Spirit of prophecy' that enables Isaac to bless Levi and Judah (Jub. 31:12).

(c) <u>power creative of moral fortitude</u>:

The first chapter of Jubilees depicts Moses praying for the people of Israel; in words very reminiscent

of Ps. 51 he asks that God create in them an upright

spirit, a clean heart, and a holy spirit so that the

spirit of Beliar may not rule over them and they may

not be ensnared in their sins.   The reply is that obed-

ience is dependent on confession, but that thereafter

God will create in them a holy spirit.   There is here

the same interiorization of the spirit that emerged

towards the end of the Old Testament, and the same

realization of human impotence in the face of moral

conflict.   It is the latter which issues in the convic-

tion that holiness derives from God, and the desperate

plea for its bestowal.   This is the moral dilemma of

Ezekiel, but now the threatening forces of evil are

personified in the figure of Beliar.   The 'spirit of

holiness' which T. Levi 18:11 envisages being given to

the saints is tantamount to power over the evil spirits.

In the Hebrew version of T. Naph. 10:9 we read:

> Blessed is the man who does not defile
> the holy spirit of God which hath been
> put and breathed into him, and blessed
> is he who returns it to its Creator as
> pure as it was on the day when He
> entrusted it (to him).

Here   רוח   would seem to be the life force which has

been breathed into man, yet it is designated 'the holy

spirit of God'.   T. Benj. 8:2 states that the man whose

mind does not entertain fornication lacks defilement
precisely because the Spirit of God abides in him.   The
idea that God has placed his own Spirit within the
individual to act in a moral capacity is further attested
by Sib. Or. 1:5-6 where it is called a 'guide' to all
mortals.   In Ps. 51 we have stressed the divine origin
of the new spirit, and in Jub. 1 of the holy spirit, in
man; in T. Naph. we seem to have the equation of a holy,
human spirit with the holy Spirit of God.   This is
problematic only when thought of in terms of identity.
When considered in terms of function, holiness, of man or
God, is the power which defeats evil.   In Pss. Sol. 17:42-43
the 'might' with which the Messiah is endowed by God's
holy Spirit is moral fortitude to prevent him from
'stumbling'[36].   Werner Foerster has said, "Fragen wir
nach dem Heiligen Geist im Spätjudentum, so fragen wir
nach Gottes Geist in seiner soteriologischen Wirksamkeit"[37].
Russell, however, has recognized that in the ethical realm
the divine Spirit is hardly distinguishable from the
supernatural influence of angels and/or the moral decision
of man's spirit[38].

3. supernatural beings:

One of the most obvious products of foreign in-
fluence on Judaism is the growth of speculation about

intermediary beings between man and God. The prolifera-
tion of these is indicated in passages such as 1 En. 61:10;
47:3; 2 Bar. 21:6; 48:10 which describe the hosts
surrounding God[39]. In the LXX the Old Testament יהוה

צבאות ,   אלהי צבאות   is frequently translated by
κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων ,   the latter word possibly meaning
'power', 'elementary force'. C. H. Dodd sees in the
Test. XII a tendency to rationalize the angels of popular
mythology as divine agencies, δύναμεις   , 'powers' of
the monotheistic God[40]. Since 'power' was a connotation
basic to the Jewish concept of 'spirit' it is not surpris-
ing to find that in the Jewish apocalyptic literature
supernatural forces were also called πνεύματα . There
are numerous references in Enoch to the 'spirits' of the
natural elements[41], a usage which receives some clarifica-
tion from Jub. 2:2. These spirits, created by God on
the first day to serve him, seem at times to be synonymous
with the angels who control the elements, at other times
to be the forces which are controlled. One thing is
certain, that each has its decreed place and function in
the natural order under the supremacy of God. The
description of God as 'Lord of spirits' is found only in
the Similitudes of Enoch, but there some 104 times[42]!

In this connection πνεῦμα   came to be used to

depict individual beings. The vast number of demons who torment men are called 'evil spirits'. Their origin is described at 1 En. 15:8-12; 16:1, the word πνεύματα being applied to the fallen angels, also called the Watchers (15:4-8), the giants who were born of their union with women, and the above-mentioned demons who proceed at the time of their death[43]. This demonology is common to Enoch, Jubilees, and Test. XII, three of the books found at Qumran. The demons' task is to 'afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle and work destruction on the earth and to cause trouble' (1 En. 15:11); they are further described as 'the angels of punishment' preparing the instruments of Satan that will destroy mortals (1 En. 53:3). For at the head of this demon army stands Satan, the ruler of the counter-kingdom of evil which opposes God yet is ultimately subject to him. Frequently called Beliar or Mastema, this 'chief of spirits' (Jub. 10:8) represents a definite development beyond the Satan of the Old Testament[44].

The ultimate control of God over all spirits, however, is illustrated in Jub. 15:31 which also differentiates the position of Israel:

> ... but He chose Israel to be His people.
> And He sanctified it, and gathered it
> from amongst all the children of men; for
> there /

> there are many nations and many peoples,
> and all are His, and over all hath He
> placed spirits in authority to lead them
> astray from Him.   But over Israel He
> did not appoint any angel or spirit, for
> He alone is their ruler, and He will
> preserve them and require them at the
> hand of His angels and His spirits, and
> at the hand of all His powers in order
> that He may preserve them and bless them,
> and that they may be His and He may be
> theirs from henceforth for ever.

As Satan was given permission to try Job, so the evil

spirits are now allowed to lead the nations astray.   In

this instance, however, the spirits' authority seems to

result in ultimate betrayal of God.   Yet over Israel

none is appointed since she belongs to God in special

relationship.   The context is a description of the

Covenant made with Abraham, yet in this same context the

disloyalty of the Israelites is predicted and they are

called 'sons of Beliar' (vs. 34).   The idea that evil

spirits could seduce even the righteous is found through-

out Jubilees (n.b. especially 10:6 ff.; 12:20), but

equally strong was the conviction that they should not

hold final sway (see Jub. 10:12-13 where Noah is said to

have been taught medicinal preventions; on a more sophist-

icated level the hope of the righteous is expressed in

Jub. 19:28, the faith transmitted from Abraham to Jacob)[45].

It is in the Test. XII that we find concrete examples

of supernatural beings influencing man for good or evil.

The theoretical situation is restated in T. Benj. 3:3:
the spirits of Belial may afflict (ἐξαιτέω) but not
gain mastery (καταχυριεύσω)[46]. Here the guarantee
is not membership in Israel but fear of God and love of
neighbour; in T. Iss. 4:4 it is single-mindedness. It
seems as though the distinction between Israel and other
nations has developed into one between those who observe
the Law with complete dedication and those who deviate;
this was probably a modification made necessary by the
recognition of apostasy within the ranks of the righteous.
So T. Dan. 5:5-6, after exhorting people to keep the Law
"that the Lord may dwell among you, and Beliar may flee
from you", warns against the conspiracy of Satan to cause
the sons of Levi to sin. There seems to be no clear
theory of cause and effect; at times it seems that man
sins unavoidably because of Belial's influence, at other
times it seems that by man's free choice he puts himself
into Satan's hands. T. Sim. 2:7 claims that " ... the
prince of deceit sent forth the spirit of jealousy and
blinded my mind". Yet the 'spirits' often seem synon-
ymous with human weaknesses as in the Old Testament sense
of 'disposition', an occurrence which Hill correctly
interprets as deriving from the Hebrew and being non-

existent in works originally Greek[47]. Wine is said to
contain the four evil spirits of lust, hot desire,
profligacy and filthy lucre (T. Jud. 16:1), the spirits
of jealousy and fornication attacked Judah (T. Jud. 13:3),
the spirit of anger resulted in the murder of Joseph
(T. Dan 1:6), and the spirit of envy rules the mind and
corrupts (T. Sim. 3:1 ff.). In T. Reub. the seven spirits
of deceit are listed as the means by which young men
perish: fornication, insatiableness, fighting, obsequious-
ness and chicanery, pride, lying, injustice (2:1; 3:3 ff.).
The fluidity between the natural and supernatural is
grasped in Charles' statement: "If men yield, the devil
makes them his own instruments, T. Naph. 1:3; but if they
are single-hearted and do right, then neither the spirits of
deceit nor Beliar have power over them, T. Iss. 4:4;
T. Benj. 5:2" [48].

Eschatological expectation was that all such evil
spirits would be destroyed at the End (T. Jud. 25:3);
God will emerge victorious, having himself visited the
Earth and men shall rule over the wicked spirits (T. Sim.
6:6). Elsewhere it is the hosts of heaven who work
vengeance on these spirits at the Day of Judgment (T. Levi
3:3). In later texts such as Ass. Moses 10 we find the
concept of the divine kingdom established at the last

Judgment as the final victory of God over Satan. "Evil is conceived as a cosmic force and the world as the Kingdom of Satan and his demonic powers (an idea found also in the new Hebrew Scrolls); and the final triumph of the reign of God will bring the total destruction of the reign of Satan" [49]. 1 En. 58:6 states it in different terms: "The darkness shall be destroyed and the light established for ever".

In the present time, however, human nature is not subjected to evil influences alone; there are equal powers on the side of good. πνεύματα seemingly describes angelic creatures in 1 En. 15:10; Jub. 1:25; 15:31-32 (three times), but is never used of the archangels. Neither is it used to refer to angels in a helping role, despite the significance of their task. In T. Sim. 2:7 we read that the prince of deceit sent forth the spirit of jealousy, but God sent forth his angel and delivered Joseph out of Simeon's hands (vs. 8). So too T. Benj. 6:1 states that the inclination of the good man is not in the power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar because the angel of peace[50] guides his soul. The angel of Abraham and God himself are invoked in prayer in T. Jos. 6:7, and 1:3 - 2:3 accredits delivery from temptation to direct sustenance of God. It is moral strength to do

God's will that is prayed for in Jub. 21:25; 22:10, and an angel of might who prevents Judah from being overcome (T. Jud. 3:10). Angelic intercession is the means of protection in the vision of T. Levi 5:6: "I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel that they may not be smitten utterly, for every evil spirit attacketh it". This could be either Michael or the angel of peace. The two seem distinguished in Daniel, Michael being the Guardian Angel of Israel and because of this role Charles sees Michael also in 1 En. 89:76; 90:14, 22 [51]. Despite complex angelology the concept emerges that man is the battlefield on which two opposing cosmic powers meet. Although the individual maintains ethical responsibility, he is also prey to supernatural influences; it is obvious that these two ideas existed in tension. While this presents to the modern mind an unreconciled combination of free will and determinism, it seems not to have been a problem to the theologians of the time. To insist that one view must absorb the other would be to violate the textual evidence. The existence of this paradox, plus the fluidity of angelology, should forewarn us against too rigid a categorization of supernatural powers.

Man's free ethical choice seems assured in the well-known statement of T. Jud. 20:1-2:

> Know, therefore, my children, that two
> spirits wait upon man - the spirit of
> truth and the spirit of deceit. And in
> the midst is the spirit of understanding
> of the mind, to which it belongeth to
> turn whithersoever it will.

The attention of scholars has focused on the latter
sentence which proclaims the individual's responsibility.
What seems lacking is a definition of the two spirits!
In what sense is πνεῦμα used here[52]? In refusing to
categorize, Russell has justified his position by stress-
ing the difficulty in this passage and others of disting-
uishing between the action of the Spirit of God, of super-
natural agencies, and man's volitional activity[53]. The
more obvious distinction is between good and evil.
Accordingly we find mention of supernatural beings who
are not designated 'angel' or 'demon' but simply good
or evil: 1 En. 61:12 refers to 'every spirit of light'
and in 1 En. 41:9 the phrase "no power is able to hinder"
occurs parallel to "no angel hinders". This moral divis-
ion which pervades the cosmos is set forth in the astronom-
ical secrets of 1 En. 41:8:

> For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a
> curse,
> And the course of the path of the moon is light
> to the righteous
> And darkness to the sinners in the name of the
> Lord,
> Who /

> Who made a separation between the light and
> the darkness,
> And divided the spirits of men,
> And strengthened the spirits of the righteous,
> In the name of His righteousness.

The antiphony has run the complete gamut from sun and
moon to the spirits of men, the division of the latter
being confirmed by the description in 1 En. 108:11 of
"those who belong to the generation of light ... those
who were born in darkness" [54].

4. <u>spirit of man</u>:

That man's ethical allegiance should be indicated
by the tenor of his 'spirit' is in full accord with the
Hebrew understanding of רוח as the seat of moral
decision which emerged towards the close of the Old
Testament. The individual's responsibility is made
explicit in T. Levi 19:1, a passage which also underlines
the clear alternatives:

> And now, my children, ye have heard all;
> choose, therefore, for yourselves either the
> light or the darkness, either the law of
> the Lord or the works of Beliar.   [55]

The continued concentration on man's personal moral
dilemma is apparent from the predominant use of πνεῦμα
to indicate the human spirit and from the emphasis on

> And their bones shall rest in the earth,
> And their spirits shall have much joy.

It is (c) however which most concerns us[57].   Russell points to the merging in Jewish Apocalyptic of the two concepts 'soul' and 'spirit' which together came to express the inner life of man.   "The difference between them is not primarily one of kind but rather of aspect or approach, the spirit being expressive of that side of man's nature which may be more readily influenced by the spirit of God" [58].   It is (c) which Russell recognizes as difficult to distinguish from the Spirit of God or supernatural beings acting upon man.   His most significant insight is expressed on p. 149:

> In an important number of instances it
> (spirit) is used to denote that aspect of
> man's nature which is most readily influenced
> by God and which is capable of taking upon
> itself ethical qualities of a definite nature.
> It can be described as holy (cf. Jub. 1:21, 23)
> just as in the case of the spirit of God;   it
> can also become defiled (cf. Hebrew Test.
> of Napht. 10:9).   Both 'soul' and 'spirit',
> then, are used to describe a normal element
> in human consciousness and yet they are
> distinct, not only in their origin, but in
> the fact that 'spirit' describes human nature
> in its higher affinities and in its God-ward
> aspect.   In a number of cases it is almost
> impossible to distinguish between this con-
> ception of spirit and the activity of the
> spirit of God himself.   Even in those
> instances where it designates man's own
> consciousness there is seldom lacking the
> sense /

> sense that the word at the same time
> expresses an external influence upon
> man, either in the form of the spirit
> of God or in the shape of supernatural
> beings.

As illustrations of this usage, Russell cites 1 En. 56:5 where a spirit of unrest is said to come upon kings as the result of angels' initiative, 71:11 where the author claims his spirit was transfigured and that he cried out with a loud voice and 'with the spirit of power', and T. Gad 1:9; 3:1; 4:7; 6:2 where the spirit of hatred seems to work both within and upon the author.

Russell thinks that this usage is a development of that in Is. 11:2 where the Spirit of the Lord is said to rest upon the Messiah, yet at the same time is said to be the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord[59]. So in the Testaments the spirit of hatred is said to work together with Satan, the spirit of love with the Law of God, God may send the spirit of understanding into man or man may be described as possessing it, man may possess the spirit of anger as part of his own nature or it may be thought of as a supernatural entity. As we have seen, God is implored at the same time to create in his people an upright spirit and not to let the spirit of Beliar rule over them (Jub. 1:20).

That the word 'spirit' was used to describe those
influences outside man which played upon him has been
amply illustrated; that it also came to designate one
of the basic components of human nature is now equally
obvious.   It pertains to that part of man which we have
called his 'volitional centre'.

Bearing in mind Lys' analogy of respiration, it
is not surprising that the fluidity of movement between
God's Spirit and the spirit of man should have developed
into a definite view of moral influence as the individual
ethical dilemma sharpened.   The significant factor to
emerge from apocalyptic writing is that this same fluidity
has now been extended to supernatural angels and demons.
The influence of Persia is obvious in this army of super-
natural beings who contend for man's ethical allegiance.
In Zoroastrianism, however, the influence of such supra-
human powers remained external; they were thought to
act upon man from a distance in much the same way that
primitive Hebrew thought conceived of the descent of the
רוח יהוה .   In Jewish Apocalyptic, although angels
and demons are still independent entities, their sphere
of operation is the human spirit and they bestow and
withdraw their influence upon it as easily and impercep-
tibly as does the Spirit of God.   This intermingling

of human and divine spirit seems distinctively Hebraic.
Furthermore, according to Zoroaster, the Holy Spirit was,
as we have seen, an attribute of Ahura Mazdāh in which
no man could share. The instances we have cited of man
appropriating holiness by virtue of the divine Spirit's
action, illustrate a specifically Jewish development.
One would be tempted to see Greek influence in the use of
πνεῦμα both human and divine, if it were not for the
complete lack of corporeality. Nowhere in Apocalyptic
does πνεῦμα bear the slightest resemblance to a material
substance; πνεῦμα is not a quality possessed; it is
dynamic power, charismatic, prophetic, and moral and as
such it is essentially Hebraic. The development we have
noted of inter-action between divine, supra-human and
human πνεῦμα is in accord with the movement inherent in
the Hebrew concept of רוח.

IV RABBINIC LITERATURE

Since most of the literature commonly termed
'Rabbinic' was written in a period later than that to
which we assign the DSS, its inclusion in this study

perhaps requires explanation. A reminder of the follow-
ing facts will serve as minimal justification.   In the
extant documents ancient material has been preserved, some
of which existed as oral tradition from the time of Ezra
and Nehemiah until it was captured in writing about the
beginning of the Christian era.   Certainly translations
and interpretations of Biblical passages would have
originated as soon as Hebrew ceased to be the everyday
language of the people (Neh. 8:8), and attempts to
investigate the hidden meanings of Scripture developed
as soon as there were scribes with the time and ability
to devote to the task (Ezra 7:12); from such natural
beginnings grew the complex Targumim and Midrashim of
later centuries.   Of equal importance with the longevity
of this tradition is the fact that it is unmistakably
Jewish.   The avowed intention of the Rabbis in their
intensive task of interpretation was to preserve the
essential teachings of Judaism so that they might survive
in the face of foreign influence[60].

1. 'wind' or 'breath':

The Targumim generally retain the use of רוח
to mean 'wind' when dealing with Old Testament passages
where this is the obvious connotation of the word; other-

wise cosmic function is rarely attributed to it[61].
Similarly, the desire to render faithfully the Old
Testament is the chief cause of the word's usage to
depict 'breath' and/or 'disposition' [62].

2. Spirit of God:

The actual phrase 'Spirit of God' is replaced by
frequent reference to the 'Spirit of might', the 'Spirit
of prophecy' and the 'holy Spirit'.   This holy Spirit
is often described in material terms, as light, fire,
water, sound, or a dove[63].   There is no reason to
believe, however, that the Rabbis actually conceived of
the Spirit as existing in these substantial forms;   such
passages fit adequately into the category of vivid met-
aphor, and some are sufficiently bizarre to deny the
expectation of literal interpretation[64].   The Spirit
is also represented as acting in personal categories:
it consoles, weeps, laments, rejoices, and even speaks
to God[65].   This raises the possibility that it is now
thought of as an angelic being or at least in hypostatic
form, but Schweizer rightly points out that both these
concepts are unJewish and that the intention is purely
to represent the Spirit "as an objective divine reality
which encounters a man and lays claim to him" [66].   The

personal terminology conveys little different from the
Old Testament description of the Spirit resting upon
man;   it still portrays God in action, his relationship
to humanity[67].

Whereas in the Old Testament the divine Spirit
bestowed upon man countless charismatic gifts, it is in
Rabbinic thought chiefly the source of prophecy.   Targ.
Onk. retains the endowment of strength or power implicit
in Judg. 13:25; 1 Sam. 11:6, but its addition to Is. 11:2
of the words 'the Spirit of prophecy from God' is more
characteristic of Targumic method[68].   So Targs. Jon. and
Onk. both expand Is. 61:1 to read 'the Spirit of prophecy
is upon me'.   This emphasis indicates a widening of
the meaning of the word 'prophecy'; it seems in fact
to have absorbed all the gifts of intellectual and moral
excellence which in the Old Testament we classed as
'genius' [69].   Thus we find the view that the Spirit of
prophecy rested on the patriarchs and indeed on all Old
Testament figures who feared God.   Accordingly Moses,
David, and Solomon are said to have composed parts of
the Old Testament under the influence of the Spirit and
the belief developed that the Old Testament per se was
vivid proof of the Spirit's activity.   Divine authority
for the present thus was found in the revelation of the

Spirit in the past[70].

The activity of the Spirit was not only reverenced
in the past, but anticipated in the future, and in this
hope Ezek. 36:26; 37:14 acted as pivotal texts.

> God said to Israel, "In this world my
> spirit has put wisdom in you, but in
> the future my Spirit will make you to
> live again, as it is said (Ezek. 37:14)
> 'I will put my Spirit in you that you
> may live'". [71]

The Spirit is expected to renew men's wills, effecting
a moral regeneration (Pesikt. 165a; Tanh. 170b); it
will replace the evil inclination (Tanh. B, Hubbat 66a)[72].
It may in fact be argued that on the basis of Ezekiel's
hope the Spirit was conceived as the agent by which the
evil instinct would be destroyed and the resurrection
would take place[73]. Yet the insight of Joel was also
influential, being reflected in passages which predict
that under the inspiration of the Spirit all God's people
would be prophets[74]. The roots associating the Spirit
with the awaited Messiah lie, as we have seen, in the
Old Testament and are well developed in the Apocrypha
and Pseudepigrapha. Over the latter, the Rabbis made
no significant development in this direction. They
based their expectations on Is. 11:2 which they interpreted
as referring to the holy Spirit resting on the Messiah;

Is. 42:1-4 received similar treatment, the Servant

being interpreted as a Messianic figure.

The most striking Rabbinic teaching about the

Spirit was that of its cessation in the present[75].

Scholarly opinion may be summarized in the statement that

the literature allows no contemporary manifestation of

the Spirit; instead it offers various explanations of

its cessation. It is said to have withdrawn at the

time of the destruction of the first (or second) Temple[76],

but more frequently at the death of the last of the

prophets. Evidence for the latter view, which accords

with the close connection between the Spirit and prophecy

mentioned above, is usually cited from Ps. 74:9; 1 Macc.

4:46; 9:27; 14:41 and Jos. Ant. XIII.11.1, but the most

decisive statement is that with which this Chapter began.

It is repeated many times in Rabbinic literature:

> When the last prophets Haggai, Zechariah
> and Malachi died, the Holy Spirit ceased
> out of Israel; but nevertheless it was
> granted them to hear (the communications
> from God) by means of a Bath-Qol.   77

The reason for this withdrawal is stated in the answer

to R. Eliezer's question in Sif. Deut. 173 on 18:12:

"Why is the Holy Spirit so little in evidence in Israel?

But your sins have separated between you and your God"[78].

The Rabbis' consciousness of Israel's sinful state, no
doubt greatly exacerbated by what seemed capitulation
to Hellenism, prevented any thought that she was living
in the age of the Spirit.   Several instances are cited
of men worthy to receive the Spirit, but it is always
withheld on account of the sinfulness of their environment.

> When the sages entered the house of
> Guryo at Jericho, they heard the Bath
> Qol (the Heavenly Voice) announce, 'One
> man is present here who is worthy of
> the ruach haqôdesh but his generation
> is not worthy of it ...   79

It is texts such as this that are cited by Abelson
and Marmorstein to challenge the accepted view that the
Spirit was believed to have departed.   Such passages
are united, however, in claiming worthiness, not recep-
tion[80].   Other arguments seem equally unconvincing[81]:
that the Bath Qol fulfilled the function of the holy
Spirit is denied by R. Joshua's repudiation of its
message in Bab Metzia 59b;   that the prophetic Spirit
continued despite the decline of prophecy must be
reconciled with the fact that it never declared 'thus
saith the Lord' but always referred to the past with the
words 'it is written';   the claim that the Holy Spirit
survived in the office of the priesthood and was trans-
mitted to the Rabbis at their ordination is precarious,

though less easily refuted than the others; that the
Rabbis' pneumatic quality lay in their ability to predict
seems to contradict the Rabbinic view of prophecy and
would also probably be refuted by b. Sanh. 97b which
scorns 'calculation of the times'. Furthermore, Davies
correctly points out that the Shekinah cannot be assumed
to be identical with the Holy Spirit for, although both
witness to the presence of God, the former lacks the
invasive energy characteristic of the latter. The fact
that so much Rabbinic literature is discursive, non-
systematic Haggadah in which sayings about the Holy
Spirit are anonymous makes conclusions difficult. Since
the arguments of Abrahams, Marmorstein and Abelson do
not seem to withstand textual investigation, we cannot
say that Rabbinic literature recognizes any contemporary
manifestation of the Spirit. Yet Davies rightly warns
that we dare not generalize from the official position
represented in the documents to deny any individual
awareness of the Spirit's guidance.

The following passage, quoted by Abelson in support
of his case, indicates that such awareness might have
been possible:

> The Torah leads to watchfulness, watchful-
> ness to strictness, strictness to sinless-
> ness, sinlessness to self-control, self-
> control /

> control to purity, purity to piety,
> piety to humility, humility to sin-
> fearing, sin-fearing to holiness,
> holiness to the holy spirit, and this
> last to the resurrection of the dead.   82

The phrase "holiness to the holy spirit" provides important

indication of the close relationship between the Holy

Spirit and the ethical life in Rabbinic thought.   Indeed

if it was sin that had caused the withdrawal of the Spirit,

it is logical to assume that its return would presuppose

righteousness.   The most frequent name for God in

Rabbinic literature is 'the Holy One' and 'holiness' is,

to borrow Schechter's phrase, but another word for

Imitatio Dei[83].   The attributes of God become the ideals

of conduct for Israel and the practice of these is the

highest expression of righteousness.   It is interesting

to note the Rabbinic paraphrase of Lev. 11:44, "As I am

separated, so be ye separated", separation here implying

avoidance of impurity[84].   In this sense, holiness

accords with obedience to the Law, but Schechter draws

attention to a superior type of holiness, the essence of

which is better captured in the use of the word חסידות

than קדושה .   The concept is more individualized,

allowing each man to choose the path by which his dedica-

tion can best be expressed and his relationship to God

deepened;   the reward of this is, according to Schechter,

'communion with the Holy Spirit'.

> This superior holiness, which implies
> absolute purity both in action and
> thought, and utter withdrawal from things
> earthly, begins, as a later mystic
> rightly points out, with a human effort
> on the part of man to reach it, and
> finishes with a gift from heaven bestowed
> upon man by an act of grace. [85]

By the Rabbis' own logic, then, 'holiness' was the pre-
requisite for the activity of the Holy Spirit. To what
extent the individual expected, despite his unworthy
environment, to encounter the divine Spirit in his own
attempt to lead an ethical life remains an open question,
but it is highly likely that among the less legalistic,
more mystical Jews the reception of 'grace' would be
recognized as the activity of the Spirit. As Davies
concludes, we should not consider Rabbinic Judaism "as
an arid desert scorched to barrenness by its belief in
a transcendent God who no longer revealed himself to his
people. On the contrary, the phenomena ... are eloquent
of the awareness of the near presence of God, and we need
not deny that there may have been individuals who were
conscious of the Holy Spirit as active in their lives" [86].
We have at least one illustration in the case of Samuel
the Little who reportedly prophesied in the hour of his
death, thus indicating that he was to some degree inspired

by the Spirit[87].

3. <u>supernatural beings</u>:

    Evil spirits continue to threaten man in Rabbinic literature, although they seldom appear in the role of tempter; more often they damage and disturb.   Yet there remain instances of supernatural spirits 'entering' men, causing mental confusion which results in sin[88]. These demons operate under the authority of a 'Prince of evil spirits', but he seems to be no longer identified as Satan[89].   While belief in evil spirits belonging to a higher than human realm is presumed by the Rabbis, and

רוח continues to depict such beings, they in fact play a much less significant role than in Apocalyptic and there is no development over the latter.

4. <u>spirit of man</u>:

    רוח is used interchangeably with נפש and נשמה by the Rabbis to describe the human soul or spirit; there is no apparent distinction between these two concepts. Sjöberg points out that רוח and נפש are used especially but not exclusively in relation to the animal and psychic functions of the soul, נשמה when reference is to the soul derived from heaven.   The latter term

is sometimes used to translate רוח in Old Testament passages[90].

The Rabbinic distinction anthropologically was between body and soul, the latter as depicted by all three words above.

> All creatures created from heaven, their
> soul (נפש) and their body derive from
> heaven, and all creatures created from
> earth, their soul and their body derive
> from earth. Man is the only exception;
> for his soul (נפש) derives from heaven,
> and his body from earth. [91]

Such a view is a development from the Old Testament understanding of רוח as God's gift to man. Greek influence is resisted to the point that the spirit is never a divine substance in man, nor is there any evil connotation attached to the body; the emphasis is simply on the heavenly origin of the spirit. Due to this origin, the soul is pure and holy when man receives it and it is his duty to preserve it in this state[92]. Since this spirit is given by God, it can also be called God's Spirit and in T.J.I Gen. 6:3 we find the statement, as in T. Naph. 10:9, that God has placed his holy Spirit in man[93]. If man returns the spirit to God pure at the end of his life, then he becomes like one of the angels[94].

This independence of man's spirit from his body
leads to the idea that it can wander through the world
while man is sleeping.   In this capacity it foretells
the future in dreams or rises to heaven itself.
Accordingly the soul survives death and waits in some
appointed place until the Last Judgment when it will be
reunited with the body[95].

Without losing its connotation of divine origin,
the human spirit is nonetheless described by adjectives
indicating emotional states;   as in the Old Testament
man's רוח   can be proud, humble, refreshed, and rested[96].
It does not, however, assume the same importance in
ethical decisions, largely because of another concept
introduced by the Rabbis.   Man's continuing moral
dilemma had convinced them of an internal conflict of
two inclinations.   Hence there developed the theory of
the good and evil יצר   which determined man's behaviour[97].

It is important to stress again at this point
that Rabbinic literature represents only one stream of
thought, that which triumphed after centuries of specula-
tion.   If there existed tendencies which challenged the
new-found orthodoxy, we could scarcely expect them to
find expression in the official literature.   Davies,
arguing against Montefiore's use of Rabbinic texts for

clarification of Pauline studies, concludes, "It
follows that we cannot, without extreme caution, use
the Rabbinic sources as evidence for first-century
Judaism" [98].   How much more caution should be exerted
when studying the earlier Dead Sea Scrolls!

Footnotes

1. b. Yoma 9b; b. Sotah 48b; b. Sanh. IIa;
   M. Sotah 9:12; Tosefta Sotah 13:2.

2. See above, pp. 32-39.

3. T. W. Manson, "Some Reflections on Apocalyptic",
   in Aux Sources de la Tradition Chrétienne, (1950),
   p. 139 ff., cited by D. S. Russell in The Method
   and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, (Old Testament
   Library; London: SCM Press Ltd., 1964), p. 84,
   n. 2. Russell has further developed Manson's
   point, describing Rabbinism as the codification of
   divine demands and commands and Apocalyptic as the
   codification of the divine purpose; ibid., p. 85.

4. The administrative and religious reorganization of
   the post-Exilic, Jewish community in Palestine led
   to a stability which, presumably, the Persians were
   pleased to let develop, a stability in which Jerusalem
   assumed its place as the one legitimate site of
   Temple worship and the Zadokites' claim to the priest-
   hood was recognized. It was during this period
   that the Deuteronomic history, together with the
   Pentateuch, was compiled as the Law, the canonical
   holy book which became binding on anyone calling
   himself a Jew. The importance of this feat cannot
   be overestimated; it resulted in a zeal for reading
   and interpretation which later would lead to the
   complicated exegesis of the Talmud. It heralded
   the authority of the Law within Israel which was to
   evoke the search for even more rigorous means of
   obedience. Yet it would be foolish to suppose that
   the Palestinian community lived in complete isola-
   tion from the Jews of the Diaspora, had no contact
   with travellers from the Persian court. Two hun-
   dred years of Persian rule, no matter how peaceful,
   were bound to have left their mark.

5. A. T. Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire,
   (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948),
   p. 465.

6. /

6. R. C. Zaehner, <u>The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism</u>, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1961), p. 20.

7. So Ernst Herzfeld, <u>Zoroaster and His World</u>, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), Vol. 2, p. 412.

8. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 482 ff.

9. This was one of Zoroaster's most important contributions to monotheism. Unfortunately it did not convince the populace who by continued practice soon restored their ancient deities from the status of demons to that of gods.

10. This view assumes Zaehner's argument that Zoroaster's monotheistic teaching had not been corrupted by dualism at the time <u>The Gathas</u> were written; <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 50-51.

11. Zaehner translates 'the Truth and the Lie'. Herzfeld thinks 'just and unjust, or righteous and wicked' in the Biblical sense is closer to the original meaning. Herzfeld, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 495.

12. Zaehner, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 42.

13. Eduard Schweizer, "Gegenwart des Geistes und eschatologische Hoffnung bei Zarathustra, Spät-judischen Gruppen, Gnostikern und den Zeugen des Neuen Testamentes", in <u>The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology</u>, ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: The University Press, 1964), p. 485.

14. Kleinknecht, "πνεῦμα in the Greek World", in <u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u>, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, ed. Gerhard Friedrich, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968), Vol. VI, p. 334.

15. The noun first appears in Aeschylus.

16. This is the most common usage, found in almost all the classical writers. The word πνο(ι)ή seems preferred by the poets.

17. /

17. There is no more certainty among Greek than Hebrew philologists as to whether the concept of 'wind' or 'breath' was first attached to the word.

18. Hill quotes a fragment from Epicharmus: " ... joined it was, is now severed and is gone again whence it came; earth to earth, and spirit (πνεῦμα) above". No. 126. Hill, op. cit., p. 203.

19. See Kleinknecht's section on 'life-creating πνεῦμα ', ibid., pp. 339-343.

20. Ibid., pp. 352-357.

21. The word was first applied to God by Posidonius who also added the attributes 'intelligent and fiery'. Hill sees in the latter an indication that material connotations remained. Hill, op. cit., p. 205.

22. Kleinknecht, loc. cit., p. 359.

23. For statistics, ibid., pp. 367-368.

24. So Hill, op. cit., p. 219.

25. For the relation of Wisdom and the Spirit of God, see P. van Imschoot, "Sagesse et Esprit dans l'Ancien Testament", RB 47 (1938), pp. 23-49.

26. Russell, op. cit., p. 104.

27. Von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol. 2, pp. 301-308. Von Rad points to the discrepancy in the two views of history expressed by Apocalyptic and Prophecy, the former lacking any concept of 'Heilsgeschichte' and focusing its attention purely on the saving events of the future. He further argues the pessimistic tenor of the apocalyptic view of history, which sees current events moving towards a final destruction, impelled by the evil inclination of man. "Here apocalyptic literature differs from prophecy, for prophecy attributed all catastrophic events to the direct intervention of Jahweh in history". (ibid., /

(<u>ibid.</u>, p. 305). A contrasting interpretation
is presented by Stauffer, who calls Apocalyptic a
'pre-Christian theology of history', characterized
by: a) the principle of primordiality, b) con-
flict, c) eschatology and d) universalism. Far
from ignoring the past, Apocalyptic is concerned
with the origin of life's moral conflict and in
'salvation-history' finds the clue to human history
which, in turn, provides the clue to cosmic history.
Ethelbert Stauffer, <u>New Testament Theology</u>, trans.
John Marsh; (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1955), p. 19.

28. Russell, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 92, quoting B. W. Anderson,
<u>The Living World of the Old Testament</u> (1959),
p. 519.

29. R. H. Charles, <u>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of
the Old Testament in English</u>, Vol. II, (Oxford:
At The Clarendon Press, 1913), p. vii. Charles
argues that in pre-Christian times apocalyptic and
legalistic Judaism were not antagonistic; both
began with a recognition of the Law's supremacy,
but Apocalyptic further asserted the prophetic tra-
dition as a source of new truth and itself as its
successor. Charles maintains that B.C. Apocalyptic
is as important to orthodox Judaism as is legalism.

30. Russell, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 21, quoting W. D. Davies,
"Torah in the Messianic Age and/or The Age to
Come", in the JBL Monograph Series, Vol. 7, (1952),
p. 53.

31. Matthew Black, <u>The Scrolls and Christian Origins</u>,
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 8.

32. For a list of these occurrences see Hill, <u>op. cit.</u>,
p. 220, n. 2.

33. <u>Ibid.</u>, n. 3.

34. 1 En. 9:3, 10; 20:3. This would seem to be an
extension of the Greek concept of 'spirit' as the
substantial essence of man, though Hill suggests
it may have developed from the application of
πνεῦμα   to supernatural 'individuals' such as
angels /

angels and demons; <u>ibid</u>., p. 222; cf. also
Jub. 23:26-31.

35. Cf. Gen. 1:2, Ps. 33:6 ff., and p. 3 above; also
1 En. 14:2.

36. ἀσθενήσει   represents the Hebrew   יכשל .
Cf. this idea in the DSS, below p. 261 ff.

37. Werner Foerster, "Der Heilige Geist im Spätjudentum",
NTS 8 (1961-1962), p. 117.

38. Russell, <u>op. cit</u>., Appendix II, p. 402, n. 1.

39. Although these supernatural beings pervade inter-
Testamental literature, it is mainly in Enoch,
Jubilees, and the Testament of the XII Patriarchs
that they are called 'spirits'. So David Hill
points out; <u>op. cit</u>., p. 221. It should be
noted that these three books are among those found
at Qumran.

40. C. H. Dodd, <u>The Bible and the Greeks</u>, (London:
Hodder & Stoughton, 1935), pp. 16-19.

41. 1 En. 60:14-21, 11 times; 69:22; 75:5; cf.
Jub. 2:2, 5 times.

42. For enumeration of these instances, see Charles,
<u>op. cit</u>., p. 209, n. 'Lord of Spirits'. He
compares 2 Macc. 3:24; Num. 16:22; 27:16. Hill
thinks the expression has replaced 'Lord of Hosts',
frequently translated in LXX by κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων;
<u>op. cit</u>., p. 221.

43. For the demonology of 1 Enoch, see Charles, <u>op. cit</u>.,
p. 185; also below, p. 351 ff.

44. For further discussion of Satan, see below, p. 355
and p. 377, n. 46.

45. Insight into the development of these ideas is
greatly hindered by having to work from an English
text. It seems likely that either the two ideas
existed side by side in tension or that 'to lead
astray' in vs. 31 means 'to have ultimate authority'.

46. /

46. According to Charles, mss. c, S read καὶ ἐὰν τὰ πνεύματα τοῦ βελίαρ εἰς πᾶσαν πονηρίαν θλίψεως ἐκστήσωσι ὑμᾶς, οὐ μὴ κατακυριεύσωσιν ὑμῶν ---. β and S' however read ἐξαιτήσωνται --- κατακυριεύσει ὑμῶν πᾶσα πονηρία θλίψεως. If the latter is right, then ἐὰν --- εἰς πᾶσαν πονηρίαν θλίψεως ἐξαιτήσωνται = אם בכל רע מצוקה יבקשו נפשיכם where Charles takes מצוקה to be corrupt for להציקה . Therefore he suggests τοῦ θλίβειν for θλίψεως. R. H. Charles (ed.), <u>The Greek Versions of The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</u>, (Oxford: The University Press, 1908. Reprinted 1960), p. 217, n. 14.

47. Hill, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 222-223.

48. Charles, <u>Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha</u>, p. 297, n. II, 1.

49. M. Black, "The Development of Judaism in the Greek and Roman periods", in <u>Peake's Commentary on the Bible</u>, ed. Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley, (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1962), p. 698.

50. Cf. 1 En. 40:8; 52:5; 53:4; T. Asher 6:6; and especially T. Dan 6:5.

51. Cf. Dan. 10:13; 12:1; 1 En. 20:6; 40:8-9. For more detailed discussion of angelology, see below, p. 357 ff.

52. For a more detailed study of this passage see below, pp. 369-370.

53. Russell, <u>op. cit.</u>, Appendix II, p. 405, n. 1. He lists this passage under supernatural beings 'with no special reference to angels or demons'.

54. Although we find in 1 Enoch these explicit statements that the 'spirits of men' have been divided between light and darkness, exegetes stumble on the same ambiguity that has plagued the study of the Qumran texts. Nowhere is it obvious how this 'division' was executed or what it entails. Has each individual a portion of both light and darkness? If so, what is the criterion of division?

55. Cf. Pss. Sol. 9:7. Charles has rightly pointed out the great advance in ethics which the Pseudepigrapha /

epigrapha display over the Old Testament, that
the ethical element is in fact the fundamental
one in these books. Charles, op. cit., pp. IX-XI.

56. Russell, op. cit., Appendix II, pp. 402-404.

57. It is also (c) which Hill ignores. He merely
notes, "The use of πνεῦμα in the 'psychical'
sense (denoting the seat of affections and emotions)
is almost non-existent in the Inter-testamental
books composed in Greek. This is additional
evidence that among Greek-speaking people there
was no such meaning in use". Hill, op. cit.,
p. 222.

58. Russell, op. cit., p. 155. This does not suggest
a substantial relationship. The development is
in direct sequence with רוח as used by Ezekiel,
that part of man peculiarly susceptible to divine
influence. See above, p. 43 ff.

59. Cf. 1 En. 49:3. This fluidity of doctrine is
further expressed in the statements implying
free will and/or predestination. While on the
one hand man is said to have created sin (1 En. 98:4),
on the other God's decree about everything, includ-
ing man's portion is said to be final (1 En. 2,
3, 4, 5, especially 5:2; Pss. Sol. 5:6).
Here Charles' observation is appropriate, that
" ... in the age to which the Enoch literature
belongs there is movement everywhere, and nowhere
dogmatic fixity and finality". Charles, op. cit.,
p. 163.

60. Foerster draws attention to the figure of speech
which describes interpretative commentary as the
building of a fence around the Torah to protect it.
He points out: "Ein Zaun ist nicht die Tora selbst,
sondern etwas, was sie schützen soll ... ";
Foerster, loc. cit., p. 121. For a study of the
concept of 'holy Spirit' in late Judaism, includ-
ing the DSS, see Foerster's article, passim.

61. Targ. Onk. interprets 'wind' in Gen. 1:2; so
also Gen. R. 1:9; R. Simeon b. Lakish, however,
understands 'Adam's spirit', while Tg. J. I
and II Gen. 1:2 expand 'the Spirit of God' to
read /

read 'by the Spirit of the mercy of JHWH'.

62. David Hill draws attention to the Targ. Onk.
interpretation of Gen. 2:7 which illustrates the
close association of 'breath' and 'word'.   "God
breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life
and man became a living being" is now rendered
" ... the breath of life became in Adam a
discoursing spirit", (רוח ממללא);   Hill,
op. cit., p. 227.

63. Davies, op. cit., p. 184, reproduces the evidence
presented by J. Abelson in The Immanence of God
in Rabbinical Literature, p. 212ff.

64. "At the time that the Holy Spirit rested upon
Samson, his hairs stood up and knocked against
one another like a bell and their sound was
heard from Zarah to Eshtaol"(Lev. Rab. 8:2).
We are also told that the Holy Spirit which rested
on the prophets had weight like a material object
(Lev. Rab. 15:2).   Abelson suggests that such
passages are attempts to convey mystical visionary
or audible experience in which the Holy Spirit is
associated with an empirical sensation.   This
presupposes his argument that experience of the
Spirit was frequent in Rabbinic circles, a point
not dealt with by Hill, but adequately refuted
by Davies, op. cit., pp. 209-215.   See below, p. 101 ff.

65. Lev. R. VI:I on 6:1;   Deut. R. III:II on 9:1;   as
cited by Schweizer, op. cit., p. 14, n. 6 for
'speaking'.   For further references, See Str.-B.,
II, pp. 134-138.

66. Schweizer, op. cit., p. 15.   This represents
the view of most scholars; e.g. Moore, Robinson,
Abelson, Hill.   Schweizer further argues that the
fact that the Spirit never appears in the heavenly
assembly before God is a significant point in the
study of angelology.

67. The Spirit rests on a man (שרה), filling him
(מלא), illuminating him (גצנץ), and shines
on a place (הודפיע);   ibid.

68. Cf. Targ. Onk.; 1 Sam. 10:6; Num. 24:2.

69. David Hill concludes, "Thus the 'spirit of prophecy' may be attributed to warrior and craftsman, king and messianic ruler - men whose activities would not all be included within the narrow definition of prophecy"; op. cit., p. 228.

70. A verse from the Old Testament could thus be quoted as a saying of the Spirit; indeed the Spirit is depicted as participating in the dramatization of Biblical passages. (Cant. 8:5-6; Tosefta Sotah 9:9, cited by Hill, loc. cit.). So Schweizer points out that at the time of forming the Canon, the question of what should be accepted was the question of what was considered to be written 'in the Holy Spirit' (T. Yad. 2:14; B. Meg. 7a). He further argues against Abelson that this does not justify the conclusion that the Torah was identified with the Holy Spirit; Schweizer, op. cit., p. 8, n. 1 and n. 2. Further- more, the very fact of the Torah's pre-eminence may be held as an argument for the presence of the Spirit. These Scriptures, whose prophetic insights and ethical demands were believed to have been inspired by the Spirit in the past, were therefore a medium of its action in the present.

71. Ex. R. 48 (102d), quoted by Hill, op. cit., p. 227.

72. In places moral renewal precedes bestowal of the Spirit (Tanh. Qîddûshîm 15 on Ezek. 36:26).

73. So Schweizer, op. cit., p. 12.

74. See Str.-B., II, pp. 134, 615-616; IV, p. 915. Hill, op. cit., p. 233, quotes Num. R. 15:25: "The Holy One, blessed be He, said: In this world individuals were given prophetic power, but in the world to come, all Israel will be made prophets, as it is said (Joel 2:28), 'I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh'".

75. For post-Biblical concepts of רוח , Licht cites the work of I. Heinemann, "Die Lehre vom heiligen Geist im Judentum und in den Evangelien", Monats- schrift Gesch. Wiss. d. Judentums, 66 (1922), pp. 169-180, 268-279; 67 (1923), pp. 26-35. This /

This unfortunately was not available to me.
Cf. J. Licht, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving
Scroll", IEJ 6 (1956), pp. 89-101.

76. b. Yoma 21b, Num. R. 15:10 deny that the Spirit
was ever present in the second Temple.

77. See above, p. 109, n. 1 for references.

78. Cf. Is. 59:2.

79. Tosefta Sotah 13:3; J. Sotah 9:24b; b. Sotah
48b; b. Sanh. IIa, quoted by Davies, op. cit., p. 207.

80. Lev. Rab. 35:7; Song of Songs Rab. 1:8;
Mekilta Beshallah 7.

81. There follows a summary of the arguments by
Abrahams, Marmorstein and Abelson as presented
and refuted by Davies, op. cit., p. 211 ff.

82. Attributed to R. Phinehas b. Jair in Mishnah
Sotah 9:15; b. 'Abodoh Zarah 20b.   An
Essene origin for the passage has been suggested
(Davies cites Bacher's Die Agada der Tannaiten,
Vol. 2, p. 497; ibid., p. 210, n. 3).

83. S. Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology.
(London: Adam & Charles Black, 1909), p. 199.

84. T.K. 57b, cited by Schechter, ibid., p. 205.

85. Ibid., p. 217.   Schechter notes the proximity
of חסידות to רוח קדוש in all parables
listed by Bacher; ibid., p. 201, n. 1.

86. Davies, op. cit., p. 215.

87. T. Sotah XIII, 4, cited by Schweizer, op. cit.,
p. 13, n. 5.

88. Str.-B. IV, 503 cites the case of a man who
unintentionally broke one of God's commandments
because of an evil spirit's influence (Erub. 4:1).

89. Lev. r. 5:1 mentions a demon called שריהון דרוחתא
and j. Sheg. 5:6 the Prince of evil spirits,
רביהון דרוחיא.

90. E. Sjöberg, " רוּחַ in Palestinian Judaism", in
Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, trans.
Geoffrey W. Bromiley, ed. Gerhard Friedrich, (Grand
Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing
Company, 1968), Vol. VI, pp. 375-389.

91. S. Deut. 306 on 32:2, cited by Sjöberg, ibid.,
pp. 377-378 and n. 233.

92. b. Ber. 60b; b. Shab. 152b.

93. Cited by Sjöberg, loc. cit., p. 378; cf.
above, p. 80. Sjöberg notes Sus. ⊙
where the spirit of Daniel is said to be holy
because of his own piety; ibid., n. 236.

94. S. Deut. 306 on 32:2, cited by Sjöberg, ibid.,
n. 237; cf. below, p. 160.

95. Sometimes the soul is said to be hidden in a
compartment of heaven, sometimes in the place of
the dead; in either case the spirits of the
righteous are separated from those of the un-
righteous, which are either deserted or sent to
Gehenna. The divine origin of the spirit
influences even views of the Last Judgment, for
some texts claim that the renewed life then
bestowed will be by virtue of God's Spirit.
See Sjöberg, ibid., p. 379, n. 243 for references.

96. Ab. 4:7; 4, 4:10; 4:17 and Sheb. 10:9.

97. For detailed discussion of this concept, see
below, p. 353. Gen. r. 20 seems to indicate
that because it knows the evil inclination, a
demon can lead man astray.

98. Davies, op. cit., p. 3.

CHAPTER   THREE

רוח   I N   T H E   D E A D   S E A   S C R O L L S

OCCURRENCES OF רוח IN THE DSS

1QH	1:9	8:29	16:6	fg. 12:4
	1:10	8:36	16:7	fg. 12:6
	1:11	9:12 (2)	16:9	fg. 14:1
	1:15	9:16 (2)	16:10	fg. 19:3
	1:22	9:32	16:11	fg. 31:1
	1:28	10:8	16:12	fg. 33:2
	1:29 (2)	11:12	16:14	fg. 45:6
	1:32	11:13	17:6	1QS 2:14
	2:15	12:11	17:7	2:20
	3:18	12:12	17:17	3:6
	3:21	13:8	17:23	3:7
	3:22	13:13	17:25	3:8
	4:31	13:15	17:26	3:14
	4:36	13:19	18:15	3:18 (2)
	5:36	14:3	fg. 2:9	3:24
	6:23	14:11	fg. 3:6	3:25
	7:5	14:13	fg. 3:14	4:3
	7:6	14:25	fg. 5:4	4:4
	7:11	15:13	fg. 5:6	4:6
	7:23	15:22	fg. 6:4	4:9
	7:29	16:2	fg. 9:6	4:10
	8:12	16:3	fg. 11:4	4:20

	4:21 (2)		10:12			17:2
	4:22		11:10	39		1:6
	4:23		12:9	69		37:1
	4:26		13:2	11QPS^a Plea		19:14
	5:21		13:4			19:15
	5:24		13:10	11QMelch.		1:12
	5:26		13:12	11QPS^{a}Dav. Comp.		27:4
	6:17		14:7	4QPs.37		3:8
	7:18		14:10	4QDib.Ham.		5:15
	7:23		15:14	4QS140		24:5
	8:3	CD	2:12			24:6
	8:12		3:3	*4Q158	14	I:2
	8:16		3:7	4Q176	21	3
	9:3		5:11	4Q177	1-4	7
	9:14		7:4		12-13	I:5
	9:15		8:13		12-13	I:9
	9:18		12:2	4Q178	1	6
	9:22		19:25	4Q183	1	II:6
	10:18		20:24	4Q184	4	4
	11:1 (3)	1QSb	2:24	4Q185	1-2	I:9
1QM	5:17		5:24		1-2	I:10
	7:5		5:25		1-2	I:11
	7:6	29	14:1		1-2	I:12
	6:12	36	2:5	4Q186	1	II:7
	9:13		15:5		1	III:5

* For the numbering of Allegro's references, see footnote 6.

4Q186	2	I:6
4Q226D[a]		3:6
		3:12

ARAMAIC TEXTS

1QGen. Apoc.	11:13
	11:17
	20:16 (2)
	20:20
	20:26
	20:28
4QMess.ar.	1:10
	2:7
5Q15	1:1
	1:14
6Q23	1:3

K. G. Kuhn's <u>Konkordanz</u>[1], published in 1960, lists 147 occurrences of דוד in the non-Biblical, Hebrew texts at that time available from Qumran; his "Nachträge", which appeared in RQ4 three years later[2] to cover material from Cave 4 which had since been published, expands one reference, corrects another[3] and notes three more. This total of 150 increases to 152 when it is realized that the word דוד appears twice in 1QH 9:16, which Kuhn lists only once, and three times in 1QS 11:1, which is recorded only twice in the <u>Konkordanz</u>. In 1964 A. S. van der Woude published 11Q Melchizedek in which דוד may be cited once with certainty[4]. The fourth volume of DJD, published in 1965, records three instances of דוד in the Apocryphal Compositions from the Psalms Scroll of Cave 11 [5] and the fifth volume, published in 1968, contains 15 more instances of the word in Allegro's portion of the Cave 4 material[6]. In 1966, Milik published a fragment of the Damascus Document, 4Q<u>226</u>D[a], which did not correspond to any part of CD and contained two occurrences of דוד [7]. The present survey, therefore, is based on the premise that דוד occurs 173 times in non-Biblical, Hebrew texts of the now published DSS[8]. Editorial reconstructions of the word are not recognized if all three radicals are obliterated by a lacuna in the text[9]. Of the 173 appearances considered, 15 are in texts sufficiently corrupt to render

any reconstruction of context impossible[10]; in other

cases where the word's precise meaning remains obscure,

the context allows a general impression of its signif-

icance, which can often be clarified by similar passages

in other Scrolls.   The 12 occurrences of רוח/א in the

Aramaic texts are discussed separately in the Appendix.

A general survey of רוח in the Old Testament and

inter-Testamental literature has revealed the fluidity

with which one usage passes into another.   Although we

now attempt a classification of the word's meanings in the

DSS, noting its every occurrence, other difficulties

appear.   Rigid categorization of the various usages of

רוח in the DSS is impossible while dating, integrity

and authorship of manuscripts remain open questions.   The

danger of presupposing consistency of thought throughout

the DSS is well recognized, but caution must also be

exercised when dealing with Scrolls which may be of a

composite nature.   The divisions adopted in this Chapter,

therefore, are intended as convenient groupings of material

and illustrate in themselves the overlapping of categories.

Care must be taken not to impose definition or uniformity

that did not exist in a Community unconcerned with the

systematization of doctrinal theology.   In true Hebrew

tradition, the concept of רוח is portrayed in functional

rather than essential terms, which makes clear distinction

of usage difficult.   Some general observations may,
however, be made at the outset.

Distribution of the 173 Hebrew occurrences falls
chiefly among the four major Scrolls: 1QH (61), 1QS (39),
1QM (15) and CD (9).   15 more appear in the fragments
of 1QH, 4 in 4Q185, 3 in 1QSb, 36 (Recueil d'hymnes),
4Q177 and 4Q186;   4QS1.40, 4QA1., and 11QPS[a]Plea each use
the word twice, 29, 39, 69, 4QpPs.37, 4QDib.Ham., 4Q158,
4Q176, 4Q178, 4Q183, 4Q184, 11QMelch. and 11QPS[a]Dav.Comp.
once[11].   In 1QS רוח chiefly describes the spirit of
man, with a few interesting references to a spirit of
holiness.   In the famous 'two spirit' passage of Columns
3-4,   רוח occurs with other meanings, mention of which
is made in this chapter despite the detailed exegesis
which follows.   רוח never designates 'wind' or 'breath'
in 1QS and outside of the above-mentioned passage, never
supernatural beings.   1QM, on the other hand, is unique
in having a preponderance of references to supernatural
beings (8 out of 15), yet it also employs רוח to denote
'wind', 'breath', 'spirit of man'.   This Scroll's developed
angelology adds to our understanding of the Sect's cosmol-
ogy.   Indeed Column 13 is in this respect of comparable
importance to 1QS 3:13-4:26, for it gives the apocalyptic
parallel to what is there expressed in ethical terminology.
This Column and its translation appear below, pp. 338-339.

Similar diversity appears in CD[12] where, with only 9

occurrences, there is reference to 'wind', 'supernatural

beings', 'God's holy Spirit', and the 'spirit of man'.

The latter is the most frequent and incorporates two

instances of man defiling his holy spirit.   Again in

1QH רוח most often depicts the spirit of man, but this

Scroll is notable for its recurring theme of complete

dependence on God.   The hymns give to him all credit

for human righteousness, making it difficult to establish

an independent, anthropological use of רוח .   The fallacy

of trying neatly to sever the ethical from the cosmological

in Qumran thought is here made most obvious.   It is not

surprising, therefore, to find in 1QH 8 occurrences of

the phrase 'Thy holy Spirit' with reference to God.   It

has been said that the concept of two spirits underlies

1QH[13] and while there are no explicit references to them

in this Scroll, many passages seem to allude to them;

two factors emerge as remarkable: the complete absence

of the phrase רוח יהוה   in the DSS and the frequency

with which רוח designates the anthropological spirit.

I   OCCURRENCES DEFYING GROUPING

Various occurrences of רוח defy any attempt at grouping.   The meaning of רוח in lQH l:9 is elusive, possibly referring to either men or supernatural beings, yet suggesting something else.   The hymn opens with general praise of God's omniscience and at line 9 begins to describe Creation, first the heavens and mighty spirits within it, the cosmic scene, then the earth, and finally man (רוח אדם).   Yet preceding all of this is the strange assertion, "Thou didst form every spirit (כול רוח) and didst establish its action, and judgment for all their deeds".   It is impossible to say whether this is an inclusive statement encompassing all that follows, whether it refers to just one level of the cosmos, or whether in fact it is a different usage of רוח from those to which we are accustomed.   Similarly in lQH l4:ll there is an undefinable mention of spirits, the following word being missing[14].   The reference to loving and hating, good and evil, in the next line is obviously related.   The phrase 'upon the spirits' occurs in lQH 17:23, followed by a statement of the Community's duty to love whom God loves and reject whom he hates.   The relation of these רוחות to good and evil is unclear in both instances.

25

II רֶוַח AS 'SPACE'[15]

In 1QM 5:17 and 7:6 רוח seems to indicate 'space' and should be vocalized רֶוַח [16]. This meaning, found in Gen. 32:17 and frequently in Mishnaic Hebrew[17], makes sense in the context of military formations in 5:17 where no other rendering is conceivable. The reading is further supported by 7:6 where the radicals רוח are clear and the meaning 'space' verified by Deut. 23:12, 14[18]. The word occurs again with this sense in 4Q226D^a 3:6 and 12 where, in the description of leprosy, רוח seems to indicate a space on the skin.

III רוח AS 'BREATH'

רוח describes 'breath' only twice in the DSS, both in rather unexpected instances. 1QM 6:12 states that the male horses of the cavalry shall be fleet of foot, tender of mouth, וארוכי רוח , full in the measure of their years, trained for battle, accustomed to hearing noises and seeing spectacles. Although ארוך usually qualifies emotion[19] and, in combination

with רוח , long-suffering, there seems no other possibil-
ity than that we have here the literal meaning of being
'long of breath' [20].

In 1QSb 5:24, the Blessing on the Prince of the
Congregation, the hope is expressed that this figure may
cause the death of the ungodly by the breath of his lips
(ברוח שפתיכה).   Following the benediction that he
might smite the peoples with the force of his spoken word[21],
and ravage the earth with his sceptre, this phrase bears
the connotation of power[22].   True to Old Testament tradi-
tion speech, here described by its basic component of
'breath', has the force of the as yet unaccomplished act.

IV   רוח   AS 'WIND'

It is 1QM that gives us the unusual usage of רוח
as 'direction', derived from the concept of 'wind' coming
from north, south, east and west[23].   9:10 gives the
'Disposition for changing the array of the battle battal-
ions, so as to form up in the shape of a rectangle with
towers ... to disorganize the enemy'.   It is said in
line 13 that there shall be 300 shields all round the
tower,   לשלושת רוחות הפנים   , which is translated

by all commentators as "in three frontal directions".
It would seem that we have here a use of רוח similar
to that in Ezek. 42:20; though well attested in Mishnaic
Hebrew, this is its only occurrence in the Hebrew Scrolls[24].

The more traditional use of רוח as 'wind' is
retained in 12 instances in other Scrolls. The author
of 1QH, in affirming God's help to him in the face of his
adversaries, states that not only is he exalted over his
enemies, but they are dispersed[25]; parallel to this, in
7:23, is the assertion that those who stir up strife
against him are scattered like chaff before the wind
(כמוץ לפני רוח). There is no disputing the
meaning of רוח here; the expression is common in the
Old Testament, מוץ always being used in the sense of
being driven by the wind[26]. A similar usage seems probable
in the fragmented text of 1QHfg. 3:6 where the illustra-
tion of ashes scattered by the wind occurs in a context
describing man's helplessness[27]. So also in 4Q185 I-II,
lines 10, 11, 12, three references to רוח occur in the
analogy of wind blowing a blossom away, which seems to
describe the transitory nature of life[28]. The wind
provides an analogy for the threatened disappearance of
God's holy people in 4QPs.37, 2:8. Here the Biblical
expression "they vanish like smoke" has been expanded in
the Qumran pešer into the picturesque phrase "who will

perish like the smoke of a flame in the wind" [29].   The
appearance of   רוח in lQHfg. 19:3 would also seem to
refer to the natural force, 'wind', echoing the Biblical
phrase   על כנפי רוח [30].

The word   רוח occurs in the portion of CD where
recensions A and B overlap and is therefore listed as
appearing in 8:13 and 19:25.   The general context
describes the rebellion of some who entered the Covenant
and warns them of the second Visitation;   the sentence
immediately preceding our phrase refers to the heedless-
ness of those "who builded the wall and daubed it with
untempered mortar".   This lack of perception is then
attributed in both texts to the false prophecy of an
individual whose activity seems to reflect the words of
Micah 2:11.   Both texts are corrupt, but B is closer to
Micah than A;   it retains the verb   הלך and the sense of
the wind as nothingness that is present in the Old Tes-
tament text.   Cothenet's translation catches the meaning:
"L'homme qui va après le vent" [31].

Twice the author of lQH describes his distress by
use of the analogy of a sailor tossed upon the waves
during a storm at sea.   In this context we find the
phrase   רוח עועיים   in both 6:23 and 7:5, 'spirit of
confusion', but most commentators, pursuing the sea
illustration, translate 'whirlwind'.   The background to

both passages seems to lie in the Book of Jonah, but there
is no Old Testament evidence for such a translation[32].
Although the word immediately following   רוח ערעים
in 6:23 is obliterated, the illustration obviously con-
tinues, claiming that there is no rest to refresh the
soul, no path to make straight the way (ליישר דרך)
on the face of the waters.   If this is a portrayal of the
author's troubles along the course of life, then there is
at the very least a play on the word   רוח , alluding to
the spirit which seeks to pervert and prevent one from
walking a straight path.   This interpretation is supported
by the more personal symptoms which surround 7:5;   here
the complete phrase   ורוח ערעים תבלעני   , is
parallel to   ויהב לבי לכלה   .   Significantly the
following statement claims that in the midst of distress
and confusion God supported the author with strength and
his holy Spirit prevented him from tottering[33].   The
picture is certainly one of man battered by diverse winds
on the sea of life, yet steadied by God so that he does
not veer from his course.   It is tempting to read ref-
erence to Belial as the source of the tempest in line 3,
but the context is sufficiently obscure to allow an
impersonal translation.   Belial, however, is also mentioned
in 6:21 as being with the hearts of those who deviate from
the way (יתמוטטו מדרך) of God's heart.   His

influence lurks behind the assailing wickedness in both
illustrations; its impact is confusion and disorder of
such magnitude that it can aptly be described by the
force of a whirlwind.   As man is subject to the wind,
so he is prey to evil influences which can engulf him;
at the same time he may be rescued by the steadying
Spirit of God.   The basic connotation of   רוח   here is
power; as such its meaning hovers between 'wind' and
'spirit'.

V   SPIRIT OF GOD

The Old Testament phrase,   רוח יהוה   nowhere
occurs in the DSS.   There are, however, a few instances
where the divine Spirit receives overt recognition. Most
of these are to be found, not surprisingly, in the hymns
of 1QH, where the lyric expression of the Psalmist's
individual experience of God overflows into praise of
the divine power which has supported him in his diff-
iculties.   With one exception, the adjective 'holy'
qualifies God's Spirit.   Detailed exegesis of these
important passages is given below in Chapter Six, which
relates the Qumran concepts of 'holiness' and 'spirit'[34].

It must here suffice to indicate the occasions on which
the expression is used.

The singular instance lacking the modification
'holy' is found at 1QH 16:9 where God is said to show
grace towards the author by his Spirit of compassion.
1QH 7:6 and 17:26 both witness to the fact that God has
stretched his holy Spirit over the psalmist (הניפותה),
who claims that this prevented him from falling. The
fragmented text of 1QHfg. 2:9 uses the same expression,
'stretched out', but the context is obliterated. Also
obscured are the meanings attached to 'Thy holy Spirit'
in 1QH 16:2 and 3, but line 7 speaks again of the author
becoming strong through God's holy Spirit. 16:12 is a
prayer for cleansing by God's holy Spirit, and in 1QH 9:32
the psalmist is gladdened (תשעשעני) by the same agent.
1QH 12:12 seems to indicate that this holy Spirit facil-
itated in some way the perception of divine wonders and
the phrase 'the spirit of Thy holiness' appears to belong
to a similar, though now mutilated, context in 1QH 14:13.
All these instances are characterized by the addition of
the second, personal, pronominal suffix to the phrase
רוח קודש   (sometimes written כה , sometimes ך),
thus firmly affixing the Spirit to God. The identical
phrase occurs again in a hymnic composition in 39 1:6,
but unfortunately the fragment supplies no context.

More helpful is the reference in 4QDib.Ham. 5:15 where
God's holy Spirit is said to be poured out (יצק + על ‎)
upon his people, assuring them of his blessing and pres-
ence in the midst of distress.

The infrequency of reference to the divine Spirit
is certainly notable, but even from so few instances the
impression emerges that it was considered a fortifying
power in the moral struggle.

VI   SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

(a)   As there are some instances where the meaning 'wind'
seems to blend with that of a menacing spirit, so at times
רוח ‎ in the DSS denotes supernatural beings, while still
carrying the sense of natural elements.   The first hymn
of the Hodayot offers a panoramic survey of Creation,
beginning with the witness of the heavenly sphere to
cosmic order which God has ordained.   As in 1QS 3:17 ff.
the emphasis throughout this psalm is on divine omnipotence
and omniscience, the prescribed nature of all that exists
or happens.   Within this context there is reference at
line 10 to powerful spirits (רוחות עוז ‎) created
according to their ordinances before they became

מלאכים   (angels/messengers) of holiness[35] and in

line 11, eternal spirits (רוחות עולם) with

dominions.   The following mention of luminaries, stars,

meteors, and lightning assures that these רוחות belong

to the cosmic realm, but exact translation of the term is

difficult.   The word could both times allude to the winds

which God has constrained to his service as in Ps. 104:4;

more likely the passage is concerned with angelic control

over the elements of nature[36].

The difficult phrase ומשא רוחות occurs in 1QM

10:12 in a similar Creational context[37].   Of the five

areas described, our phrase pertains to the heavenly

sphere, being preceded by 'the expanse of the heavens'

and 'the host of luminaries' and followed by 'the dominion

of the holy ones' and a reference to the storehouses of

rain, snow, and wind.   רוחות is most naturally trans-

lated as 'spirits' (i.e. supernatural beings) parallel to

'the holy ones' (angels), whose dominion, as in 1QH 1:11

encompasses the natural elements[38].   The Old Testament

association of the verb נשא with 'wind' supports Yadin's

supposition that רוחות here is intended to hold the same

double entendre that is evident in 1QH 1:10, 11 [39].   A

further discussion of angelology is attempted below;   it

must here suffice to note that when רוחות referred to

the angels in their control of the natural elements, the

word had not lost its earlier connotation of the wind
itself.

(b) The use of רוח to depict supernatural beings of
moral significance that we saw developed in the Apocryphal
and Pseudepigraphical literature is even more common in
the DSS. The 13th Column of the War Scroll begins with
the blessing of the God of Israel and all his 'true' deeds
and the cursing of Belial and all the spirits of his lot
(כול רוחי גורלו)[40] by the priests, levites, and elders
of the Sect. Contrasted to God's holy Plan is Belial's
Plan of hatred[41] and in line 4 he is cursed for his guilty
ministry. The spirits of his lot are then cursed for
their wicked plan and their impure works. Line 6 further
explains that these spirits of Belial's lot are in the
sphere of darkness and that, in opposition, the lot or
sphere of God is for light eternal[42]. Now 1QS 3:24
tells us that it is the function of the spirits of the
lot of the Angel of Darkness to cause the sons of light
to stumble. We can therefore interpret 1QM 13:2, 4 as
referring to those supernatural beings of the lot of dark-
ness who seek to corrupt the sons of light. This is
verified by the recurrence in 13:12 of רוחי גורלו in
apposition to מלאכי חבל ; here we have the actual
identification of these spirits as angels[43].

God appointed Belial, the angel of animosity,

(משטמא) to the task of corruption (לשחת)[44].

His specific function is to declare men wicked and guilty

(1QM 13:11)[45]; it would seem to be the spirits belonging

to him who actively cause corruption. This is supported

by 1QM 14:10 where it may be inferred that 'the spirits of

his destruction' attempt to beguile the faithful away

from the Covenant. The context is that of praise for

God's preservation of his people and it is said that he

has rebuked the רוחי [ח]בלו . Similarly, in 4Q177

12-13 1:9 God's hand is pictured helping the righteous

against spirits which can only belong to Belial's lot.

In a passage aiming to banish the fear of the sons of

light, 1QM 15:8 ff. asserts the basic theme that the

battle against wickedness is God's battle and line 14

states that the God of Israel is raising his hand in his

wonderful greatness against all the spirits of wicked-

ness (רוחי רש[עה]). The parallelism of the

following sentence suggests that here too 'spirits' refers

to the supernatural beings of Belial's lot; against them

fight the angels of God's lot of light and truth.

There is a difficult reference to supernatural

beings which are evil in 1QH 3:18. The phrase רוחי אפעה

follows a lengthy analogy comparing the author's distress

to the pains of a woman pregnant with אפעה . As

the analogy changes to depict the destruction of evil in

a storm at sea, we are told that the breakers open the
gates of Sheol to all acts of אפעה . Translation
of אפעה remains debatable, but the association of
the word with 'viper' is probably to be preferred here
to that of 'nothingness' [46]. 3:18 pictures the doors
of the Pit closing behind her who is pregnant with wicked-
ness (עול), so Holm-Nielsen is perhaps correct to
translate 'wickedness' throughout for אפעה [47]. The
bars of eternity are to close behind all the רוחי אפעה
and there is no doubt that these supernatural powers
belong to the lot of wickedness. In this analogy they
are to be ultimately destroyed. So too in 11QMelch. 1:12
the eschatological hope is that the children of light will
be freed from the power of these demons[48].

There are several instances where it is unclear
whether evil רוחות are members of the human community
or the cosmic band. Reconstruction of context surround-
ing רוחות רשעה in 1QHfg. 5:4 is impossible, and
identification of the רוחות עולה in line 6 is equally
dubious[49]. Similarly in the Recueil d'hymnes (36ʹ 2:5),
the reference to רוחות פשע is completely isolated[50].
These instances are mentioned here in the recognition that
they may refer to human beings, but that the plural
רוחות , on the weight of present evidence, supports
their categorization as supernatural beings.

The relation of evil supernatural powers to mankind
is perhaps most clearly expressed in CD 12:2: "Every
man over whom the spirits of Belial obtain dominion
(מֵשֵׁל), so that he speaks apostasy ...". The punish-
ment for this offence derives from Lev. 20:27, but the
concept by which the defection is envisaged is surely
reminiscent of Jub. 15:31-32; 19:28. The spirits of
Belial may seek to corrupt the sons of light, but over
other men they actually rule; it would seem that such
is the case with an apostate member of the Community. In
surveying the literature of the inter-Testamental period,
we found a distinctively Hebraic interaction of divine
and human spirits. With this we may compare 11QPS[a]Plea
19:15 where the plea is that neither Satan nor an unclean
spirit should obtain mastery over the author, the verb
now being שֵׁלַט [51]. Parallel to this is the prayer
that neither pain nor the evil inclination (יֵצֶר רַע)
should possess him (יַרְשׁוּ בְּעַצְמִי)[52]. It is
difficult to tell whether the phrase רוּח טמאה here
denotes the human spirit as does רוּח אמונה ודעת in
the preceding line or whether, coupled with Satan, it
belongs to the supernatural realm in contrast to the
anthropological emphasis of the line which follows. The
parallelism would argue for the latter, but the text
probably illustrates the fluidity between all three

concepts: if a demon was thought to rule a man, his own spirit would be unclean, and this would be manifested in an evil inclination. It is doubtful, however, if the men of Qumran categorized their thoughts so rigidly. Such a man had succumbed to evil; he was simply under its influence. Today we speak of a man being obsessed by an idea, passion, or craving. The Qumran Community, in the vivid concept of Belial's ממשלה , envisaged a man being possessed or ruled by evil. Within this concept there emerges a new use of the word רוח to portray simply the dynamic, uncategorized, power of evil which will be discussed below (cf. 1QS 3:18, 25; 4:9, 20)[53].

(c) Not all supernatural powers in the DSS are evil. The <u>Angelic Liturgy</u> discovered in Cave 4 reveals a Sabbath liturgy which invokes the presence of the angels and portrays the heavenly Temple and activity therein as modelled on its earthly counterpart[54]. Among the various descriptions given to the angels רוח is the term most frequently used[55]. The fragments Strugnell has published provide two instances: the description in 4QSl.40 of the praise surrounding the chariot throne includes a reference to the spirits of the Holy of Holies (רוחות קודש קדשים 24:5), which phrase seems to be in apposition to the appearance of fire which comes from the hubs of

the wheels[56].   Line 6 further describes these shining
creatures in bright garments[57] as spirits of the living
God (רוחות [א]לוהים חיים), who walk beside his
glorious chariot.   1QM 12:1 likewise speaks of the
'multitude of holy ones' and 'hosts of angels' who praise
God in the heavens, and in 4Q185 1-2 1:9 רוחותו seems
parallel to God's angels, but such beings are not confined
to the heavenly realm.   Their role receives clarification
on two different levels from 1QM and 1QH.

The concern of 1QM is the eschatological battle
which the Elect will fight against the powers of darkness.
On the battlefield supernatural beings are said to be in
the midst of the Community, rendering assistance (בתוכנו
לעזר   1QM 12:6)[58].   These are designated a host
of God's spirits in line 8, an expression seemingly synon-
ymous with 'a host of angels' in line 7 and 'Thy holy ones'
in line 6;   they are said to be 'with the steps' (עם
צעדינו) of the human warriors.   The passage is closely
paralleled in 19:1 ff., though the words צבא רוחיך
are not apparent[59];   there God himself is said to be with
the righteous (cf. 12:8).   The cosmic battle between good
and evil which 1QM emphasizes is concisely summarized in
Column 13.   God is blessed for having redeemed the Sect
to himself as an eternal people and having separated them
into the sphere of light for his truth (line 9).   It is

said that God appointed from of olden times the Prince
of Light, whom we may identify with Michael[60], to assist
them (לעזרנך) and that all the spirits of truth
are in his dominion.   Since 1QM 13:12 goes on to speak
of the spirits of Belial's lot as angels of destruction,
it can be assumed that the 'spirits of truth' referred
to in line 10 are the supernatural beings of the lot of
light who, with the Prince of Light, and all the powers
with the attribute of 'truth', assist the sons of light
against corruption.   Conviction of divine assistance is
summarized in the attribution of praise found at 11:4:
"Thine is the battle, and from with Thee is the might,
not ours" (cf. 19:12).

The phrase 'the host of Thy spirits' occurs in
1QH 13:8 in a context of Creation, probably parallel to
'the congregation of Thy holy ones' [61] and there are
further isolated references to God's spirits in 1QHfg.
33:2 and 36 17:2.   Whereas in 1QM the assistance of the
angels is conceived in apocalyptic terms, 1QH focuses on
the ethical struggle of daily life.   Yet it must be
emphasized that it is essentially the same struggle of
good against evil, though now the evil is at times
interiorized and the subject is the individual rather
than the Community.   1QH 3:19 praises God for having
rescued the author from Sheol and rejoices in the hope

of those whom God has formed for an eternal fellowship

(סוד עולם). The combination of the word סוד ,

elsewhere applied to the Qumran Community, with the

adjective עולם is significant; to be a member of the

Sect was to be in communion with the immortal hosts of

heaven. Accordingly we find in 3:22 that God has cast

for man an eternal lot (גורל עולם) with the spirits

of knowledge[62]. Parallel with this is the statement that

the author has been cleansed to stand in array (במעמד)

with the host of the holy ones and to come into union with

(לברא ביחד עם) the sons of heaven[63]. In

1QH 11:13 the word qualifying רוח is unclear. Again

it is the man who has been cleansed and has sanctified

himself to God who is to be united with the sons of God's

truth (להרוחד [עם] בני אמתך) and in the lot with his

holy ones (בגורל עם קדושיכה). If the former refers

to the Sect and the latter to heavenly beings, we have

another instance of the continuity between the two[64].

Holm-Nielsen points out that if the spirits of truth in

God's presence are angels before the throne of God we

need not read into it an eschatological hope different

from the present experience of the Community: "membership

of the Community is identical to fellowship with God"[65].

It also involved communion with his angels. Whereas in

1QM the stress was on the descent of supernatural powers

to assist man, here the emphasis is on man's election
which lifts him to their ranks: the result is the same,
that they are in union (יחד), one with the other, by
virtue of belonging to the same גורל .

The expression רוחות קודש is found in 1QH 8:12
where, parallel to גבורי כוח , it must be understood
as describing angels or similar supernatural beings. The
preceding analogy is that of the Sect as a plantation;
God hedges its fruit with the mystery of those mighty in
strength, the spirits of holiness, and the fiery flame.
The figure would seem to be one of protection of the
Community by God through the agency of those cosmic powers
in his service. So also 4Q177 12-13 1:5 speaks of a
spirit of truth in opposition to Belial. The use of
רוח to describe such powers is a development beyond
previously known inter-Testamental literature where the
word, frequently applied to demons, never referred to
angels in a helping capacity. As in the Test. XII, God
himself and his angel Michael supply strength and protec-
tion to the righteous, but the function is now shared with
a band of spirits, the counterpart of the spirits of
Belial's lot. There is no explicit statement of how
such spirits approach men, but if we retain the dynamic
connotation of רוח we will expect the same fluidity of
their influence that is used in describing that of demons.

In 1QS 4:6 where רוח depicts an uncategorized power
of good, we have the implication that it results in
virtuous characteristics similar to the New Testament
'fruits of the Spirit' (cf. this use also in 1QS 3:18, 25;
4:21)[66].

Supernatural powers then are divided into two camps,
of good and evil, 'truth' and wickedness. At the head
of one stands Belial, at the head of the other Michael,
the Prince of Light. Yet this is not a struggle of
ultimately equal powers. 1QS 3:18 tells us the powers
of 'truth' and perversity were created by God and in 1QH
10:8 we find a summary statement of God's authority over
all powers and spirits, with the occurrence of אדון
לכול רוח [67]. This phrase is one of a series of three
ascriptions to God, none of which has an exact parallel
in Biblical or post-Biblical Hebrew. The phrase שׂר
אלים must have its origins in the Old Testament asser-
tion that Yahweh was sovereign of all gods, ruler of the
Pantheon. From the use of אלים in late Judaism to
designate god-like beings, however, we may interpret the
phrase to mean here that God reigns over the realm of
angels. This is confirmed by the second expression,
מלך נכבדים , which, although נכבדים occurs nowhere
else in the Old Testament or DSS, can only refer to
angels. Parallel to these expressions, כול רוח

would seem to designate again supernatural powers, and
אדון   to confirm his omnipotence.

VII   רוח   AS 'SPIRIT OF MAN'

The most startling factor in the Qumran use of
רוח is the frequency with which the term denotes the
human spirit.   It is important to stress at the outset,
however, the danger of gathering all such instances under
one heading.   Of the four categories which Russell applied
to inter-Testamental literature,   רוח is never a dis-
embodied or translated spirit in the DSS, and only once
denotes the principle of life;   instances of the other two
meanings are numerous.

(a)   רוח   as disposition:

The use of רוח to describe an individual's disposi-
tion is well known from the Old Testament.   In such cases
the term depicts a dominant personality trait, or the
prevailing mood of the moment, the point being that the
noted attribute is so prevalent that it, at least tem-
porarily, may justly be singled out to describe the person.

In 1QH 2:15 the author claims to have become a

zealous spirit against the 'seekers of smooth things'

(‏ואהיה לרוח קנאה‏)[68]. The verb is an important

clue to Qumran thinking - this man does not have a zealous

spirit, he has become one! The single attribute has so

overwhelmed the personality as to become its disposition,

so that ‏רוח‏ appears as an expression parallel to ‏ריב‏

in the preceding line. We are therefore warned against

an artificial distinction between this usage and the con-

cept of 'self'[69].

1QH 14:3 seems, despite its mutilated text, to

describe the members of the Sect as humble in spirit

(‏וענוי רוח‏)[70]. The expression is used of the

Community again in 1QM 14:7 [71]. A ‏רוח ענוה‏ is

mentioned in 1QS 4:3 as characteristic of those who walk

in the spirit of truth and in 1QS 3:8 as a means of aton-

ing for one's sin. In the latter passage the emphasis

is on the fact that it is such people whom God fortifies

to overcome the wicked. This divine activity is summarized

in lines 6-7: "He gives strength to stand to those whose

knees totter, and fortifying of the loins to the back of

those who have been brought low". ‏ענוה‏ occurs

frequently in the DSS and the sense of affliction in the

root presumably connotes the affliction of the pious by

the wicked rather than the poverty of wealth or strength[72].

The adjective ‏נכה‏ , found in the Old Testament in

association with עני when modifying רוח , also qualifies
it in the DSS.   In a psalm praising God's goodness to
unworthy humanity, most commentators restore נכ]אי רוח
in the corrupt fifteenth line of 1QH 18.   The preceding
line speaks of the Sect as ענוים .   The phrase נכאי
רוח is found in 1QM 11:10, where Yadin translates it
"low of spirit".   Again the theme is that God empowers
the lowly to be victorious.   Line 9 has spoken of God
causing the troops of Belial to fall through the hands of
the אביונים whom he has redeemed to wonderful might[73];
the heart that faints with fear has become a door of hope;
God will treat the enemy as he did Pharaoh and the officers
of his chariot in the Red Sea.   In this series of sen-
tences which assert God's use of the lowly in his defeat
of wickedness we read that he will kindle 'the stricken
in spirit' like a torch of fire in a row of fallen grain[74],
a vivid analogy to the confrontation of God's agents with
evil.   רוח נכאה occurs in Prov. 15:13; 17:22 as
the result of a sorrowful heart; there is no difficulty
in interpreting it here as characteristic of those who
felt overwhelmed by the strength of evil and saw no hope
of victory - unless/until God adopted them as his army.

It may justifiably be asked whether this concept is
related to the 'broken spirit' of 1QS 8:3, one of the
qualifications for the twelve laymen and three priests who

form the council of the Community[75].   The phrase

רוח נשברה   appears again in the closing hymn of this

document where the author in 11:1 sees his task as treat-

ing with humility the haughty in spirit and with a broken

spirit the men of injustice.   The echo of Ps. 51 is

inescapable.   This is the sacrifice acceptable to God -

a broken spirit and a contrite heart.   As there, the

idea here is one of complete helplessness.

        Yet if one side of the Qumran coin is an existential

awareness of human impotence, the other is gratitude to

God for election into the sphere of light and the benefits

thereby received.   One such benefit was believed to be

insight into the Torah and the understanding or knowledge

that resulted.   A spirit of knowledge (רוח דעת) is

listed in 1QS 4:4 as an attribute of those who walk in

the spirit of truth.   This same characteristic is rec-

ognized as a gift from God in 1QH 14:25, a passage which

attributes even the capacity to love God to divine init-

iative[76].   A spirit of knowledge is also to characterize

the eschatological Prince of the Congregation in 1QSb 5:25,

along with everlasting might and fear of God[77].   So too

the apocryphal composition 11QPS[a]Dav.Comp. claims that the

Lord gave David a discerning and enlightened spirit.

(רוח נבונה ואורה   ).   The emphasis on divine

gift is here explicit, the verb being   נתן   plus לו .

Such insight as was received into divine mysteries
was closely guarded by members of the Community and jealously
withheld from outsiders.   Column 9 of 1QS lists the
ordinances of the   משכיל , among whose duties was the
instruction of initiates into the true meaning of the
Torah.   He is not to argue with the men of perdition, in
fact he is to conceal from them the counsel of the Torah.
In this regard we find at line 22 the statement that he
should maintain hatred against these opponents "in the
spirit of concealment" (ברוח הסתר)[78].

In contrast to the above virtues which רוח portrays,
it is also combined with negative adjectives to describe
moral weaknesses.   The tasks of the   משכיל outlined
in 1QS 10:26 ff. include imparting understanding to those
erring in spirit (תועי רוח), teaching those who rebel,
and dealing humbly with those who are haughty in spirit
(נגדרמי רוח), both occurrences of רוח being in
11:1.   Such phrases presumably do not refer to the false
interpreters of Scripture whom the Community is urged to
hate and avoid, but to various types displaying dissension
within the ranks.   The presumptuous spirit (רוח זידות)
of 2Q 14:1 reflects the same idea as the haughtiness of
1QS 11:1 [79].   The root זיד , זוד also carries the
sense of rebellion.   Despite high ideals and Community
discipline, human frailty made defection possible.   An

adulterous spirit (רוח זנות) is mentioned in 1QS 4:10

as one of the manifestations of the spirit of perversity;

the implication is that such a quality leads one to impure

worship, to be unfaithful to God as Israel in the Old Tes-

tament so often played the harlot with idols.   The spirit

of impurity (רוח נדה) of 1QS 4:22 has the same

connotation, though it is not so easily categorized. Those

who turn away from God indulge inevitably in impure ways;

here they are said to wallow in this spirit.   Thus the

instructions for the initiate to the Community in Column

5 of the Manual include the stipulation against a spirit

of wickedness (רוח רשע) in line 26, and the author

of the closing hymn declares in 10:18 that he will not be

envious with this kind of spirit (ברוח רשעה)[80].   The

ever present possibility of defection from the Sect is

seen clearly in 1QS 8:12.   The passage speaks of the

men who study the Torah to perfect themselves in the

understanding of those special revelations of its meaning

which have been concealed from Israel but granted to the

Community.   They are not to conceal such things from the

latter out of fear of a backsliding spirit (רוח נסוגה).

(b)   רוח as 'self':

In the DSS רוח several times denotes the human

spirit without indication of a dominant personality trait;

it seems to be the expression of the vitality essential to
human nature or indeed the identity of an individual.
After describing the Creation of the celestial sphere and
the earth, Column 1 of 1QH turns its attention at line 15
to humanity, declaring that God formed (יצר) the spirit
of man (רוח אדם), presumably in this context the life
principle.   In 1QH 8:29 the author, depicting his trials,
likens himself to those who descend to Sheol and claims
that his own spirit is adrift among the dead.   Since this
is a description of his own state of being upon which he
can reflect, we may assume that רוח here denotes 'self',
but there is much disagreement about the verb[81].

In Column 2 of the Manual, the priests and levites
curse the man who enters the Covenant still clinging to
the stubbornness of his heart; the passage is based on
Deut. 29:18 where the context is one of idolatry, but line
14 of 1QS states that the spirit of a man, who thus persists
in his self-chosen course, will be utterly destroyed.
Interpretation of the words הצמאה עם הרויה which
follow רוחו is a matter of dispute, but there seems no
need to read here anything other than the Old Testament
proverbial locution for 'all'[82].   The point of interest
is that after a quotation identical in meaning, and almost
so in orthography, to Deut. 29:18, this last phrase is
completely changed by the insertion of the word רוחו .
The implication in Deut. 28 is that the attitude of the

idolator will result in the destruction of all (Israel?),
but in 1QS the all-embracing destruction is applied to
that man's own spirit.   That the whole man will perish
is confirmed by the parallel   יבערו בו   in line 15.
This thought is in fact continued in Deut. 29:20, which
makes all the more obvious the intrusion of   רוחו   in 1QS.
The idea of Wernberg-Møller that it may have been suggested
to the author by the following   הרויה   is not an
adequate solution[83].   There seems to be here a preference
for the word   רוח , and while totality by the conjunction
of opposites is the primary meaning of   הצמאה עם הרויה ,
the phrase may well have reminded our author of the duality
implicit in the spirit of man.

      To this class of instances where   רוח   seems to
depict the total individual we may add the various ref-
erences to a plurality of human spirits.   1QHfg. 45:6
contains the phrase   כי כול רוחות   .   The mention
of Satan in line 3 reminds us that these 'spirits' could
be demons;   yet the preservation in line 5 of   איש זודן
במרבי מעל   argues for the rebellion of human activity.
Similarly 36 15:5 contains the words   לכול רוח] , a
possible allusion to any category, but what survives of
the mutilated first five lines warrants a guess that 'to
all spirits' here refers to men.   So also in 1QH 16:10
the psalmist affirms confidence that God inscribes the

righteous spirit (רוח צדיק).   Mansoor rightly

inserts 'every' in the translation, implying that 'spirit'

again means simply 'man'[84].

According to 1QH 9:16 one human being may be more

righteous than another, one man may have more insight than

another, a creature of flesh may be more honoured than one

formed of clay, and one spirit may be stronger than another

(רוח מרוח תגבר), but no human being can measure

up to God in any of these qualities[85].   Coming as it does

in a series of designations for human beings, רוח here

must mean 'an individual'.   In a similar context which

rhetorically asks who can compare to God or be righteous

in his sight, there is a difficult reading of רוח (1QH

7:29).   In a sentence which could perhaps otherwise be

read as "no spirit can answer thy chastisement", the word

צדי is inserted above רוח .   Carmignac and Holm-

Nielsen translate "all glory is vapour" which is artificial,

and Licht's suggestion is ingenious but unlikely.   Martin's

idea that the insertion should have been after the second

כול seems plausible and makes smoother the parallel

statement that no-one can stand before God's wrath[86].

(c) רוח   as man's volitional centre:

In reference to the Old Testament we saw how רוח

even when parallel with נפש , retained a volitional

connotation and eventually came to indicate the centre of
decision within the individual.   In inter-Testamental
literature, Russell called this 'the nature of man and
his capacity to act in a positive way' and found it hard
to distinguish from the Spirit of God and supernatural
spirits that acted upon it.   In the DSS the ethical
aspect of man's spirit is predominant and even when not
modified by a moral adjective the human   רוח   is depicted
as the site of moral conflict.

In 1QH 4:36 the psalmist asserts that when he
remembers God's might and compassion he is fortified, his
spirit has held firm its position because he has leaned
upon God.   1QH 5:36 speaks of the schemes of the wicked
to cause the author's spirit to stumble and to deplete his
strength.   In parallel statements 1QH 9:12 affirms that
God has upheld the author's spirit in the midst of calamity
and has firmly established it, knowing his intent.   The
lack of human support to revive the spirit of those who
stumble is deplored in 1QH 8:36, while 1QH 1:25 ff. stresses
the frailty of God's human creation, posing the rhetorical
questions: what can a mortal say about his sin? what
shall he plead concerning his iniquities?   At line 32
we find again the statement that God strengthened the
spirit in the face of affliction.   This admission of
weakness in the moral struggle, followed by gratitude for

strength received by which to stand firm is an oft repeated
summary of Qumran piety.

The expression, רוח בשר , is found at 1QH 17:25,
alongside the author's self-designation as God's servant.
In a hymn dwelling on the wonders of God's creation, the
phrase recurs at 1QH 13:13: "What is a רוח בשר to
understand all these things? What is he 'born of a woman'
among God's awe-inspiring works?" רוח בשר is obviously
parallel to ילוד אשה , this being confirmed by the
following expression, 'a structure of dust'. The combina-
tion of רוח and בשר should surely in itself deny the
possibility of a flesh/spirit dualism[87]. Human nature is
base in contrast to God's exaltedness, it is weak in con-
trast to his strength, but in this sense רוח describes
it as well as בשר . The antipathy here is not between
good and evil, but human and divine. When the Old Testa-
ment spoke of this contrast, רוח stood in opposition
to flesh, representing the divine over against the natural.
Now the anthropological use of the word has developed to
the point that רוח can combine with בשר indicating
that volitional centre in man which is open to good and
evil influence. For the achievement of righteousness,
it is dependent on God's strength. The basic concept of
human frailty is attested in 1QH 10:3 ff.: "And indeed,
what is man? He is earth! From clay was he nipped off

and to dust is his return ... I am but dust and ashes,
what can I plan unless Thou desirest it? And what can I
consider without Thy will? How can I be fortified if
Thou dost not make me stand firm? And how can I be
enlightened unless Thou dost it for me?"

The many snares through which men have gone astray
(תעו) and stumbled (כשל) are listed as a warning to
the Community in the second and third Columns of CD. In
summary the guilty are said to have walked in the stubborn-
ness of their hearts (הלך בשרירות לבם) instead
of keeping the commandments of God. In contrast Abraham
is singled out in 2:3 as the example who did not choose
the desire of his own spirit (בחר ברצון רוחו).

רוח is here parallel to לב , depicting the human will.
Later in the same text it is said that the sons of the sons
of Jacob took counsel against the commands of God, each
doing what was right in his own eyes; they did not listen
to the voice of God, but chose the desire of their own
spirit (2:7).

Recognition of frailty is closely akin to recognition
of sin. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the
author of 1QH referring to himself as an erring spirit
(רוח התועה) in 1:22. The phrase occurs in a
sequence of self-depreciating terms - he is a creature of
clay, kneaded with water, the foundation of shamefulness,

the source of impurity, the crucible of iniquity, the
edifice of sin.   There follows the assertion that he is
in fact 'perverted', devoid of understanding and terrified
by righteous judgments.   The similar list of epithets in
13:13 ff., in which we have seen included   רוח בשר ,
ends with the striking statement that a perverted spirit
rules over him (ורוח נעוה משלה בו)!   While this
probably reflects the personal expression of the psalmist,
he seems to be making a general statement about the nature
of man.   The active verb would suggest molesting by an
exterior force, yet 1QH 11:12 and 3:21 both speak of a
'perverted spirit' in contexts where, parallel to 'the man
of dust', it obviously refers to a human individual[88].   It
is certainly man who is perverted, to the point that this
characteristic has become his ruling disposition, but this
does not exclude the influence of external forces.   He is,
simply, as we have seen under the power of evil.   The
complex imagery is to some degree retained in the English -
a man may be the object of perversion by someone, yet as
a result be called perverted himself.

Yet this same perverted spirit is cleansed (1QH 3:21)
and given understanding (1QH 11:12), with the result that
he comes into communion with the heavenly host.   In both
passages the 'man of dust' is lifted to membership in a
סוד עולם   ; this is nothing short of redemption through

election to the Community.   In CD 5:11 and 7:4, however,
there are traces of the tradition which believed the
human spirit to be a divine deposit in man, whose duty
it was to return it at the end of his life pure and holy
to God.   In both cases the charge is made that men have
rendered their holy spirits unclean, once by blaspheming
against the ordinances of God, once by failing to disting-
uish between clean and unclean.   The Hodayot makes several
allusions to the spirit which God has placed within the
individual, all using the verb   נתן plus ב , and seem-
ingly reflecting the more usual concept.   In 1QH 16:11
the spirit which has been placed in man seems instrumental
in prayer[89].   The words "I know by the spirit which Thou
hast placed within me" are preserved intact in 1QHfg. 3:14,
but in complete isolation.   In 13:19 it is facts about
God that are the object of knowledge gained through man's
spirit[90].   A hymn of praise to the God of knowledge[91] for
his prescription of times and seasons in their circuits is
followed in 1QH 12:11 by the author's claim to have know-
ledge of God by virtue of the spirit which God has placed
within him.   The sentence is clarified by the following
line: God's holy Spirit has enabled the psalmist to
perceive (שמע) the divine counsel, the mysteries of the
celestial circuits[92].   We have here a clear illustration
of the openness of the human spirit to the divine.   It is

by his own spirit that man knows God, but that knowledge
is effected by the operation of the divine Spirit upon
him.

1QH 15:13 contains the incomplete statement that in
God's hand is the formation (יצר) of every spirit[93] and
that he established its work before he created it. This is
reiterated in line 22. The context is once again one of
human impotence, flesh and dust symbolizing the frailty of
humanity. In this instance, however, רוח is not a syn-
onymous expression of weakness. The conviction that
righteousness belongs to God, not man, is summarized in 4:31;
the corollary is then stated that 'integrity of the way'
(תום דרך) does not lie with man - the path is only
established through the spirit which God has made for him.
This line is strange, linguistically and theologically[94].
It reads: ודרך אנוש לוא תכון כיאם ברוח יצר אל לו .
This spirit is formed by God, but the use of   ל   in place
of ב is interesting[95]. To ask whether it refers to the
divine Spirit is to ask the wrong question.   רוח here
is moral power, and its source is from God. As in many
instances, it operates within man so as to become blended
with his own spirit. Here the external force is preserved,
seemingly, in the use of different verbs and prepositions,
though the spirit is still said to be human. We have
already noted the use of נתן plus ל in 11QPS[a]Dav.Comp.

where it is said that God gave David an enlightened spirit.
Significant here is the plea in 11QPS[a]Plea 19:14 for a
spirit of faith and knowledge.   The verb used is   חנן
with the suffix, which Sanders translates 'vouchsafe me' [96].
The root means to show favour, to be gracious, and in the
Old Testament is used mainly of God bestowing redemption[97].
Its use here with   רוח is an interesting development.
Immediately following this plea is the already noted prayer
that neither Satan nor an unclean spirit should rule over
the author.   This is a request for the power that will
defeat them, and the same convoluted imagery is present.

These references then speak of a spirit within man
which has been placed there by God.   If it is called the
human spirit, the concept of divine gift must be remembered.
It is the faculty by which the psalmist of 1QH knows God,
prays, and struggles to keep on the moral path he has
chosen.   Left to its own devices, this human spirit seems
to go astray and soon fall under the power of evil, for it
is susceptible to moral influence, both good and bad.
In inter-Testamental literature we saw that   רוח incor-
porated a fluidity which allowed the intermingling of
divine, supernatural, and human spirits within the general
concept of moral power.   The DSS witness to the development
of that concept as the awareness of a cosmological moral
struggle deepened.   Man's spirit remains the battlefield

on which the war is fought; that is where attention
focuses, this use of רוח being the most frequent. When
רוח is further used to depict the influences that vie
for control, emphasis has shifted from hierarchical levels
to spheres of moral allegiance.   Though angels and demons
are still so called and God's Spirit is occasionally mention-
ed, there is a considerable increase in the variety and
frequency of moral adjectives that qualify them.   Some-
times the word רוח is not apparent and men are subject
merely to 'the wicked' or to 'righteousness'.   That man's
spirit is open to infusion from the divine realm seems, for
instance, to be implied at 1QH 16:14 [98].   Increasingly
רוח when it does appear seems to apply to all levels at
once, portraying the moral power that pervades the cosmos.
1QH 7:6, again praising God for strengthening the author
in the face of the battles of wickedness, reaffirms that
despite all the threats of the enemy he has been able to
stand firm.   His tongue has echoed God's teaching, but
the spirit of destruction (רוח הוות) has had no
mouthpiece[99].   This reference to רוח in line 11 is
ambiguous.   In the following sentence the sons of guilt,
who have no answer on their tongues, are human beings, but
the enemy to the Community included supernatural forces
and the singular רוח here would seem to be inclusive of
anyone in that camp.

With such a strong dichotomy of good and evil, and
the concept of רוח as moral power, it is hardly surpris-
ing that there should develop a concept of two opposing
spirits.   The explicit mention of these is studied in
Chapter Four.   We note here, however, the curious instance
of 'spirits' given to man in 1QH 17:17 (רוחות אשר נתתה בי).
Holm-Nielsen's suggestion that in a personal confession of
sin this may well allude to the two spirits which struggle
for man's allegiance certainly makes more sense than link-
ing it to the following phrase[100].   Since any other ref-
erence to the spirit given to man is in the singular, either
as an attribute or as the centre of his volition, this
would seem to be indication of a new usage in the DSS.   Its
development will be pursued below; we must here mention
another way in which Qumran spoke of the human spirit in
its struggle between good and evil.

(d)   רוח indicating spiritual allegiance:

1QS 6:24 ff. gives rules for the punishment of various
misdemeanours within the Community.   After a lengthy list
of comparatively petty offences, we read in 7:18 that the
man whose spirit swerves (תזע)[101] from the foundations
of the Community so that he deals faithlessly with 'truth'
and walks in the stubbornness of his heart, shall be fined
for two years if he returns and then readmitted to his

rank.   If however, after being in the council of the

Community for ten years a man's spirit should backslide

(שבה) so that he deals faithlessly with the Community

and leaves the Congregation to walk in the stubbornness of

his heart, he is never to return to the council of the

Community[102].   Despite the slight discrepancies, these

appear to be two parallel cases of a will or inclination

which has deviated from its original intention.   In the

case of the one who may be readmitted after two years have

elapsed, the Congregation shall then consider his case.

The inquiry is to be based upon his ways, presumably an

indication of the tenor of his רוח .

1QS 5:20-24 speaks more explicitly of the examination

of spirits, but the passage is difficult to translate

accurately due to a careless style which confuses singulars

and plurals in verb forms and suffixes[103].   The import

seems to be that on entrance into the Covenant, and every

year thereafter, a man's spirit is investigated (דרש)[104]

with regard to his insight (שכל) and his actions in

(accordance with) the Torah (מעשיו בתורה).   In line

23 we read that they (the novices?) are to be inscribed

in the order, each before the other according to his in-

sight and actions, so that obedience may be maintained,

the lesser to the greater.   In line 24 the combination

שכלו ומעשיו   has been replaced by רוחם ומעשיהם   ;

the yearly examination is to be of men's spirits and

actions.   Similarly in 6:17 the one approaching the

Community for membership is to be examined with regard to

his spirit and his actions at the end of the first year.

At that time, we read in line 18, the Congregation will

inquire about his case in regard to his insight and his

actions in accordance with the Torah.   Again, the formula

רוחו ומעשיו   seems parallel to   שכלו ומעשיו ,

spirits, as well as actions and insight, being somehow

subject to evaluation.

9:12 sets forth the precepts for the   משכיל   and

in line 14 we read that he is to weigh (שקל) the sons

of righteousness[105] according to their spirits.[106]   This

strange phrase recollects the use of the noun   משקל

in line 12 where it is said that the   משכיל   should have

regard for the norm of the time and the weight of each

man.   The latter phrase must surely be translated as

'the value of each man' and one cannot help wondering

whether this is measured by the spirits according to which

the sons of righteousness are to be weighed.   This would

seem to be borne out by line 15 which states that the

משכיל   should treat each man in accordance with his

spirit, admit each according to the cleanness of his hands,

and bring each near according to his insight.   Line 18

states that the   משכיל   is to admonish true knowledge

and righteous judgments to those who choose the way, each
according to his spirit, and according to the norm of the
time. The 2:20 description of the physical arrangements
of those in the council stipulates that the priests should
enter first, according to their spirits[107]. The concept
is not confined to 1QS; it is attested by ms.B of the
Damascus Document. Column 20 speaks of the withdrawal
of the men of perfect holiness into the Congregation,
strengthening one another to hold fast to the way of God,
trusting in God throughout the period that Israel polluted
the sanctuary. Line 24 then states that each shall be
judged in the council of holiness according to his spirit.
The text continues to discuss those who, having entered
the Covenant, may have broken out of the boundary of the
Law.

The spirit that can be examined, then, is the human
faculty to make and deviate from moral decisions; it is
closely allied to spiritual insight, and its capacity will
vary from one man to another. Guilbert rightly points
out that we must not confuse the רוח of the members with
their intelligence; he would prefer to designate it
'mentality' or 'religious attitude'. Yet perhaps his
clearest insight is the recognition that the spirit a man
manifests determines whether or not he belongs to the Sect,
whether he belongs to light or darkness[108]. As such it

is subject to evaluation and as such it emerges as a new

concept of רוח , being that quality of life which

indicates one's spiritual allegiance.

So it is that 1QS 3:6 can speak of the spirit of the

council, meaning the religious tenor of its life and that

can in the following line be described as a 'holy' spirit.

4Q183 I 2:6 mentions those who 'err in spirit' (תועי

רוח); in contrast, the Qumran ideal is integrity.

The word תם usually appears with דרך , but in 1QM 7:5

it once qualifies רוח . The context is insistence on

fitness for war, this criterion occurring in the midst of

four negative injunctions about those who may not fight[109].

This prohibitive list, which echoes Lev. 21:17; 22:4 ff.,

is mainly concerned with prohibitions of the flesh, but

its overall purpose is the maintenance of purity within

the camp, "for holy angels are in communion with their

hosts". Holiness in the DSS is an attribute of God,

shared by the Community, the angels, and all who belong

to the lot of light[110]. תם carries the sense of 'with-

out blemish' and in this phrase 'sound of spirit and flesh'

describes the ideal Qumran man.

The idea of judging or measuring a man's worth was

not unique to Qumran. In a primitive society, in which

produce was the coin of barter, exact measurement was

extremely important. It became an underlying principle

of law and order; God had given weight to the wind and
meted out the waters by measure (Job 28:25) and the measur-
ing rod was applied even to Jerusalem (Zech. 1:16). Men
weigh light in the universal scales (Ps. 62:9), but 1 Sam.
2:3 speaks of the God of knowledge weighing their actions.
Job 31:1 ff. reveals a concept similar to that of Qumran:
God watches over man's path, the ideal is integrity, but
the possibility is envisaged of the foot slipping; the
plea is to be weighed in a just balance. Dan 5:27 also
testifies to the idea of human actions being weighed for
their ethical worth and the concept is found again in the
Book of Enoch. The Talmud materialized the image. Yet
it is only in Prov. 16:2 that man's רוח is weighed.
The text reads:

> The plans of the mind belong to man,
>   but the answer of the tongue is from the Lord.
> All the ways of a man are pure in his own eyes,
>   but the Lord weighs the spirit.

Is there an echo of this verse also in 1QH 1:28, 29
where the word רוח occurs three times? Firstly, it is
parallel to 'the fruit of the lips', then it seems to be
the subject giving utterance[111]. Again the concept of
measurement is prevalent.

The traditional concept was that of weighing men's
actions to judge their ethical value. The Qumran develop-
ment is the application of this image to man's spirit for

light about the variety of the spirits of the sons of men, and 4:26 reiterates that the lot of every creature (be) according to his spirit.

Footnotes

1. Karl Georg Kuhn (ed.), Konkordanz zu den Qumran-
   texten, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960).

2. Karl Georg Kuhn, "Nachträge zur Konkordanz zu den
   Qumrantexten", RQ 4 (1963-1964), pp. 163-234.

3. The Hebrew of 1QH 1:9 is expanded and the reference
   4QpPs.37 2:8 corrected to 4QpPs.37 3:8.

4. A. S. van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische
   Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen
   Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI", OTS XIV (1964),
   pp. 354-373; see line 12. The editor reconstructs
   כול [רוחי גודל[ו   in line 13, which is too
   indefinite for recognition in this survey.

5. J. A. Sanders, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
   of Jordan IV: the Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11
   (11QPSa), (Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1965).
   See 11QPSaPlea 19:14, 15, pp. 76-79 and 11QPSaDav.
   Comp. 27:4, pp. 91-92. The editor reconstructs
   רוח in 11QPSaCreat. 26:8, pp. 89-91 on the basis
   of MT Jer. 10:13, but the lacuna in the Qumran ms.
   obliterates the complete word, making recognition
   of it in this survey impossible.

6. John M. Allegro, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
   of Jordan V: Qumran Cave 4, I(4Q158-4Q186), (Oxford:
   At The Clarendon Press, 1968). An attempt has been
   made to retain Allegro's method of numbering refer-
   ences, although it is most confusing; for the sake
   of clarity such numbers as alone designate a ms. have
   been underlined and a colon has been placed between
   the numbers of columns and lines. Allegro's index
   of words occurring in non-Canonical texts does not
   include the reference to רוח in 4QpPs.37 3:8,
   although the work is published in this volume. In
   4Q186, an important cryptic, astrological document,
   interpretation is completely dependent on the editor's
   decipherment of the code, but our word at least is
   obvious, /

obvious, appearing in Hebrew script with the letters in reverse order.

7.   J. T. Milik, "Fragment d'une source du Psautier (4Q Ps.89) et fragments des Jubilés, du Document de Damas, d'un phylactère dans la Grotte 4 de Qumran", RB 73 (1966), p. 105.

8.   The advance of Qumran studies is hindered presently by the delay in the publication of the remaining material from Cave 4.   For a summary of the distribution of mss. see M. Baillet, J. Milik etc., "Le Travail d'Edition des Fragments Manuscrits de Qumran", RB 63 (1956), pp. 49-67.   Two texts from Cave 11 have been published recently in the Bardtke Festschrift, Bibel und Qumran, (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft, 1968) which unfortunately was unavailable to me.

9.   Besides 11QMelch., line 13 and 11QPS^aCreat. 26:8, Milik's reconstruction of 34 2:7 should be noted. He translates: "Mais tu t'es choisi un peuple à l'époque de ta bienveillance, car tu t'es souvenu de ton alliance et tu les [as établis] en te les séparant de tous les peuples comme une chose sainte et tu as renouvelé ton alliance pour eux par la vision de Gloire et par les Paroles de ton [Esprit] Saint (transmises) par les oeuvres de tes mains".   D. Barthélemy, o.p., and J. T. Milik, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I: Qumran Cave 1, (Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 154.   See also Milik's reconstruction of 1QSb 5:25.   He translates the benediction of the Prince of the Congregation as follows: "Que le Seigneur t'élève vers une altitude éternelle et comme une tour fortifiée sur un rempart éminent afin que tu f[rappes les peuples] par la force de ta [parole], qu'avec ton sceptre tu dévastes la terre et par le souffle de tes lèvres tu tues le impie[s, disposant de l'esprit de consei]l et de puissance éternelle, de l'esprit de science et de crainte de Dieu".   Ibid., pp. 127-128.

10.   1QH 16:6;   17:6, 7;   69 37:1;   1QHfg. 6:4;   9:6; 11:4;   12:4;   14:1;   31:1;   4Q158 14 1:2;   4Q176 21 3; 4Q177 1-4 7;   4Q178 1 6;   4Q184 4 4.   In 1QHfg. 9:6 the peculiar construct   בעבותי רוח   occurs. Holm-Nielsen translates this "through cords of the spirit", noting that the expression occurs nowhere else in the DSS or in the Old Testament.   The phrase could /

could equally well be 'clouds of the wind'.   Svend
Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, (Acta Theologica Danica,
Vol. 2;   Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget 1960), p. 268.

11.   For a list of exact references see above, pp. 120-122.

12.   The text of CD has suffered various editorial manipu-
lations, culminating in Rabin's utterly confusing
attempt to fuse the two recensions into one in 1954.
[Chaim Rabin (ed.), The Zadokite Documents (Oxford:
At The Clarendon Press, 1954)].
     Schechter, in his edition of the fragments
found in the Cairo Geniza, designated the recensions
Text A and Text B.   [S. Schechter (ed.), Fragments
of a Zadokite Work (Documents of Jewish Sectaries,
Vol. 1;   Cambridge: The University Press, 1910)].
The former, consisting of sixteen pages defective at
the beginning and the end, he thought to date from
the tenth century.   Text B, consisting of only two
pages, he attributed to the eleventh or twelfth
century;   although its contents overlap pages seven
and eight, future editors referred to it as 'pp. 19-20'.
Schechter deduced that the mss. were fragments from
a larger work, put together with little regard for
order.   While Schechter's 'pages' (i.e. one side of
a leaf) do not consistently correspond with the
Paragraphs which he has numbered, his verses are
numbered according to the pages.   The overlap then
is in pp. 7-8, Paragraph IX of Text A;   in fact it
is p. 19 that equals pp. 7-8, p. 20 stands alone.
Schechter ends up with XX Paragraphs or 16 pages
and it is this that is used as a basic text for the
present survey.
     Zeitlin in 1952 published the plates of these
mss., numbering the first 1-16 and the last two as
XVII-XVIII, XIX-XX, and giving in his introduction
a summary of translations and views to date.
[Abraham A. Neuman and Solomon Zeitlin, The Zadokite
Fragments, (JQR Monograph Series No. 1;   Philadelphia:
The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning,
1952)].   Although arguing for a date in the Middle
Ages, Zeitlin realized that the discovery of 1QS
indicated, by similarity of ideas and identical
phrases, that both documents were composed in the
same period.   This theory has since been supported
by the discovery of fragments of CD in Caves 4, 5,
and 6 at Qumran.   [See M. Baillet, J. T. Milik,
R. de Vaux, /

R. de Vaux, o.p., Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
of Jordan III: Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran (Oxford:
At The Clarendon Press, 1962); Maurice Baillet,
"Fragments du Document de Damas, Qumrân, grotte 6",
RB 63 (1956), pp. 513-523, and J. T. Milik, Ten
Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea
(Studies in Biblical Theology No. 26; London:
SCM Press Ltd., 1963), p. 58].
    The Qumran mss. present substantially the same
text as Schechter's A, with additions which supply
the beginning and end and help fill in the body.
There is no evidence that the Sect was familiar with
Recension B.   On the basis of two texts from Cave 4,
Milik proposes a change in the order of pages that
has been assumed since Schechter.   His suggestion
is as follows:
        Opening (4Q)
        CD I - VIII (and a text parallel to XIX - XX)
        missing pages (partly preserved in 4Q)
        XV - XVI
        IX - XIV
        final Column (4Q: penal code and liturgy
                    for the feast of the Renewal
                    of the Covenant)
(See Milik, Ten Years, additional note 3, p. 151).
    It must here be emphasized that until the
publication of the mss. from Cave 4, the text of the
Damascus Document used by scholars remained that
found in the Cairo Geniza.   It is to this that the
designation CD refers throughout this study.   We
accept Paul Kahle's thesis that the fragments which
Schechter found in the Cairo Geniza in 1910 were
among materials discovered in a cave near Jericho
about 800 A.D.   [Paul E. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza,
(Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959, pp. 3-28)].   They
were studied by the Karaite Community in Jerusalem
whose use of them probably contributed to their
spiritual authority.   Schechter's texts are copies
made by the Karaites of the day.   Variations in the
few fragments already published from Qumran warn
against too glib an equation of CD with the Dead
Sea text.

13. So Carmignac.   See J. Carmignac, P. Guilbert,
     Les Textes de Qumran, (Paris: Letouzey et Ané,
     1961), p. 152, n. 40.

14. Mansoor's reconstruction of עולם   here seems in-
     sufficient /

sufficient to fit the lacuna; Holm-Nielsen, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 220, n. 5, suggests some form of בדל .

15. R. Gordis, "A Document in Code from Qumran - Some Observations", JSS 11 (1966), pp. 37-40, has suggested this as the vocalization appropriate to רוח in 4Q<u>186</u>, challenging Allegro's interpretation that the document is related in thought to 1QS 3:13 - 4:26.

16. Sukenik, Lohse, and van der Ploeg make no attempt to reconstruct the first word of 5:17, but Yadin and Carmignac agree on רוח and it is so listed in Kuhn's <u>Konkordanz</u>.

17. See BDB, p. 926; Jastrow, Vol. 2, p. 1456.

18. Delcor, however, vocalizes רוּח and suppresses כאלפים באמה , thereby translating "the Spirit will be among all their camps in the place of power". For refutation of this unconvincing suggestion, see J. Carmignac, "Précisions apportées au vocabulaire de l'Hébreu Biblique par la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Tenèbres", VT 5 (1955), p. 352, n. 2.

19. The only exception in the Old Testament is Ezek. 17:3. Jastrow cites ארוך only in combination with אף . In the DSS it occurs three times in 1QH with אפים (cf. also 1QS 4:3; CD 2:4) and signifies measurement of cubits in 1QM 6:15; 9:12. Ecc. 7:8 provides an exact parallel to our text, but in the sense of 'patient in spirit'.

20. So Yigael Yadin, <u>The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness</u>, trans. Batya and Chaim Rabin (Oxford: The University Press, 1962), p. 287, n. 11.

21. Accepting Milik's reconstruction of בעז [כי] כה contra Vermes' [יד]כה , on the grounds that it forms a clarifying parallel to the following ברוח שפתיכה . See DJD I, p. 127.

22. Note the ensuing וגבורת עולם.

23. Cf. BDB 2b.

24. /

24. Cf. Jastrow, Vol. 2, p. 1458, especially Pes. 94a:
" ... he may turn towards any of the four directions
of the world".   The same usage seems evidenced in
the Aramaic text of 5Q15 1:1, 14;   see below, p. 439.

25. Reading   יתפרדו   in 7:22 with Holm-Nielsen;
see his note, op. cit., p. 135 for discussion of
the parallelism and Licht's interpretation.

26. Cf. Job 21:18;   Ps. 1:4;   35:5;   Hos. 13:3;
Is. 17:13;   29:5;   41:15;   Zeph. 2:2.

27. So Holm-Nielsen conjectures, referring to Ps. 1:4;
op. cit., p. 263, n. 4.

28. N.b. 1. 10 where the suffix secures it as God's wind.

29. Following Allegro's reconstruction of האו[ר בר[ורח .
See "A Newly Discovered Fragment of a Commentary on
Psalm XXXVII (4QPs.37)", PEQ 86 (1954), pp. 69-75,
especially the related note on p. 74.

30. The context of this phrase is obliterated beyond
reconstruction.   Cf. Ps. 18:11 (2 Sam. 22:11);
Ps. 104:3;   also Hos. 4:19.

31. Cf. Lohse, "Denn er geht nach dem Wind".
        The phrase 'builders of the wall' is taken
from Ezek. 13:10 and is often thought to refer to
the 'fence' which the Pharisees built round the
Law (so Schechter, op. cit., p.XXXVI, n. 22).
N. Wieder (op. cit., p. 147), relying on Ginzberg's
emphasis on the whitewashing, has clearly shown that
here, as in Ezekiel, we are dealing with a description
of false prophets "claiming for the constructions of
their own minds divine origin and authority".   The
curse of Ezek. 13:9 is applied to the rebels of
Qumran in 19:35.   Wieder further supports his theory
by evidence of Karaitic use of the same polemic
against Rabbinic claims for the divine authority of
their interpretation of the Law.
        Only the last letter of the verb preceding
רוח   is clear in Text A and Schechter's transcription
of   מבוהל   , adopted by most subsequent translators,
is dubious.   The lacuna seems too short, and the verb
appears nowhere else in the DSS.   Preferable is
Lohse's   שוקל , based on Rost's suggestion, which
sustains /

sustains the meaning 'wind'. The intention behind
the phrase receives no clarification from   ושקל סופות
in Text B, which merely underlines the connotation
of futile pursuits. This is one instance where
knowledge of the Qumran text could prove helpful!
It seem obvious, however, that   רוח   in CD means
in this instance 'wind' in its negative sense of
'nothingness' as it does in Micah 2:11. Our
understanding of the text thus differs from Charles'
whose reconstruction reads: "For one who walked in
the spirit of falsehood and talked lies talked to them".
(Appendix on IX, 22ª <u>Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha</u>,
p. 834). Rabin's combined text retains   הולך רוח.
The problems can best be seen by displaying the
relevant portions of the text together:

לו־איש הלך רוח ושקר כזב אטף לך	Micah 2:11
כי [מבוה]ל רוח ומטיף כזב הטיף לה	CD 8:13 A
כי הולך רוח ושקל מ̶ד̶פ̶ת̶ סופות ומטיף אדם לכזב	CD 19:25 B

32. Cf. Is. 19:14, 'spirit of confusion'.

33. For detailed exegesis of 1QH 7:6, see below, p. 393 ff.

34. Ibid., p. 402 ff.

35. Most commentators reconstruct   קודש   or   קודשכה
here; the ethical adjective may illuminate the point
of the verse.

36. So Menahem Mansoor, <u>The Thanksgiving Hymns</u>, (Studies
on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, Vol. III;
Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), p. 98, n. 4, 8, 9.
Holm-Nielsen, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 21-22, n. 16 prefers the
former interpretation. For angels having control
over the elements of nature, cf. Jub. 2:2, 1 En. 60:
14-21; 69:22; 75:5, above, p. 82.

37. The unfortunate lacuna in line 11 must contain an
expression parallel in meaning to   הבורא   at the
end of line 12, for the text when it is resumed
presents a perspective of Creation reminiscent of
1QH 1:7-20. See Yadin, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 306, n. 11.
Cf. 11QPSªCreat. 26:8 where Sanders reconstructs
רוח   on the basis of MT Jer. 10:13. There is,
however, /

however, no trace of the word in the ms. and the LXX Jer. 10:13 presupposes אור .

38. There is no evidence to support Yadin's understanding of ומשא as 'domain' or 'dominion' and its Old Testament sense of 'burden' is appropriate here to designate the task of the spirits. Cf. 1QSa 1:19, 20; 22 2:7; 1QH 1:12.

39. Yadin, op. cit., p. 307, n. 12. Van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre, (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, Vol. II; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), p. 318, argues for the translation 'winds' on the grounds of better sequence with what is created, taking 'domain of angels' as equivalent to 'sky', 'heavens'. He accordingly translates ומשא as 'weight'.

40. There does not appear to be any particular significance to this masculine form of רוח which appears quite often in the DSS. With the exception of 1QS 5:21; 9:14, it depicts supernatural beings. The form may reflect Aramaic influence; cf. Targ. Onk., Dan. 7:14; Num. 10:22.

41. משטמא as a quality peculiar to Belial, and not as a proper name, occurs in 1QM 13:11; 14:9; cf. 1QS 3:23, below, p. 259.

42. For גורל as 'sphere' see below, p. 343 ff.

43. Contra Kuhn; see below, p. 260.

44. So Yadin interprets line 11; cf. op. cit., p. 322, n. 11. Rabin translates "for hell", Vermes, "for the Pit".

45. Both verbs in the hiph'il have a declarative meaning, הרשיע being 'to condemn as guilty' and האשים appearing only once in the Old Testament (Ps. 5:11), there in the sense 'to declare guilty'. Yadin, ibid., claims that both here have a causative sense. The text may rather reflect the task of Satan as Accuser.

46. /

46.   אפעה occurs three times in the Old Testament
with the meaning 'viper' (Is. 30:6; 59:5; Job 20:16);
in Is. 41:24 it is parallel to אין , meaning
'nothing'.   For details of the argument concerning
1QH 3:18, see Mansoor, op. cit., p. 114, n. 7; p. 115,
n. 8.   Dupont-Sommer retains 'viper' in the sense
of Satan, the Messiah's adversary; Burrows, Gaster,
and Mansoor translate 'nought';   Silbermann thinks אפעה
here means 'groaning', and Holm-Nielsen sees the
figure of a serpent or dragon behind the word.
O. Betz, "Die Proselytentaufe der Qumransekte und
die Taufe im Neuen Testament", RQ 1 (1958-1959),
p. 223, thinks the image refers to 'viper creatures'
whom the Sect encountered, mainly in false teachers.
Cf. 1QH 2:28 where אפעה is the power of evil
attacking in the midst of prayer.

47.   Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 58, n. 25.

48.   Accepting van der Woude's interpretation, loc. cit.,
p. 365.   His restoration of כול [רוחי גורל]ו is,
as he says, certainly possible, but not certain.
Cf. 1QS 4:18 ff. for the same eschatological idea.

49.   Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 266, n. 6, takes יושדו
as hoph'al, but points out that רוחות may or may
not be the subject.   For רוח העול cf. 1QS 3:19.

50.   Milik, DJD I, p. 138 points to תריבו in line 1,
asking if the context could pertain to the strife
between good and evil spirits.   Cf. 1QS 4:18, 23.

51.   This is the sole occurrence of the verb in the DSS;
cf. 1QM 6:2; 4QPB1.

52.   Sanders notes that while the vocabulary is Rabbinic,
the content is reminiscent of 1QS 3:13 - 4:26.
DJD IV, pp. 77-78.

53.   See below, p. 268 ff.

54.   J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân, 4Q Serek
Sîrôt: 'Ôlat Haššabbāt", (VT Suppl. Vol. 7, Leiden:
E. J. Brill, 1960), pp. 318-345.   Strugnell points
out that Column 39 indicates a concept of the heavens
in which the number seven is especially important.
It should be noted in this regard that the seventh of
the chief princes blesses the holy ones in the name
of holiness, thus underlining the esteem in which the
Community held this quality.   See below, p. 398 ff.

55. For Strugnell's angelological vocabulary, <u>ibid</u>., pp. 331-334. Of special significance for this thesis is Strugnell's warning, <u>ibid</u>., p. 330, that the titles of some classifications seem at times to refer to human groups. Strict categorization is not always possible.

56. Cf. Ezek. 1:4-14; 10:1-8 which this passage closely resembles. Strugnell's translation contains an unfortunate misprint. The word 'Spirits' (14) has been interchanged with 'appearance' (15), reading "the appearance of the Holy of Holies", <u>ibid</u>., p. 337.

57. <u>N.b</u>. the strange occurrence of ממולח in reference to the garments. Strugnell suggests that the word by this time may have no longer meant 'salted', but 'blended' (cf. Sir. 49:1); <u>ibid</u>., p. 340, n. 17.

58. Yadin misses the point of עזר by translating it 'alliance'; van der Ploeg translates "pour (nous) aider", but takes the subject to be God. That the angels fought alongside the Community is borne out by 1QM 1:11; 7:6; 15:14.

59. Yadin so reconstructs the lacuna, but it is doubtful if there is sufficient room.

60. See below, p. 246 . Cf. 1QS 3:24 where the God of Israel and the Angel of his Truth are said to give assistance (עזר) to the sons of light, also 4Q<u>177</u> 12-13 1:7.

61. So most commentators restore the lacuna.

62. Cf. 1QS 4:4; 1QSb 5:25; 1QH 4:25. God is described in the DSS as the God of knowledge (cf. 1QS 3:14; 1QH 1:26; 12:10) and reference to spirits of knowledge merely confirms that this is one of the characteristics of those who belong to the lot opposing wickedness. There is no question of Gnosticism here in the traditional sense of man acquiring knowledge about the Godhead. See note on 1QS 3:15, below, p. 213. For criticism of Glanzman's view that this passage refers to one of the two spirits in the world, see Holm-Nielsen, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 68, n. 13. He suggests that as mediators between man and God, these heavenly beings may have the function of conveying to man the understanding of God. More likely they are merely possessors of particular insight.

63. The various phrases which do not explicitly define
angels are open to interpretation as members of
the Community.   Here Schweizer takes 'the host of
the holy ones' as the Community, as does W. D. Davies;
with Mansoor and Holm-Nielsen we interpret 'the
spirits of knowledge' here to be parallel references
to supernatural beings.   See Mansoor, op. cit.,
p. 117, n. 4, 5, 6, 7; Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 68,
n. 11.   This very confusion underlines the fluidity
of concept made possible by the Qumran concept of
גורל ;   see below, p. 343 ff.   For a study of
קדושים   see C. H. W. Brekelmans, "The Saints of
the Most High and their Kingdom", OTS XIV (1965),
pp. 305-329.

64. On the basis of 3:22 it seems reasonable to reconstruct
לסוד [עולם]   which again puts this, with
בינת [כה] in opposition to the 'perverted spirit'
of man.   דעת may be reconstructed in line 13
(so Licht and Lohse), which gives us another ref-
erence to spirits of knowledge.   Holm-Nielsen thinks
this is too short for the lacuna and prefers Gaster's
עולם   ;   Bardtke and Dupont-Sommer read קודש ,
Habermann,   שמים ;   Mansoor   אמת .

65. Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 187, n. 26;   cf. 1 En. 106:7.

66. See below, pp. 225 ff., 267 ff. and 323 ff.

67. The phrase resembles Num. 16:22.   'Lord of Spirits'
occurs 104 times in the Book of Enoch in a similar
attempt to assert God's mastery over the spirit world.
Cf. also 2 Macc. 3:24.   Glanzman wants to see here
a reference only to the two spirits which God has
assigned to man, but for discussion of all three
phrases in terms of supernatural beings, see Holm-
Nielsen, op. cit., p. 173, n. 17.   Mansoor and
Carmignac also interpret them thus.

68. He is speaking of himself as an ensign to the chosen,
an interpreter to the men of truth, but in conflict
with the men of deceit.   The ardour of   קנאה   can
have positive or negative connotations, but there is
no doubt that here it signifies anger against one's
foes.   Cf. Ezek. 35:11;   1QH 5:23.   רוח קנאה
occurs only twice in the Old Testament, describing
a man's jealousy over his wife; Num. 5:14, 30.

69. The use of the verb היה + ל is important,
probably bearing the sense of transformation into
another state. There is no exact parallel to this
use of the verb with רוח .

70. Reading with Lohse and Licht, contra Mansoor's
עזי רוח , which he admits to be odd in context.
Mansoor, op. cit., p. 180, n. 11. The preceding
line contains the expression אנשי אמת and our
phrase appears to be sandwiched between the characteris-
tics of compassion and purification. All that
remains of line 3 is the words [בי רחמים וענוי רוח
מזוקקי For the verb זקק , cf. 1QS 4:20 where
the context is eschatological.

71. It has been possible to restore some of the lacunae
on the basis of the 4QM^a fragment. See Claas-
Hunno Hunzinger, "Fragmente einer älteren Fassung
des Buches Milhamā aus Höhle 4 von Qumrān", ZAW 69
(1957), pp. 131-151.

72. Cf. Ps. 10:2, 9 etc. and with רוח , Is. 66:2.
In the DSS, note especially 1QH 2:34; 5:13.

73. See Yadin's note, op. cit., p. 311, citing the
frequency of the term אביונים and refuting
Teicher's Ebionite theory. Yadin holds the term
to be synonymous in the DSS with the 'low of spirit'
(line 10), 'those that stumble' (14:5), 'those whose
knees totter' (14:6) and 'the poor in spirit' (14:7).

74. So most commentators contra Gaster, who translates:
"The base of spirit wilt Thou burn". For his argu-
ment, see Theodor H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures,
(New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956), p. 318,
n. 51.

75. Cf. Ps. 51:17; Ezek. 6:9. For exegetical problems
in the rest of this passage re the composition of
the Community, see J. Carmignac and P. Guilbert,
Les Textes de Qumran, p. 55 and P. Wernberg-Møller,
The Manual of Discipline, (Studies on the Texts of
the Desert of Judah, Vol. I; Leiden: E. J. Brill,
1957), p. 122.

76. The text reads: ואני עבדך חנותני ברוח דעה
"I am Thy servant, Thou hast endowed me with a spirit
of knowledge". The use of the verb חנה is interest-
ing. It is used in the Old Testament mainly of the
encampment /

encampment of armies, with the preposition ב
signifying location. Num. R. s. 11 shows a slight
development: "The Lord have his tent with thee"
(Jastrow compares גני , 'to be covered, surround-
ed'). Kuhn lists 1QH 14:25 as deriving from the
root חונן ; cf. Num. R. s. 11 "Thou graciously
endowest man with knowledge".

77. Unfortunately the lacuna before גבורת עולם has
     obliterated the verb which must have governed all
     three phrases as object. Milik interprets this to
     be a continuation of the preceding benediction, with
     the sense that this figure will impart these three
     qualities to others; DJD I, pp. 127-128. Vermes,
     on the other hand, understands the lacuna to be the
     beginning of a second blessing and suggests "[May
     He shed upon you the spirit of counsel]"; G. Vermes,
     The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, (U.S.A.: Penguin
     Books Ltd., 1962), pp. 208-209. Certainly this is
     more in keeping with Is. 11:1-5 and with the general
     tenor of this text which begins and ends by attributing
     the Prince's eminence to God.

78. So all scholars except Dupont-Sommer. See Wernberg-
     Møller, op. cit., p. 138, n. 51, who detects depend-
     ence on the context of Sir. 9:1; also Naphtali
     Wieder, op. cit., p. 53 ff. on 'hidden and manifest
     things'.

79. It is not yet certain whether fragments 13-17 belong
     to the "Liturgie des trois langues de feu" or what
     the significance was of the ritual described in that
     text. See DJD I, pp. 130-132.

80. Wernberg-Møller probably catches the meaning in both
     instances by translating "a spirit of ungodliness".

81. See the discussion of this by Holm-Nielsen, op.cit.,
     p. 157, n. 61. He translates: "My spirit concealeth
     itself".

82. Cf. BDB, p. 854; Deut. 32:36; 1QpHab. 11:13. See
     also S. R. Driver, Deuteronomy (I. C. C.;
     Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896), p. 325. For the
     argument that הצמאה עם הרויה alludes to the
     dual character of man's spirit, see P. Wernberg-
     Møller, "A Reconsideration of the two Spirits in the
     Rule of the Community (1Q Serek III,13-IV,26)",
     RQ 3 (1960-1961), p. 437; J. van der Ploeg, o.p.,
     "Le /

"Le 'Manuel de Discipline' des Rouleaux de la Mer Morte", Bib. Or. 8 (1951), p. 116, n. 13.   Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 74, translates: "his spirit parched (for lack of truth) and watered (with lies)".

83. Wernberg-Møller, The Manual, p. 54, n. 35.   He also suggests that   נספתה   be taken as jussive.

84. The verb   רשם   is found in the Old Testament only in Dan. 10:21 in reference to what is inscribed in the book of truth.   Gaster's "Thou dost keep a record" is closer to the meaning than Licht's emphasis on predetermination.   For 'tablets of heaven', cf. Jub. 23:32.

85. Carmignac, op. cit., p. 245, n. 87, rightly points out that the comparison here is between man and God rather than one human being and another; his translation of   מן   as "from the point of view" is tempting; but there is no need to go beyond the traditional meaning of superiority of one thing over another. Cf. BDB, p. 582; Ges. § 133b.   For the view that   רוח   here refers to the human spirit, see Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 161, n. 116.

86. Licht reads   צבי   as the Aramaic equivalent of   דבר. For discussion of this, ibid., p. 139, n. 8. Mansoor translates "no spirit can answer thy chastisement"; if   צבי   is omitted, the first clause reads   ואין להשיב על תוכחתכה כול רוח .   For Martin's suggestion, see Mansoor, op. cit., p. 152, n. 1.

87. Mansoor, op. cit., p. 178, n. 8, realizes that the DSS do not make a distinction between 'flesh' and 'spirit', but thinks there is still a resemblance to the Johannine doctrine.   He argues that the inherent meaning of   רוח בשר   in 1QH is "the essence of baseness".   בשר   has many different meanings in the DSS.   For discussion of these, see W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit", in The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. Krister Stendahl (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1958), pp. 157-182.   N.b. also D. Flusser, "The Dualism of 'Flesh and Spirit' in the DSS and the NT", Tarbiz (תרביץ)27 (1958), pp. 158-165, English summary p. V, who thinks there is in the DSS a dualism similar to the Greek, Gnostic opposition of matter and spirit, except that there is now the criterion of the presence or absence of God's Spirit in man who is flesh. See below, p. 372, n. 13.

88. There seems to be reference to a perverted spirit again in lQHfg. 12:6, but the context is obliterated. Holm-Nielsen so reconstructs.

89. Cf. Is. 26:9, "My spirit within me earnestly seeks Thee".

90. The primary element here is trust because of assurance God has given. The psalmist 'knows' that God's words are true, his works righteous, and that his word will not be withdrawn.

91. Cf. 1QS 3:15; 1QH 1:26. Here the word was first written הודיעות . Seemingly a later scribe has erased the first waw and yod to read אל הדעות. Martin has suggested that this was an error which resulted in doctrinal change; see Mansoor, op. cit., p. 174, n. 1.

92. Apprehension of such secrets was to the men of Qumran not an end in itself, but a medium of divine revelation, confirming God's control over a world threatened by chaos. Ibid., n. 4.

93. Mansoor, "the purpose of all spirit", Gaster, "information"; Licht takes יצר as the inclination, referring to the tendency of each spirit towards good or evil. Holm-Nielsen translates "forming"; op. cit., p. 230, n. 10.

94. For the absence of אשר see M. Mansoor, op. cit., p. 129, n. 6 where reference is made to his more elaborate study in JSS 3, loc. cit.

95. Cf. 1QS 3:7, 20 and below, p. 227.

96. Sanders, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

97. BDB, p. 336. Cf. Gen. 33:5 with suffix; Gen. 33:11 re giving the Law.

98. For the technical meaning of ערב in the DSS, see Mansoor, op. cit., p. 186, n. 16. He translates "so that Thou mayest be part of the spirit of Thy servant".

99. Holm-Nielsen translates "spirit of depravity", interpreting it as reference to person rather than spirit; /

spirit; Mansoor, "spirit of threat", Bardtke, "Geist der Verderbnisse".

100. Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 247, n. 2. Mansoor, op. cit., p. 189, restores א[מצא]ה , reading "because of the spirits which Thou didst place in me I find an answer of the tongue!" There is no parallel for such plurality of spirits within man.

101. For the background of this verb in the sense 'to deviate', see Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., p. 119. Also for discrepancies in the meaning of this passage with 1QS 8:22.

102. For details of how the redactor has changed the original meaning of this passage, see Guilbert, op. cit., p. 53.

103. Lit.: "as he enters ... they shall examine their spirits ... according to his insight ... " etc. Cf. line 13 and singular suffix, line 21. See Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., p. 98.

104. For a different translation, see Guilbert, op. cit., p. 42. Wernberg-Møller reads "spiritual qualities".

105. The text reads בני הצדוך . Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., p. 89, n. 12, justifies reading בני הצדיך both here and in CD 5:2 due to Samaritan influence.

106. Is there a deliberate word-play here between שקל and משכיל ? In addition to his other functions, the משכיל is evidently the 'weigher of spirits'!

107. There is no Old Testament parallel to the phrase לפי רוחות .

108. Guilbert, op. cit., p. 28.

109. For discussion of these, see Yadin, op. cit., ch. 4 (3).

110. CD 20:2, 5, 7 describe the members of the Sect as men of perfect holiness (אנשי תמים הקדש). Van der Ploeg, op. cit., pp. 112-113, thinks the 1QM text reflects an attempt to reach the priestly ideal, that since the future war is to be a holy action, only the 'holy' may participate.

111. Cf. 1 En. 84:1. Mansoor and Holm-Nielsen translate 'spirit' in all three instances; no commentator has made complete sense of the passage.

112. Cf. 1 Jn. 4:1.

113. J. M. Allegro, "An Astrological Cryptic Document from Qumran", JSS 9 (1964), pp. 291-295, now also in DJD 5.

(13) (It falls) to the Maskil[1] to give insight and to teach all the sons of light[2] about the generations of all the sons of man, (14) with regard to the variety of their spirits with their signs, their behaviour in each generation, and the visitation[3] of their afflictions together with (15) their times of well-being.

From the God of knowledge[4] (comes) all that is and shall be. Before they existed he established their whole purpose (16) and when, as ordained for them, they come into existence (it is) according to his glorious Plan that their deeds are accomplished. Nothing can be changed![5] In his hand (are) (17) the precepts of all (men). (It is) he (who) sustains them in all their affairs, and (it was) he (who) created man to have dominion over (18) the world and ordained for him two spirits[6] in which to walk until the appointed time of his Visitation; they are the spirits (19) of 'truth' and of perversity. In a dwelling of light (have been) the generations of 'truth', but from a fountain of darkness (have arisen) the generations of perversity. (20) In the hand of the Prince of Lights[7] (is) the dominion of all the sons of righteousness and they walk in the ways of light, but in the hand of the Angel of (21) Darkness[8] (is) complete dominion over the sons of

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1.14: <u>in each generation</u> - lit: in their generations
1.16: <u>as ordained for them</u> - lit: with regard to their preordained times
1.18: <u>in which to walk</u> - lit: to walk in them

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1. 1QS9:12,21;1QSb1:1;3:22;5:20;cf. Dan.11:33,35; 12:3,10;Yalk.1b929
2. 1QS1:9;1QM1:1,3,9,11,13;cf. Jn.13:36;Eph.5:8;1Th.5:5
3. 1QH1:17;cf. 1Pet.2:2
4. 1QH1:26;12:10;fg.4:15;cf. 1Sam.2:3;Sir.42:18;1En.9:11
5. Cf. 1En.2:2;5:2;T.Naph.3:2;Sir.42:21
6. Cf. T.Jud.20:1;1Jn.4:6
7. CD5:18;cf. 1QM13:10;17:7
8. Cf. 1QS1:18,24;CD5:18;1QM13:11

1QS

(13) למשכיל להבין וללמד את כול בני אור בתולדות כול בני

איש (14) לכול מיני רוחותם באותותם למעשיהם בדורותם

ולפקודת נגיעיהם עם (15) קצי שלומם

מאל הדעות כול הווה ונהייה ולפני היותם הכין כול מחשבתם

(16) ובהיותם לתעודותם כמחשבת כבודו ימלאו פעולתם ואין

להשנות בידו (17) משפטי כול והואה יכלכלם בכול חפציהם

והואה ברא אנוש לממשלת (18) תבל וישם לו שתי רוחות

להתהלך בם עד מועד פקודתו הנה רוחות (19) האמת והעול

במעון אור תולדות האמת וממקור חושך תולדות העול (20) ביד

שר אורים ממשלת כול בני צדק בדרכי אור יתהלכו וביד מלאך

(21) חושך כול ממשלת בני עול ובדרכי חושך יתהלכו

. נגיעיהם   1.14: W-Mø reads   נגועיהם for

. מחשבתם   1.15: Barthélemy reads   מהשבתם for

. מעון   1.19: W-Mø originally suggested   מעין for

perversity and they walk in the ways of darkness. And
with the Angel of Darkness (lies) the perversion of
(22) all the sons of righteousness, and all their sin
and their iniquities, their whole offence and the
transgressions they commit (are) in his dominion
(23) according to the mysteries of God[1] until his End-
Time, and all their afflictions and the appointed times
of their distress (are) under the rule of his animosity.
(24) All the spirits of his lot[2] (are appointed) to
cause the sons of light to stumble, but the God of Israel
and the Angel of his 'Truth' come to the assistance of
all (25) the sons of light. He created spirits of
light and darkness, and upon them he has established all
activity, (26) upon their portions all worship, and
upon their ways all visitation. The one God has loved
throughout all (4:1) ages and with its deeds he is
eternally pleased; (as for) the other, he has abhorred
its counsel and all its ways he has hated forever.

(2) These are their ways in the world: (the spirit of
'truth' is) to enlighten the heart of man, to make
straight before him all the ways of righteousness,[3] of
'truth', and (to impart) to his heart dread of the judg-
ments of (3) God; (it will result in) a spirit of
humility,[4] patience, great compassion and eternal good-
ness, insight, understanding, and wonderful wisdom,
trusting in all (4) the dealings of God and relying on
his great mercy; a spirit of knowledge[5] in the design
of every action, zeal for the precepts of righteousness,

1.22: transgressions they commit - lit: transgressions
                                                of their
                                                activity
1.24: come to the assistance of - lit: (are) a help to
1.1 : throughout all ages - lit: to all the times of
                                                eternity

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1. 1QpHab.7:8;1QM3:9;16:11,16
2. 1QM13:2,4,11
3. Jub.1:20;1En.9:18,19;94:1;CD1:16
4. Prov.15:33;1QS3:8
5. Is.11:2;Sir.39:6;1En.61:11;cf. 1QS3:15;
    Hermas Sim.9.15.2

ובמלאך חושך תעות (22) כול בני צדק וכול חטאתם וערונותם

ואשמתם ופשעי מעשיהם בממשלתו[1] (23) לפי רזי אל עד קצר וכול

נגיעיהם ומועדי צרותם בממשלת משטמתו (24) וכול רוחי גורלו

להכשיל בני אור ואל ישראל ומלאך אמתו עזר לכול (25) בני

אור והוראה ברא רוחות אור וחושך ועליהון יסד כול מעשה

(26) [ועל מפלגי]הן כול עבודה ועל דרכיהן [כול עבוד]ה

Col. 4   אחת אהב אל לכול (1) עדי עולמים ובכול עלילותיה ירצה

לעד אחת תעב סודה וכול דרכיה שנא לנצח

(2) ואלה דרכיהן בתבל להאיר בלבב איש ולישר לפניו כול

דרכי צדק אמת ולפחד לבבו במשפטי (3) אל ורוח ענוה ואורך[2]

אפים ורוב רחמים וטוב עולמים ושכל ובינה וחכמת גבורה

מאמנת בכול (4) מעשי אל ונשענת ברוב חסדו ורוח דעת בכול

מחשבת מעשה וקנאת משפטי צדק ומחשבת (5) קודש ביצר סמוך

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1.   תו   is marginalia

2.   2nd Waw is supra-linear

1.23:   W-Mø reads   נגיעיהם   for   נגועיהם .

holy (5) intention with a steadfast inclination[1], and
great love towards all the sons of 'truth'; purity of
worship loathing all idols of impurity, walking carefully
(6) with shrewdness about everything, and a faithful
concealment[2] of all the mysteries of knowledge. These
are the counsels of the spirit to the sons of 'truth' in
the world, and the visitation of all who walk in it (is):
healing[3] (7) and great prosperity, with length of days[4]
and fruitfulness of offspring[5] together with all eternal
blessings[6] and everlasting joy[7] in eternal life,[8] and
complete glory, (8) with a majestic measure in eternal
light.

(9) As for the spirit of perversity: greed, negligence
in the service of righteousness, wickedness and deception,
arrogance and pride, lying, cruel treachery, (10) and
great profanity; impatience and great folly, an insolent
zeal for abominable deeds in an adulterous spirit,[9] and
impure ways in defiled worship; (11) a scornful tongue,
blindness of eyes, dullness of ears, obstinacy, hardness
of heart, walking in all the ways of darkness and
(practising) evil cunning. The visitation of (12) all
who walk in it (is): great affliction by the hand of

1.5: <u>purity of worship</u> - assuming W-Mø's emendation
       <u>walking carefully</u> - lit: to make careful to walk (?)
1.11: <u>walking</u> - lit: to walk

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1. Is.26:3;1QH1:35;1QS8:3
2. 1QS9:17;10:24
3. Jer.8:15;14:9;Mal.3:20;1En.10:7;95:4;96:3;
    Jub.1:29;23:29;Is.35:5-6;CD8:1-5
4. Deut.30:20;Ps.21:5;23:6;93:5;Lam.5:20;1QH13:20-21
5. Is.49:20;53:10;1En.10:17
6. Ps.21:7
7. Is.35:10;51:11;61:7
8. Cf. Jn.3:15
9. Hos.4:12;T.Reub.3:3;T.Jud.13:3;14:2;T.Levi 19:9

ורוב חסדים על כול בני אמת וטהרת עבוד[1] מתעב כול

גלולי נדה והצנע לכת (6) בערמת כול וחבא לאמת רזי

דעת אלה סודי רוח לבני אמת תבל ופקודת כול הולכי בה

למרפא (7) ורוב שלום באורך ימים ופרות זרע עם כול

ברכות עד ושמחת עולמים בחיי נצח וכליל כבוד (8) עם

מדת הדר באור עולמים

(9) ולרוח עולה רחוב נפש ושפול ידים בעבודת צדק רשע

ושקר גוה ורום לבב כחש ורמיה אכזרי (10) ורוב חנף

קצור אפים ורוב אולת וקנאת זדון מעשי תועבה ברוח זנות

ודרכי נדה בעבודת טמאה (11) ולשרן גדופים עורון עינים

וכבוד אוזן קושי עורף וכיבוד לב ללכת בכול דרכי חושך

וערמת רוע ופקודת (12) כול הולכי בה לרוב נגיעים ביד

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1. The text reads כבוד (Burrows); emendation
    (W-M∅).

1.6: W-M∅ reads יסודי for סודי and וחבא for יחבא.
1.12: W-M∅ reads נגיעיהם for נגועיהם.

all the angels of destruction,[1] everlasting ruin by the
anger of a vengeful God, eternal terror and everlasting
(13) disgrace, with the ignominy of annihilation in the
fires of the dark places.[2]   And as for their genera-
tions, all their times (are spent) in mourning, grief,
and bitter misfortune during the existence of darkness
until (14) their destruction, and (there will be) no
survivors and no escaped remnant[3] of them.

(15) By these (two spirits) the generations of all the
sons of man (can be explained).   All of them, in each
generation, have an inheritance in their portions and
walk in their ways, and all their behaviour (16) with
these portions is in accordance with the inheritance of
each man, whether many or few,[4] through all periods of
time.   For God has ordained their proportions until the
decreed (17) End-Time and has set everlasting enmity
between the portions allotted to men.   An abomination to
'truth' are the deeds of perversity and an abomination
to perversity are all the ways of 'truth' and zealous
(18) strife attends all their ordinances, for they do

1.13:   as for their generations - lit: all the times of
                                          their generations
        the dark places - i.e. Sheol
1.15:   all of them in each generation - lit: all their
                                          hosts of their
                                          generations
1.16:   with these portions - lit: with their (i.e. the
                                     spirits') portions
        their proportions - lit: part for part
1.17:   the portions allotted to men - lit: their (i.e.
                                       men's) portions
1.18:   attends - lit: is upon

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1.   1En.53:3;56:1;62:11;63:1;66:1;1QM13:12;
     CD2:6;cf. 1QM3:24;14:10
2.   Ps.88:7;143:3
3.   Ezra 9:14;1En.52:7;Jub.24:30;CD2:6
4.   Num.26:56;cf. 1QSa1:18

כול מלאכי חבל לשחת עולמים באף עברת אל נקמת[1] לזערת

נצח וחרפת (13) עד עם כלמת כלה באש מחשכים וכול קציהם

לדורותם באבל יגון ורעת מרורים בהדורות חושך עד

(14) כלותם לאין שרית ופליטה למו

(15) באלה תולדות כול בני איש ובמפלגיהן ינחלו כול

צבאותם לדורותם ובדרכיהן יתהלכו וכול פעולת (16) מעשיהם

במפלגיהן לפי נחלת איש בין רוב למועט לכול קצי עולמים

כיא אל שמן בד בבד עד קץ (17) אחרון ויתן איבת עולם

בין מפלגותם[2] תרעבת אמת עלילות עולה ותרעבת עולה כול

דרכי אמת וקנאת (18) ריב על כול משפטיהן כיא לוא יחד

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1. The text seems corrected from an original נקמות
   (W-Mø, Barthélemy).

2. ם is supra-linear.

1.13: W-Mø reads ורע תמרורים for ורעת מרורים .

not walk in harmony.   But God, in the mysteries of his
understanding and in his glorious wisdom, has assigned
an end to the existence of perversity and in the appointed
time   (19) of the Visitation he will destroy it forever.
Then 'truth' shall emerge victorious[1] (in) the world,
for it has defiled itself with the ways of wickedness
under the dominion of perversity until   (20) the appointed
time of decreed judgment;[2]   then God will test with his
'truth' all the deeds of man, and will refine for him-
self part of mankind, to destroy from the depths of its
humanity every spirit of perversity,   (21) and to cleanse
it from all deeds of wickedness with a spirit of holi-
ness[3] - and he will sprinkle upon it a spirit of 'truth',
like waters of purification[4] from all deceitful abomina-
tions and (from) defilement   (22) by a spirit of impurity
- to instruct the upright in the knowledge of the Most
High[5] and the wisdom of the sons of heaven,[6] to give
understanding to the perfect of the way.   For God has
chosen them for an eternal Covenant   (23) and to them
(belongs) all the glory of Adam,[7] no perversity (remain-
ing).   All deeds of treachery will be put to shame.
Until then[8] (the) spirits of 'truth' and perversity
struggle in the heart of man;   (24) they walk in wisdom
and folly, and according to the inheritance of each in

1.18:   in harmony - lit: together
1.20:   from the depths of its humanity - lit: from the
                                        midst of its flesh
1.21:   waters of purification - lit: waters of impurity
1.23:   until then - lit: until now

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1.   1QH4:25;cf. also 1En.10:16;1QpHab.1:4;27.1.1:6-7
2.   Cf. Is.10:23;28:22;Dan.9:27
3.   Cf. Jn.1:33;1QS3:7;9:3;1QH7:6
4.   Num.8:7,12,21;19:9;31:23;1QS3:9
5.   Num.24:16;cf. Deut.32:18;Ps.18:14
6.   1QS11:7-8;cf. 1En.6:2;13:8;14:3
7.   Cf. Sir.49:16;CD3:20;1QH18:15
8.   CD2:17;cf. Matt.11:12

יתהלכו ואל ברזי שכלו ובחכמת כבודו נתן קץ להיות
עולה ובמועד (19) פקודה ישמידנה לעד ואז תצא לנצח אמת
תבל כיא התגוללה בדרכי רשע בממשלת עולה עד (20) מועד
משפט נחרצה ואז יברר אל באמתו כול מעשי גבר וזקק לו
מבני איש להתם כול רוח עולה מתכמי[1] (21) בשרו ולטהרו
ברוח קודש מכול עלילות רשעה ויז עליו רוח אמת כמי נדה
מכול תועבות שקר והתגולל (22) ברוח נדה להבין ישרים
בדעת עליון וחכמת בני שמים להשכיל תמימי דרך כיא בם
בחר אל לברית עולמים (23) ולהם כול כבוד אדם ואין
עולה יהיה לבושת כול מעשי רמיה עד הנה יריבו רוחי אמת
ועול בלבב גבר (24) יתהלכו בחכמה ואולת וכפי נחלת איש

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1. The text reads מתכמן (Burrows); emendation מתכמי (W-Mø).

1.18: W-Mø suggests reading להוית with Yalon for להיות.

'truth' and righteousness, so he hates perversity, and according to his inheritance in the lot of perversity and wickedness, so (25) he abhors 'truth'. For God has ordained the proportions until the decreed End-Time and the New Creation,[1] and he knows their actions in all periods of (26) [   ], and he gave them as an inheritance to the sons of man so that they might know good [and evil],[2] so that the lots will fa[ll][3] to each one living according to his spirit in [   ] the Visitation.

1.24: and wickedness - assuming Brownlee's emendation
1.25: the proportions - lit: part for part
1.26: and evil - assuming W-Mø's restoration
       will fall - assuming D-S's restoration

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1. Cf. 2Esd.4:26;Jub.1:29;1En.91:16;2Pet.3:13;
    Rev.21:1
2. Cf. Gen.2:9,17
3. Cf. 1QM3:8;6:3,5;8:11;9:1;11:8;13:9;
    1QH3:22;7:34;1QSb4:26

באמת וצדק וכן ישנא עולה וכירשתו בגורל עול ורשע[1] וכן

(25) יתעב אמת כיא בד בבד שמן אל עד קץ נחרצה ועשות

חדשה והואה ידע פעולת מעשיהן לכול קצי (26) [   ]

וינחילן לבני איש לדעת טוב [ורע לה]פיל[2] גורלות לכול

חי לפי רוחו ב]   ' [   ] פקודה

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1. The text reads   ירשע בו (Burrows); emendation
    (Brownlee), deletion (W-Mø).

2. Accepting W-Mø's restoration of ורע , D-S's
    להפיל .

CHAPTER FOUR

T E X T   A N D   T R A N S L A T I O N   O F

1QS 3:13 - 4:26,

W I T H   E X E G E T I C A L   N O T E S

NOTES

3:13

(It falls) to the Maskil - לְמַשְׂכִּיל: The word appears
to be the Hiph'il participle of the verb שׂכל , 'to be
prudent', in which case the causative implication may be
assumed, giving the meaning of 'one imparting insight, or
teaching'. The post-Biblical sense of investigation of the
Law and deliberation on its proper application is probably
also present (see Jastrow). Leaney reminds us that the
Levites' ability to expound the Biblical texts had already
earned them the designation of 'maskilim' [A. R. C. Leaney,
The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning, (New Testament Library;
London: SCM Press Ltd., 1966), pp. 71-72]; cf. 2 Chron.
30:22. That the designation here merely indicates the
attribute of wisdom, applied to an ordinary member of the
Community (so W-Mø, The Manual, p. 66, n. 39) is refuted
by the authoritative functions associated with it else-
where in the DSS. It was, for example, the Maskil's
task to pronounce the Blessing over the faithful, (presum-
ably also over the High Priest) and even the Messianic
Prince of the Congregation (1QSb1:1;3:22;5:20). The
duties of this individual are explicitly stated in 1QS9:12ff.
(contra W-Mø who thinks these apply to the Community as a

whole): he is to separate and weigh the sons of righteous-
ness, to admit others and bring them near, to admonish,
to guide with knowledge and instruct in the mysteries of
wonder and truth. These are functions of leadership,
to be undertaken by one who, in possessing understanding
of God's mysteries (cf. CD3:18;1QS3:23;4:6), has the task
of imparting it to others. The title has been variously
translated ('the Instructor', Burrows, Leaney; 'the sage',
Black; 'Maître du Sagesse', Guilbert; 'der Unterweiser',
Lohse, Maier). Vermes and Nötscher have grasped the
transitive meaning which now seems confirmed by Karaite
parallels. Naphtali Wieder, (op. cit., p. 104 ff.)
points to Daniel al-Qumisi's definition: "'Maskil' is
one who teaches and instructs Israel in the Galuth lest
they go astray from the way of the Torah - i.e. from the
Karaite faith". A development of the term as it was
used in Daniel 11-12, משכילים had a Messianic connota-
tion to the Karaites, whose leaders were considered
inaugurators of the final Age. Until it is possible to
distinguish more clearly the roles of the several author-
itative figures within the Qumran Community (e.g. משכיל,
מורה הצדק   מבקר, הפקיר, נשיא העדה) it seems wise
to retain the transliteration of the Hebrew. (See
Vermes' treatment of the various offices, The Dead Sea
Scrolls in English, pp. 18-25, modified by Leaney,

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op. cit., pp. 229-230). Guilbert's identification of
the Maskil with the Teacher of Righteousness is tenuous
(Les Textes de Qumran, p. 21, n. 1). The term probably
described the office rather than the person, thus being
applicable to a succession of individuals. [For Black's
suggestion that the term מורה הצדק served a similar
purpose, see The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Doctrine,
(London: The Athlone Press, 1966), p. 9.] The inseparable
preposition denotes reference, indicating that the two
purposive infinitives which follow are in his province -
hence the translation, '(It falls) to the Maskil'.

to give insight and to teach - להבין וללמד : The
Hiph'il of בין may serve to draw out the implications
of משכיל if interpreted literally, 'to make to
understand' (so Burrows). The second verb governs the
following topics, up to and including שלומם , as
subjects of instruction.

the sons of light - בני אור: There can be little
doubt that this phrase refers to the members of the Qumran
Community, despite the questioning of this identity by
W-Mø, Audet, and Braun. The Biblical symbolism of light
is rich and varied, but can be summarized in the statement

that this is the domain of God. Yahweh is the Light of
Israel (Is.10:17;60:19-20), his people walk in the light
(Ps.27:1;Is.2:5;42:16;Mic.7:8), their way illumined by
his revealed Word (Ps.119:105;Prov.6:23), by his truth
(Ps.43:3). In inter-Testamental literature God is
described as the Light of righteousness (T. Zeb. 7:8),
light and darkness are respectively associated with the
Law of the Lord and the works of Belial (T. Levi 19:1)
and the separation of the two is applied even to the
spirits of men (1En.41:8). All this is reflected in the
self-designation of the Qumran sect which had no doubt
of its election to the divine 'lot' of light (see 1QM13:10).
Its members are elsewhere described as the sons of 'truth',
the sons of righteousness, the men of holiness, the men
of God's council, and their opponents as the sons of dark-
ness, the sons of wickedness, the sons of guilt, evil,
and perdition. The antithetical framework of the DSS
assumes two distinct spheres of light and darkness in
constant conflict, the former perpetuating the purposes
of God, the latter attempting to thwart them. The one
is the lot (גורל) of God, the other the lot of Belial
(see below, p. 343). The eschatological format of the
battle is presented in the scroll entitled <u>The War of</u>
<u>the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness</u> . The
division is not a horizontal one between earth and heaven

but a vertical one pervading the cosmos,which does not
accord with the portrayal of 2En.25-27 (contra Leaney,
op. cit., pp. 38-42, who sees here the background of the
concept of God as 'Urlicht'); the background is more
likely to be found in the ethical symbolism of 'light'
mentioned above. For Leaney's theory that the sons of
light venerated the sun, 'the greater light', see ibid.,
pp. 78-80. Leaney has, however, ignored a more likely
connection with the sun, deriving from T. Naph. 5:4.
In the vision recounted there Levi catches hold of the
sun, Judah of the moon, and the former "became as a sun".
(Cf. the Hebrew version, 2:6, where all the tribes are
involved); this may be compared with T. Levi 14:3 where
the sons of Levi are called "the lights of Israel" and
especially 4:2-6 where they are given 'counsel and under-
standing' to instruct the people and give to them 'the
light of knowledge'. Certainly in the present context
the phrase 'sons of light' brings to mind primarily the
enlightenment of instruction. For a detailed study of
this term see Friedrich Nötscher, Zur theologischen
Terminologie der Qumran-Texte, (Bonner Biblische Beiträge
10; Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlag GMBH, 1956), pp. 92-103.

about the generations - בתולדות : The preposition
introduces what is to be taught. Granted that the subject

matter of the following dissertation is human nature

rather than "the origin and history of mankind, told on

a metaphysical basis", this is no reason to adapt

G. Scholem's suggestion that   תולדות   here be trans-

lated 'natures' (so W-Mø, "Reconsideration", p. 419).

The few documents cited as evidence for this meaning are

Medieval, treatises concerned in the fashion of their day

with physiognomy.   Speculative Midrashic interpretations

of Gen. 5:1 prove only that this verse was under discussion,

and Licht admits that "None of these gives to toladoth a

meaning which corresponds exactly to its use in our text..."

(op. cit., p. 90, n. 5).   Furthermore, there is no

Biblical or Qumran parallel, outside this passage, to

such an interpretation.   The word occurs three other

times in the DSS, twice in the sense of 'genealogies' and

once obscurely in Creation context.   Neither can we

accept Licht's view (ibid., p. 90) that the word here is

"an exact term" coined for this context.   The influence

of the priestly Creation narrative of Genesis on the 1QS

text was formerly recognized by W-Mø (The Manual, p. 67,

n. 42) and provides ample ground for retaining here the

translation 'generations'.   The Maskil is to help the

Community to understand 'the generations of all the sons

of man' - the import of this particular phrase is that

the contemporary condition of human nature has pertained

throughout successive generations; the ensuing passage
is not a description of human nature, but an explanation
of it [so Herbert G. May, "Cosmological References in
the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament
Imagery", JBL 82 (1963), p. 4]. This is recognized
by Leaney who points out that such an historical approach
falls within Jewish tradition and that in fact "to write
therefore the 'generations' or history of mankind is to
give an account of men's nature" (op. cit., p. 146).

3:14

The instruction was to deal with specific issues
which are now listed in three consecutive phrases, each
beginning with the preposition ל . These are beset
with exegetical difficulties, due to the string of masc.
suffixes which, dependent on their reference, lend them-
selves to various interpretations. (For masc. suffixes,
especially plural, that refer to fem. substantives see
Ges. §135o). The interpretation of Guilbert (op. cit.,
p. 33, n. 4) that these three phrases introduce the topics
elaborated in the corresponding three paragraphs is
attractive, but cannot be sustained. The passage does
not present a systematically developed argument, but
rather deals with basic theological ideas by the repetition
and elaboration of related ideas. Licht's attempt to see

here "a continuous and logically constructed argument"
has resulted in a Table which is artificially simple
(ibid., p. 100); he himself is forced to admit that the
method employed in our text " ... is not sufficiently
logical to deal with aspects point by point" (ibid., p. 91).
Nonetheless it cannot be disputed that the three subjects
now outlined are of utmost significance to our text and
stand as an introduction to it.

(a) the variety of their spirits - לכול מיני רוחות :
W-Mø now rightly sees   רוח   here as a reference to
humanity, but this interpretation is dependent on the
understanding not of   תולדות   but of   כול מיני .
Taking this as a reference to the two spirits mentioned
below, W-Mø had previously translated   כול   as 'both'.
To say now that "this is not the most natural interpreta-
tion of that word" (W-Mø, "Reconsideration", p. 419) is
to understate the case!   כול   in Biblical, post-
Biblical and Qumran literature consistently means 'all'
or 'the whole' and the use of   מיני   obviously implies
variety. (Is there a word-play here on the late sense
of   מין   as an apostate, idolatrous Jew?) The phrase
further explains   בני איש   rather than   תולדות ,
the masc. suffix of   רוחותם   referring, as W-Mø
admits, to the former. Such variety, however, supplies

no justification for his interpretation of רוחות
as 'qualities'. As we have seen, רוח is frequently
used in 1QS to designate the whole individual, being
used as a synonym for 'self'. In this connection we
noted the interesting practice of examining and weighing
the spirits of those entering the Community, which
investigation seems to have included both spiritual in-
sight and ethical behaviour (see above, p. 166 and below,
p. 389). A. A. Anderson concludes that in these instances
"Ruah may be nearly an equivalent to man's whole life,
with a special emphasis on the religious aspect" ["The
use of Ruah in 1QS, 1QH and 1QM", JSS 7 (1962), p. 297],
and we have seen that as such man's spirit, while influenced
by both, betrays fundamental allegiance to either light
or darkness. It is precisely this sense which emerges
in the text under discussion. Anderson is careful to
distinguish this usage expressing the totality of man
from that describing a single characteristic; W-Mø
applies the term 'psychological' indiscriminately to
רוח whenever it refers to man. In so doing he attempts
to distinguish the usage from the 'metaphysical' one,
but the problem lies in his original choice of these two
words: "There is no doubt that rwh in this essay is
used in both a metaphysical and a psychological way ... "
(W-Mø, The Manual, p. 67, n. 43). To attribute meta-

physics to the authors of the DSS is to credit them with
a logical, analytical sophistication which they neither
had nor attempted to acquire.   G. Johnston, on the
basis of the above quotation, asks: "Is it correct
however to use the word 'metaphysical' of what is so
mythological and unsystematic as the Qumran teaching?"
["'Spirit' and 'Holy Spirit' in the Qumran Literature", in
New Testament Sidelights, ed. Harvey K. McArthur (Hart-
ford, Connecticut: The Hartford Seminary Foundation
Press, 1960), p. 30].   Their interest was theological,
their aim to interpret the cosmos and their place within
it from this bias, and the result was often far from
systematic!   When they wrote of man's spirit, the ref-
erence was 'anthropological' as opposed to 'cosmological';
the present reference is an illustration of this usage,
depicting the whole individual, with emphasis on his
volitional centre in accordance with the OT.   To label
רוח here a 'psychological term' is to be in danger of
imposing a twentieth century category upon a fluid Hebrew
concept.   May's insight is important here, that the
variety of human spirits may still fall into the two
ethical divisions on which our passage focuses (loc. cit.,
p. 2).

with their signs   -   באותותם :   In fact human beings

seem to carry metaphorical banners indicating to which

camp they belong! The word here translated 'signs' can

also mean 'military emblem' (Jastrow) and is used 23

times in 1QM 3-4 to describe the standards carried into

battle by various groupings of the Congregation. On

each is written some phrase pertaining to God, the one

at the head proclaiming that these are 'the People of God'.

So in the battle of daily living the people of God could

be identified by signs evidenced in their character.

The tenor of their spirit was manifested in their wisdom,

understanding, speech and behaviour. The suffix here

probably refers to רוחותם , being masc. under the

influence of בני איש and the succession of other

suffixes. This interpretation (so also Leaney, op. cit.,

p. 147) renders unnecessary W-Mø's assumption of a weakly

supported periphrastic genitive (posited in The Manual,

p. 67, n. 44 and reaffirmed in "Reconsideration", p. 420),

which far from clarifying the meaning leads to the mental

gymnastics of "Reconsideration", p. 420. A variety of

spirits does indeed result in a variety of signs, but

there is no reason why these characteristics cannot

signify basic allegiance to one or other of two ethical

spheres. Even without the military image, the word

אות points to a reference beyond itself; what do

W-Mø's 'signs' indicate? (For אות applied to the

signs of the luminaries, see 1QH12:9; cf. H-N, <u>op. cit.</u>,
p. 204, n. 32; 1QS10:6; 1En.72:13).

(b) <u>their behaviour in each generation</u> - למעשיהם בדורתם:

Both suffixes refer back to בני איש .
There is no moral implication in the word   מעשיהם
which seems to mean the sum of human activity.   דור
here is used in the sense of one, contemporary generation
(Jastrow) as opposed to the successive connotation of

תולדות   ; the latter is concerned with the span of
history, the former with the present. In English the
suffix is redundant and the sense better preserved in
the above translation. This interpretation is supported
by the commentary of Abraham Ibn Ezra on Gen.15:16 in
which he states that the expression   דור as generation
derives from the root   דור 'to dwell' and hence "the
length of a generation is the time a man dwells in the
world". [Noted by Naphtali Wieder, "The term קץ in
the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Hebrew Liturgical Poetry",
JJS 5 (1954), p. 31]. Brownlee's rendering of   דורות
as 'classes', since adopted by many commentators, is
forced [Brownlee, <u>The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline</u>,
BASOR Suppl. studies Nos. 10-12; New Haven: The American
School of Oriental Research, 1951, p. 13, n. 24]. It is
in men's behaviour that we see the definitive signs of
their spiritual allegiance, which is precisely why the

Community at Qumran was taught to scrutinize human con-
duct; the virtues and vices that one could learn to
recognize are detailed in 4:2-6;9-11. It is difficult
to see what is W-Mø's basic objection to linking this
portion of the text with the 'behaviour' of 3:18 (see
"Reconsideration", p. 420). To deny the connection in
no way obliterates the two opposing lists! Yet neither
does their existence necessitate the conclusion that a
man can manifest the characteristics of only one, which
seems to be the assumption behind the expression "two
sharply distinguished groups". W-Mø is at pains through-
out his article to refute the dualistic interpretation of
this passage first put forth by K. G. Kuhn in "Die
Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion" [Z.Th.K. 49 (1952),
pp. 296-316]. There the view is expressed that humanity
is divided into two categories, the Community and those
outside, which are ruled respectively by the two spirits,
and never the twain shall meet! It is surely the last
corollary that has since been proved in need of re-examina-
tion, the question of what being 'ruled' by one of the
spirits implies. It is however to the first part of
Kuhn's argument that W-Mø applies his attention, with the
result that he becomes blinded to the obvious implication
of the thorough ethical dichotomy. That a man has the
capacity for both good and evil, yet belongs ultimately

to one or other ethical, cosmic 'lot' are not inconsistent
beliefs in the Qumran framework; it is because W-Mø
refuses to recognize the cosmic element that he does not
understand the subtlety with which the DSS hold these
ideas in tension.

(c) <u>and the visitation</u> -   וּפְקֻדָּה :   This word, which
in the OT serves to equate calamity with the divine visita-
tion of punishment, appears in the DSS as also a <u>terminus</u>
<u>technicus</u> of eschatology.   Guilbert (<u>op. cit.</u>, p. 33, n.
3 and 4) has compared it to the Day of Yahweh, Black to
the NT ἐπισκοπή , the last Visitation of God, as in
1Pet.2:12 (<u>Scrolls and Christian Origins</u>, p. 135).   Not
all commentators have noted the development in the concept.
The word points to a specific time when God shall visit
the earth to mete out justice to the wicked (CD7:21=19:10;
cf.7:9;8:3=19:15) and to destroy the powers of evil (1QS
3:18;4:19); it is equated in 4QpIs.b2:2 with the end of
days.   Of the 14 occurrences of the word in the DSS, 11
refer to the final event, the Visitation of God (<u>contra</u>
H-N and Mansoor re 1QH1:17 where the Creation context
presents a parallel to the present text; 4QpHos.b1:10?).
Although the negative connotation of punishment predominates,
some are to escape this aspect of the Visitation (CD7:21=
19:10) and 1QS4:6-8 describes their recompense in positive

terms. That this was a contemporaneous concept is illustrated by the eschatological expectations of the Test. XII which look forward to a time when God himself shall appear on the earth (n.b. ἐπισκοπέω in T. Levi 4:4;16:5;T. Asher 7:3; ἐπισκοπή in T. Benj. 9:2). This was to be the final Victory, but that God was already present with the believer, demonstrating current triumph over Belial is also amply illustrated (T. Zeb. 7:7;T. Dan 5:1; ἐπισκοπέω in T. Jos. 1:6;cf. 20:2). So in Qumran, the Community felt itself to be living in an eschatological situation in which the coming End-Time was in a very real way part of the present (so E. Schweizer, "Gegenwart des Geistes ...", pp. 489-490). It is exactly this nuance which is implicit in the present text.

W-Mø originally recognized that the positive and negative aspects of divine visitation first mentioned in 3:14 were further described in 4:6-8,11-14 (The Manual, p. 68, n. 46), but he has never reckoned with the fact that the eschatological event itself is the concern of 4:15-26. Having made the mistake of referring to "the Hereafter", W-Mø now retracts from the eschatological scene altogether, arguing that our phrase in 3:14 refers instead to the afflictions of man "in this world" ("Reconsideration", p. 420). In fact, Jewish eschatology was never focused on a Hereafter, but on a new order in

this world, a transformation, a New Creation. This is
precisely the idea of 4:25 which W-Mø ignores! (see
Leaney, op. cit., p. 152). [For the view that all such
hopes in Qumran were earthly, see the arguments of Laurin
against belief in immortality in "Messianism and Eschatology
in the Qumran Scrolls", unpublished thesis for the University
of St. Andrews, (1956), ch. 8]. 1QS is mainly silent
about life after the End-Time; its concern is with the
preparation for it during which men have vivid foretaste
of both rewards and punishments. In pressing the influence
of Hos.9:7 on 1QS3:14, W-Mø has missed the technical
implication that the word פְּקֻדה has acquired (so also
Habermann; cf. Mansoor, op. cit., re 1QH1:17, p. 100).
Now correcting his theory that our author read 'hashshālōm'
for 'hashshillūm', he would have us read 'šillūmām' here,
synonymous with פְּקֻדת נגייעהם as phraseology
"taken from" the Biblical passage. There is no need
whatever for this assumption and the repetition of נגייעים
in 4:11 and שלום in 4:7 (where it cannot possibly be
synonymous with 'affliction'!) argue against it. It
must be recognized that the appearance in a Qumran ms.
of two or three words identical to a Biblical text does
not justify the assumption of direct dependence. Even
today Biblical quotations have been absorbed into every-
day speech, often conveying a very different meaning from

the original. In exegesis of the DSS we must be aware
not only of this possibility, but of memories better
trained to preserve oral tradition, a sharpened tendency
toward word-play, and a developed form of Biblical interpreta-
tion (cf. the various pešers on the OT). Seitz notes
the fundamental difference in method between Rabbinic
treatment of Scripture and that employed by Qumran, compar-
ing the latter to Hermas in its abundance of allusions
and lack of exact texts [O. F. J. Seitz, "Two Spirits in
Man: an Essay in Biblical Exegesis", NTS 6 (1959-1960),
p. 84]. In this particular instance, if our author had
the words of Hos.9:7 in mind he was fully aware of the
word-play on שלום . Far from being a "tautologous
expression" the phrase פקודת נגיעיהם (which
does not appear per se in Hos.9:7) here is concerned not
only with temporary but also with ultimate retribution.
To support his insistence that our author is concerned
only with present afflictions W-Mø cites 3:23 where he
thinks וכול נגיעיהם ומועדי צרותם , referring
to punishment incurred, has a parallel meaning to 3:14
(see "Reconsideration", p. 420, n. 16 contra Kuhn). A
clearer parallel is found in 1QH1:17-18 where our phrase,
reversed, occurs in a similar Creational context (cf.
H-N and Mansoor who see no eschatological implication
here). The concern of both these passages is to stress

the overriding rule and purpose of God; this is done by
expansion on the themes of Creation and foreknowledge,
the present predicament of man, and the divine purposes
which will be justified eschatologically. 1QS3:13-14
serve only as an introduction to the discussion of such
topics which begins, with an immediate reference to God,
in 3:15.

3:15

their periods of well-being - קצי שלומם :   That קץ
in the DSS does not always have the sense of 'end' that
it bears in the OT, but can instead mean an allotted 'time'
or 'period' is now generally accepted [see Nötscher,
op. cit., pp. 167-168 and N. Wieder, loc. cit., pp. 22-32;
n.b. the latter reference is cited wrongly by Mansoor,
op. cit., p. 99, n. 11 as JSS 1 (1951)] . This developed
meaning is particularly obvious in the plural which has
been attested by Ginzberg from Talmudic literature. W-Mø
correctly sees פקודה and קצי in our text as
synonymous though not exact parallels ("Reconsideration",
pp. 420-421), but neither expression necessarily excludes
an eschatological connotation. In this regard Wieder's
comment is significant, "In all the passages in the latter
(i.e. the DSS), though the word must be translated 'period',
it carries, in fact, also an eschatological implication".

(<u>ibid</u>., p. 23).   The important words in our text are not

פקודה   and   קץ   but rather   נגייהם   and   שלום ;

inasmuch as the spirit of a man is ruled by evil the

resulting state will be the former, and this is as true

in the present as it will be in the End.

<u>the God of knowledge</u> –   אל הדעות :   The expression

is found only in 1Sam.2:3, 1QH1:26;12:10;fg.4:15, the

middle two of these being possibly later additions (see

Mansoor, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 102, n. 5; p. 174, n. 1).   The

plural   דעות   is poetic, intensifying the idea of the

stem, and thus implying complete knowledge (Ges. § 124e).

Lacunae obliterate the sense of 1QHfg.4:15;   the context

of 12:10 is that of cosmic Creation in which God prescribes

the circuits of the luminaries; in 1:26 his knowledge is

applied, as in 1Sam.2:3 to the behaviour of man, to the

extent that even the author's words are foreknown before

he speaks.   Leaney rightly sees a parallel meaning to

our passage in 1En.9:11, "And Thou knowest all things

before they come to pass ... "; cf. also Sir. 42:18,

"For the Most High knows all that may be known".   There

is no evidence here of Gnosticism, as has been argued

competently by Nötscher (<u>op. cit</u>., pp. 40-41) against

Schubert.   The text is not concerned with knowledge as

the acquisition of man, but as the attribute of God

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(Leaney, op. cit., p. 147; for the knowledge revealed
to the sons of light, ibid., p. 63 ff.); Before the
burden of the passage unravels, the point is clearly made
that nothing that happens is outside the overarching
purpose of the God to whom all is foreknown. W-Mø is
right in seeing this as "an expression of religious sen-
timent, rather than of deterministic philosophy" ("Re-
consideration", p. 421). Our closest contextual parallel
remains the opening hymn of the Hodayot where we find the
succinct affirmation that before God created them (?) he
knew all their deeds (1QH1:7). Licht has aptly said that
"In terms of a more developed theology this statement
would be properly described as one of divine prescience
rather than predestination". (J. Licht, loc. cit., p. 4).

all that is and shall be - כול הווה ונהייה : The
translation, like that of most commentators, assumes the
conclusions of Brownlee's study of the Niph'al participle
of the verb היה (loc. cit., Appendix H, pp. 54-55).
While his futuristic interpretation seems supported by
Bk. of Mysteries 1:3 (see Milik's note, DJD 1, p. 104),
his evidence is by no means conclusive and the exact
rendering of our phrase has escaped all scholars. W-Mø
corrects the usual emendation of CD2:10, arguing for the
original text from the occurrence of נהייה here

(The Manual, pp. 68-69); in that similar passage a reference to the past seems suitable, as in our text it could accord with the historical span indicated in line 13 (so van der Ploeg translates). Despite the emphasis on Providence however there is in the DSS no interest in 'Heilsgeschichte' per se, and it is Creation rather than the Exodus that is the focus of reflection. Of primary concern was the tumultuous present in which it seemed that the powers of evil must be in control; it was to assert that this too was within God's Plan that our passage seems to have been written. The parallel in 1QS11:11 adds the phrase "and nothing happens without him" (i.e. without his knowledge or consent; cf. Num.5:20;2Kgs.18:25=Is.36:10). At the least we can assume a typically Hebraic interest in the source of activity rather than in metaphysical essence for which reason W-Mø may have captured the original meaning in his translation "everything which is happening (now) and happens (at any time)" (The Manual, p. 25; cf. the German 'Alles Sein und Geschehen' adopted by Bardtke, Maier, and Lohse). The elaboration of the Providential motif in the following two lines of the text is ambiguous, the string of masc. suffixes referring potentially to either men or events. There can be little doubt, however, that this prior phrase is meant as an all inclusive introduction, encompassing the whole saga of human history.

before they came into existence - ולפני היותם :

The 3rd pers. pl. masc. suffix, here and throughout this theological prelude, is taken as referring to the בני איש of line 13, as did the similar sequence of suffixes in line 14. So W-Mø emends his former position (<u>The Manual</u>, p. 69, n. 49) that there was no reference here to conscious beings. (<u>N.b.</u> "Reconsideration", p. 421 contains a misprint, reading 2nd pers. masc. pl. instead of 3rd pers.).

He established their whole purpose - הכין כול מחש בתם :

W-Mø rightly queries that interpretation of מחשבת as 'thought' which suggests a determination even of man's mental processes ("Reconsideration", p. 421, especially n. 17 <u>contra</u> Kuhn). In the OT the most frequent use of the word depicts the evil devices and plans of man (<u>n.b.</u> however Prov.16:3 where it is the subject of נכון). BDB lists no occurrence of the word in this purposive sense as characteristic of Yahweh. Note however that in Mic.4:12 the divine thoughts (מחשבותם) are parallel to God's plan (עצה), in Prov.19:21 the two words appear in antithetical parallelism, and in Is.55:8-9 מחשבות could well have the meaning of 'plans' or 'purposes'. In the DSS the word appears to signify God's overruling Plan (1QS3:16;11:11,19;1QM13:2;14:14; contrasted to Belial's plan, 1QM13:4;1QH4:12), as well as the intentions of man.

Even when the latter are at variance with the former,
they are still within the divine purpose. Such is the
significance of the word at this point in our text where
it might well be rendered 'He ordered aright all their
plans'. The singular of מחשבת however, lends
weight to the present translation.

3:16

as ordained for them - לתעודותם: The translation
is borrowed from Vermes who seems best to catch the sense
of the difficult Hebrew word. The OT concept of 'testimony'
seems seldom valid in the DSS usage, though Jastrow notes
no development in the word. Barthélemy notes that its
meaning is clear only in 1QSa1:25,26 where it signifies
'convocation' (DJD 1, p. 138). Nötscher (op. cit., p. 176)
draws attention as well to its use as 'destiny' (1QM14:13;
1QH1:19) and 'evidence' (1QM13:8), applying the former
meaning to it in our text. The two other instances of
the word in 1QS seem to indicate 'appointed times' at
which revelation is given, but W-Mø's application of that
meaning here is forced (The Manual, p. 69, n. 50). Yadin
translates תעודות as 'pre-ordained periods' of war
in 1QM2:8 (op. cit., p. 265, n. 8 contra Barthélemy for
the same expression in 1QSa1:26; cf. also תעודות שלום
in 36 1:2) and sees the implication of time ordained in

1QM14:4;15:1 and things ordained in 11:8;13:8.   In
1QH12:9 the word appears in the context of times and order
prescribed for the luminaries, in 1QH1:19 for the genera-
tions.   Yet in all these instances the translation 'destiny'
would suffice, as indeed it would in our text.   Vermes'
translation however allows the emphasis to fall on the
prescribed time of men's existence rather than on the
minutiae of their lives (cf. CD2:9-10).

according to his glorious Plan   -   כמחשבת כבודו :
The repetition of   מחשבת   is surely intentional to
stress God's glorious plan behind the apparent plan of men.
כבוד   can also have the sense of victory or power in
the DSS cf. 1QH10:10;1QM12:10,11; see Mansoor, op. cit.,
p. 164, n. 2 who refers for a fuller discussion to E.
Yalon, Sinai 13 (1950) p. 284 , which implication may
possibly be intended here.

that their deeds are accomplished - יֵמַ לאֹו פֵּעֻלתם :
The verb appears to be an ordinary Qal form, expressing
merely the daily course of events.   As the plans of men
have been anchored within the divine plan before they even
existed, it follows that whatever they do during their
lives will be in accordance with God's purpose.   The
affirmation may have special reference to the wicked who

seemingly thwarted the divine intention.

and nothing can be changed - ‏ואין להשנות‏ : The
OT use of ‏ואין‏ as an aside, qualifying what has
preceded, would indicate that this phrase refers to the
preceding rather than the following construction. W-Mø
is probably right to see here a Hithpa'el form, for the
verb is certainly used in the sense of 'change'; (cf.
1Kgs.14:2 in sense of 'disguise'). (N.b. The Manual,
p. 69, n. 51 contains a misprint in transliteration, read-
ing l'yn for w'yn). Rather than a statement of absolute
predestination, this is a further declaration of God's
sovereignty. Nötscher (op. cit., p. 176), criticizing
Vermes' stress on predestination, raises the question of
whether the phrase infers the lack of necessity for God
to change anything or the impossibility of man's changing
anything. This is surely to ask the wrong question. The
import lies rather in the confidence that God's plan is
supreme, so that evil can never be an ultimate threat to
it, but always exists within its framework.

3:17

in his hand (are) the precepts of all (men) ‏כול־‏ ‏בידו משפטי‏ :
          Most commentators agree that ‏משפט‏ should be
understood here in the sense of 'law' or 'ordinance' rather

than 'judgment'. In the OT such usage refers only to
the specific laws laid down by God for his people, appear-
ing frequently with חק and parallel to both תורה
and דרך . A study of the word in 1QS reveals this
meaning in the majority of cases, whether describing
the actual rules of the Community (6:15,24;9:10) or the
more general ethical path pleasing to God (3:1,5;4:2,4).
4:18 however provides a clear instance of the meaning
'precept' applied to both good and evil: (in reference
to the two spirits) "there is great enmity between all
their precepts, for they do not walk together". (Cf.
Heb. T. Naph. 1:8 where the ordinances - חוקים - of
the people are contrasted to the way of faithfulness).
W-Mø's translation of משפט here and in 3:17 as
'qualities' is completely unnecessary and weakly supported.
Furthermore, if it is, as he claims, the appearance of the
phrase משפטי כול in 3:17 that is significant, why
does he not apply his translation to the exact parallel
in 10:16,18 which he renders 'judgments'? (see The Manual,
p. 69, n. 2). Insight into the developed meaning of
this word is more likely to be found via Leaney's aware-
ness that the Qumran Community felt an "obligation to
live according to the divinely ordained structure of the
universe" (op. cit., p. 17ff.). Speculation about that
structure in terms of time, weight, and measurement is

well known from apocalyptic literature (see Charles' note
on 4Ezra 4:36; <u>Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha</u>, p. 567), the
underlying theme of which is essential to our text - that
all Creation is predetermined by God and under his control.
Philo states that God not only measures, weighs and numbers
all things, but 'circumscribes them with bounds and limits'
(Somn.II 29). In T. Naph. 2:2 all creation (every creature?)
is said to have been made by weight and rule, the word
rendered 'rule' being κανών which can also mean
'sphere of action' or 'province' or 'limit'. This latter
meaning seems more appropriate to the context and reflects
the same concept as משפט in 1QS4:18 and 3:17. God
has established not only laws for his people, but courses
of action appropriate to all men. As the sun, moon, and
planets move along their prescribed circuits, so human
lives proceed according to divine decree. (Cf. Josephus'
statement that the Essenes "declare that Fate (εἰμαρμένη)
is mistress of all things and that nothing befalls men
unless it be in accordance with her decree", Ant.XII.5,9.
See Mansoor, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 97, n. 9; also 1QH1:16). An
exact parallel to our phrase occurs in 10:16 where, it must
be admitted, the meaning 'judgment' is equally appropriate;
'judgment' in fact seems necessary in 10:18 and there may
be a conscious word-play here, the first instance implying
'precept' and the second 'judgment' (cf. T. Levi 3:2

where the Day of Judgment is confused with the Day of
the ordinances in texts Aa, B, Ab, S'). In a context
of divine knowledge and predetermination similar to that
of 3:15, מׁשפט is surely more intelligible as 'precept'
in 11:10. It must be stressed that the thrust of this
idea was not predestination in our sense of the word, but
rather affirmation of order, stability and divine control
of the universe. That מׁשפט acquired this connotation
is borne out by the parallelism of 1QS10:13 - "I will
choose what he directs, and will accept what he decrees".
Leaney, catching the significance of this verse, describes
it as the religious attitude to the logical difficulty of
free will and inexorable law (op. cit., p. 247). This
point should be kept in mind throughout our passage.

מׁשפטי in 3:17 describes the inexorable laws binding
all creation, though in this context כול is probably,
like the previous masc. suffixes, a reference to the sons
of man.

The expression ביֿדו underscores the fact that
these precepts are under God's authority and no-one else's.
One is reminded of the popular song, "He's got the whole
world in his hands"! Such a climax to this theological
prelude surely precludes any possibility of Dualism in
this passage, in the unmodified sense of that word.

<u>(It is) he (who) sustains them in all their affairs</u> -

<u>וההואה יכלכלם בכול חפציהם</u> :   The repetition of

וההואה   here and in the following phrase is sufficiently

striking to demand recognition in translation.   [For

an explanation of this linguistic form, see W-Mø, <u>The</u>

<u>Manual</u>, p. 10; also Sabatino Moscati, <u>An Introduction to</u>

<u>the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages</u>, (Wies-

baden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), pp. 104-105.   For the

same pronoun with reference to Belial, see 1QM13:4].

Acceptance of   חפץ   here in the OT sense of "delight" or

"desire" has led to the interpretation that God provides

for or fulfils his people's longings.   (So Nötscher who

compares this to the father-love expressed in 1QH9:29-36,

<u>op. cit.</u>, p. 176; also D-S).   It was, however, the

late meaning of   חפץ   as 'cause' that predominated

in inter-Testamental literature (Is.53:10;58:13; see

Jastrow), coming to signify 'concern', 'business', 'affair'.

Burrows and Brownlee early recognized that this was the

sense of the word in 1QS3:17 (<u>contra</u> Leaney, Nötscher,

Guilbert) - surely also in CD14:12; cf. 1QS6:11;1QH1:13.

The verb (pilpel) can then be read in its usual sense of

'sustain', the basic connotation being that of maintenance.

The thought follows on from that of the previous clause;

if the course of human affairs is divinely prescribed,

then it is axiomatic that everything men do is sustained

and not impeded by God. This assertion serves as a
reminder of God's control as the passage begins to deal
with the force of evil in the world; the present convic-
tion is re-enforced in line 23 by the statement that all
this is in accordance with the mysteries of God. W-Mø
thinks that the second הואה introduces a completely
new section, but the appearance of the pronoun in this
prior clause seems to indicate that it acts as a liaison
from the general background to the particular treatment
of the subject.

to have dominion over the world — לממשלת תבל :
Despite almost completely different wording, this next
sentence retains the exact meaning of the Gen.I Creation
narrative (n.b. the replacement of אדם by אנוש, רדה
by ממשלה , and ארץ by תבל). God created
man to rule the natural world, as expressed in Gen.1:26,28;
Jub.2:14. Unlike these narratives and 1QH1, there is no
interest here in the creation of heavens, earth, or other
creatures; the subject of our passage is man (cf. Ps.8:4-8;
also 1QH1:15 where Lohse reconstructs ותתנם לממשלה
and רוח אדם replaces אנוש). While Rabbinic
commentaries might agree with W-Mø's statement that "man
was created fit to rule, not only the earth, but also over
his own inclinations" ("Reconsideration", p. 422, n. 19),

this is certainly not implicit in our text. תבל
here, as in 4:2,6,19, is synonymous with ארץ , depict-
ing the inhabited world as the locus of man's habitation.
The significance of this statement is none other than the
Biblical doctrine that he is lord over natural resources
and the lower species that inhabit this planet. As such,
he is, as we have seen, open to influence from cosmic
powers, his spirit being peculiarly susceptible to such
invasion of influence (see above, p. 162). The inclina-
tions which, according to W-Mø, man was created to control
but in fact does not, are in his opinion the two spirits
of the ensuing phrase where, he argues,   רוח is used
in its OT sense of 'mood' or 'disposition'. Yet we have
already seen that an essential element in the latter con-
cept is its uncontrollability! (see Snaith's argument,
above p. 40). Surely there is a basic confusion here
between inclination which precedes commitment (יצר)
and an already prevailing force (רוח).

3:18

and ordained for him two spirits -   <u>ויׂשם לו שתי רוחות</u> :
This first reference to the controversial 'two spirits'
gives no indication of their identity; that is dramatically
withheld until the end of the sentence. For the sake of
clarity, however, that definition will be treated here.

These are the spirits of 'truth' and of perversity.

First, the linguistic arguments: W-Mø's assertion
("Reconsideration", p. 422) that וישם "continues and
explains further the previous perfect form" ברא is
open to question.   While this is a possible function of
the imperfect with Waw consecutive, its predominant use
is to express "a chronological succession of actions or
events" or "those actions etc., which represent the
logical consequence of what preceded, or a result arising
from it by an inherent necessity" (Ges. § IIIi; cf. IIId).
Taken here in the OT sense of 'to ordain, establish or
determine'   וישם represents precisely the progression
in thought indicated by the last alternative, and Qumran
evidence strongly supports this meaning which so clearly
suits the present context; (cf. 1QS4:16,25;10:10;1QH6:26;
7:8,34;10:23).   The creation of man necessitates the
regulation of his activity; the two conflicting orbits
of good and evil in which he can operate are about to be
elaborated.   The use of the preposition ל with the verb
indicates merely reference and in no way describes the
relationship.   There is no justification here for W-Mø's
statement that both spirits dwell in man, if by that he
means that "man was created by God with two spirits";
neither does the reference from Schubert demand this
interpretation ("Reconsideration", p. 422, n. 20).   (The

significance of 4:16,23,25, used by W-M∅ as support for
his interpretation of this line is discussed below, pp. 308-
312). If interiorization of the spirits were the point
of this statement, we might have expected the author to
use the preposition ב (cf. 1QH2:18) or even נתן + ב
as we saw appropriated by Ezekiel (see above, p. 23).
For שים + ל in the sense here assumed, see Ex.15:25;
Prov.8:29; and 1QS10:23 (accepting the reading of H-N,
Lohse, Maier and Bardtke contra Mansoor and Ringgren).
W-M∅ does not say exactly how he would translate the
verb, but presumably the meaning he intends is either
'put within' or 'give to' (cf. BDB 5[a]); I can nowhere
find a use of שים + ל that implies either.
(It is perhaps worth noting here the occurrence of לו
in 4:20 where the reference is clearly to God himself; the
possibility of a dativus commodi in this instance as well
should not be overlooked; this would not, however, change
the basic meaning of the statement). W-M∅'s conclusion
that this phrase "describes a detail of God's creation of
man" then cannot be sustained, and allusion to Gen.2:7,
rather than being obvious becomes improbable. Apart from
anything else, the first verbs are not identical, and the
explicitly internal direction of ויפח as followed by
the vivid באפיו (n.b. ב as expected above!)
only serves as contrast to the ambiguous ל of our

text.   W-Mø claims in relation to 1QS3:18 that "the text
says, however, that God created the two spirits in man"
("Reconsideration", p. 422, n. 19).   This is <u>not</u> explicit
in the text!   The verb 'created' is not used of the spirits
until line 25 and the phrase 'in man' is nowhere thus
employed.   Otzen's statement that it is God who is Lord
over the two spirits cannot be refuted on those grounds.

It is not clear to what extent W-Mø assumes correspond-
ence between   ויּשׂם   and   ויּפח   of Gen.2:7, but his
argument would seem to demand a parallel between the
objects of the verbs -   נשׁמה   and   רוח   .   Yet he
then stipulates that   רוח   in 1QS3:18 is equivalent to
the OT term for 'mood' or 'disposition', which may be a
development of, but is certainly not synonymous with, the
life principle!   Furthermore, W-Mø interprets our phrase
to mean that each man has two spirits (<u>i.e.</u> inclinations);
now the OT use of   רוח   to denote someone's mood or
disposition was intended, as we have seen, to describe
either the prevailing mood of the moment which obsessed
a person or the dominant trait of his character which was
sufficiently strong to justify his being labelled this
sort of person.   To have two predominant moods - or for
that matter, two life principles! - is impossible.   The
confusion that is here evident in the uses of   רוח
pervades the argument.   Alternatives must be clarified:

(a) If רוח is used in the OT sense of the life principle, parallel to נשמה , then it is common to all men. This would seem to be here ruled out by the deliberate distinction of two spirits.

(b) If רוח indicates a mood or disposition then it will differ from one man to another, covering a large variety of characteristics, but never more than one at a time in the same individual. The stipulation of two would seem to negate this possibility as well, suiting neither variety nor the domination of one trait.

(c) It has yet to be proved that רוח was used as an equivalent of the Rabbinic יצר in the sense of an urge or inclination towards good or evil, though both Treves and W-M∅ claim the difference to be one of terminology only. Treves paraphrases our text thus:

> (God) implants in the heart of each man
> an impulse to do good and an impulse to do
> evil. Each man with his free will may
> choose between these two impulses. If he
> yields to the evil impulse he falls under
> the domination of the Angel of Darkness and
> commits all kinds of sins. But if he follows
> the good impulse, he is governed by the Prince
> of Lights and obeys God's righteous laws.

[Marco Treves, "The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community", RQ 3 (1960-1961), p. 450]. Forced to take account of the compulsion exercised by the angelic figures in our text, Treves fails to explain satisfactorily the

relationship of this to the freedom of choice implied by two inclinations. Similarly W-Mø makes no attempt to reconcile his two statements that man's afflictions are the result of (a) "being under the influence of perverse inclinations" and (b) "the activities of the Angel of Darkness" ("Reconsideration", p. 420). W-Mø's quotation of Schweizer in support of his 'psychological theory' is hardly fair, in that he fails to carry Schweizer's argument through to its conclusion. On the next page from that quoted (see "Reconsideration", p. 423, n. 22), the latter states:

> Dennoch dürfte dies nicht genügen.
> So stark das ethische Anliegen ist, so
> stark ist doch auch das Wissen darum,
> daß der Mensch nicht aus seiner Kraft,
> sondern aus der Kraft Gottes lebt, daß
> sein Leben letzlich Handeln Gottes an
> ihm ist. Darin setzt sich das at.liche
> Wissen darum, daß der Geist Jahwes nicht
> der Geist des Menschen ist, fort.
>
> ("Gegenwart des Geistes ..."
> p. 491)

Realizing that the Greek identity of spirit in man and divine spirit is not present in the DSS, Schweizer is forced by the references to the supernatural to make the following important point:

> Darum wird hier auch die stark
> mythologische Form nicht nur mit-
> geschleppt, sondern als Ausdrucksmittel
> benützt /

benützt für die Erkenntnis, daß der
Mensch in seiner entscheidenden
Existenz von außen her, von dem nicht
mit ihm identischen, sondern ihm
gegenüberstehenden Gott geprägt ist.

(ibid.)

The reference later in the text to supernatural figures
and their influence on man thus puts the onus on those
who would exhaust the meaning of the two spirits by the
term 'inclination'.

(d) We have seen that the OT usage of רוח to
depict the volitional centre of man, which in later times
came to be designated 'man's spirit', had become by the
time of the DSS a synonym for 'self', with the connotation
of spiritual or ethical allegiance. Since by definition
each individual has only one such spirit, this usage of
רוח cannot stand in our text with W-Mø's insight that
both spirits are operative in every man. These are the
spirits of 'truth' and perversity; as such their identity
may nonetheless receive clarification from this concept
of the human spirit for, as we have seen, its allegiance
was to one of two opposing ethical lots. The duality
would seem to be one of the ethical potentialities open
to man, yet none of the traditional applications of רוח
to humanity seems to fit the text. We must then look
more closely at the definition given us:

That the import of the two spirits was to our
author primarily ethical is here made explicit.   It
is tempting to translate   אמת here as 'faithfulness',
for the OT concept of walking in faithfulness, often
coupled with integrity of heart, (1Kgs.2:4;2Kgs.20:3;
Is.38:3) was certainly one which the Qumran Community
had made their own (see below, p. 389).   The translation
'truth' must be understood in a practical sense, com-
parable to the expression 'doing the truth' which appears
in John's Gospel. So Hans Walter Huppenbauer, Der
Mensch zwischen zwei Welten (Abhandlungen zur Theologie
des Alten und Neuen Testaments 34, her. W. Eichrodt und
O. Cullman; Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959), p. 16 ff.,
who insists that this 'truth' is not the opposite of
'lying' but rather the parallel of 'righteousness'.
He suggests the translation 'rechte Gesinnung' but also
notes that the connotation of truth implicit in the
Law of Moses may also be present .   This concept of
unswerving fidelity stands in striking contrast to the
perverse temptation to step aside from the way of perfec-
tion (for this use of   דרך in the DSS see below,
p. 392).   Thus the spirit of truth is opposed by the
spirit of   עול , a word infrequent in the OT, usually
translated there as 'injustice' or 'unrighteousness', but
perhaps having best preserved its meaning in the Arabic
"to deviate" (see Huppenbauer, op. cit., pp. 22-26, for

a study of the masc. and fem. forms). It is contrasted

with   אמונה in Deut.32:4 which speaks of a God of

faithfulness, without   עול .   Jastrow quotes only two

instances of the word, both in the sense of 'fault' or

'perversion'.   Besides the parallel reference to the

spirits in 1QS4:23 the word appears in the DSS mainly to

describe those outside the Community, with a general

connotation of wickedness.

The various expressions of this ethical dichotomy

confronting man are the subject of a study by O. F. J.

Seitz, who rightly seeks the background to our passage in

Palestinian Judaism (loc. cit., passim).   That the

antithesis was contemporaneously portrayed by means of

conflicting inclinations, spirits, angels, and ways warns

against confining the scene to the heart of man and suggests

that at the very least the influence of Iranian belief in

two cosmic principles resulted in recognition of two

objective ethical realities.   While parallels to our

passage have been seen in both the Rabbinic concept of

the two yēṣers and the Yasnas [Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction

sur les deux Esprits dans le 'Manuel de Discipline'",

Rev. Hist. Rel. 142 (1952), pp. 16-17, points to XLV:2

and XXX:3], the closest would seem to be in T. Jud. 20:1:

                Know therefore my children that two
        spirits wait upon man - the spirit of
        truth /

truth and the spirit of deceit. And
in the midst is the spirit of under-
standing of the mind, to which it
belongeth to turn whithersoever it
will.

The word translated by Charles as 'deceit' is πλάνης
which has the connotation of 'leading astray' and Brownlee
is probably right in thinking that the Hebrew of our text
underlies the Greek found in T. Jud. 20:1 and 1Jn.4:6
(loc. cit., p. 14, n. 30); (cf. also 1Tim.4:1). The
Hebrew תועה which would be the literal equivalent of
πλάνης appears in line 21 of our text as a function
of the Angel of Darkness. [So Kuhn argues that there
is in fact not even a difference of terminology between
our passage and 1Jn.4:6; see Karl Georg Kuhn, "πειρασμός ,
ἁμαρτία , σάρξ im Neuen Testament und die damit
zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen", Z.Th.K. 49 (1952),
pp. 200-222; cf. the English translation, "New Light on
Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament" in The
Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. Krister Stendahl,
(London: SCM Press Ltd., 1958), pp. 94-113]. When we
consider that in Zoroastrian thought as well, the antithesis
was moral and not metaphysical (cf. above, p. 63), the
usual translation of 'spirit of truth' and 'spirit of
error' in 1QS3:13-4:26 seems, at the least, misleading.
The etymological connotations make it easier to grasp the
significance of the negative, which we have translated

'perversity'. The opposite refers to a moral integrity,
a loyal uprightness consequent on fidelity to God and
his Law; it is, in fact, synonymous with righteousness.
The difficulty is to find an English expression that
catches the Hebrew meaning. No single word seems to
suffice; we have maintained 'truth' in the translation
in inverted commas, with the understanding that it has
the meaning here explained.

While the subject under discussion in 1QS is the
ethical dilemma which man must daily face, the text does
not stipulate that the two spirits were inherently part of
man's nature, but rather that humanity was the area in
which they operated. Furthermore, no traditional usage
of רוח in application to man seemed appropriate to
our passage. At this point the insight of David Hill
is important, that "neither the ultimate origins of the
'two spirits' theme, nor parallels to it, need determine
the meaning of the doctrine for the Sect" (op. cit., p. 236).
It has already been noted that Qumran texts illustrate the
acceptance of non-Biblical usages of רוח , as for example
to depict angels as "powers that regulate the movements of
the heavenly bodies and the atmospheric phenomena". (So
Treves, loc. cit., p. 452, who notes the development in
the closely similar 1QH1 but does not consider the
possibility of a developed meaning within our text). The

possibility that our text displays a developed meaning of

רוח should not be excluded; it will be further

discussed in the light of the intervening text, under

the further reference to the two spirits in line 25.

Interpreting the two spirits merely as opposing

inclinations within man, W-Mø claims to see in 3:18 an

implication "that the failure of man to 'rule the world'"

results from his allowing his perverse inclination to

dictate his behaviour.   This theory presupposes W-Mø's

conviction that our author in 3:17 is emphasizing God's

original intention that man should govern the world rather

than Belial who in fact is currently in control.   Relying

on 1QS2:19;3:23 W-Mø states that Belial "against the

original plan, has the upper hand", a claim which is mis-

leading in two directions.   Belial does not, even tem-

porarily, have 'the upper hand'; he has been given free

reign to influence man, as in Job Satan is allowed to do

what he pleases, but in both cases it is God who, as

Sovereign, permits it and the ultimate victory of good

is already guaranteed.   Furthermore, although this is

a mystery that they do not understand, the Qumran theolo-

gians were convinced that the power presently exerted by

Belial was precisely within God's original Plan (see 3:23),

for he ordained the existence of both good and evil.   To

see in the reference to the two spirits an attempted

explanation of the world's imperfection is legitimate, but

to equate this with man's failure to rule the world seems
unjustified.   The preceding occurrence of   ממשלה
has no other point but to establish man's place in the
hierarchy of Creation - lord over nature and the animal
kingdom, but a little less than God (cf. Ps.8), and prey
to cosmic influences.

in which to walk - להתהלך בם :   W-Mø correctly
points out the ethical connotation of this phrase, though
this does not, as he claims, contradict the understanding
that man's behaviour is preordained.   The two spirits
have been provided for man from the beginning; their
raison d'être is to provide the context of his behaviour.
There is nothing explicit in this phrase to designate them
external or internal.   Of special interest, however, is
Ps.56:14;82:5 where man is said to walk in the light of
life, and in darkness.

the appointed time of his Visitation - מועד פקודתו :
The suffix here obviously refers to God, the phrase
instancing the eschatological event discussed above
(p. 208).   The qualifying   מועד makes it plain that
this Visitation is specified in time, and will herald the
end of the duality caused by the existence of the two
spirits.   However we understand them, we are here reminded

that their conflict is temporary and its termination is
in God's hands.   The details of what will happen at that
time are elaborated in 4:18-22 and W-Mø's comments con-
cerning it will be dealt with below, p. 313.

3:19

in a dwelling of light -   במעון אור: Some scholars
emend   מעון   to   מעין   to obtain parallelism with
מקור   (so Kuhn, Brownlee, D-S);   the case for this
would be convincing if   מעין   were clearly to be read
in such texts as 1QS10:12;11:7, but in fact the ambiguity
remains because of the confusion in the DSS between Waw
and Yod [see W-Mø's article, "Waw and Yod in the Rule of
the Community (1QS)", RQ 2 (1959-1960), p. 232 where,
retracting his initial emendation, he argues for the
retention of   מעון   in all three cases].   In fact it
is not certain that exact parallelism is intended in the
two clauses of 1QS3:19;   מעון   is in the OT the dwelling-
place of God, whether the heavens or the Temple.   Huppen-
bauer (op. cit., pp. 27-28) distinguishes from the other
uses of light in 1QS the theological content of the con-
cepts 'Prince of Lights', 'sons of light' and 'Source of
Light', interpreting the latter as the 'Himmelswelt' from
which both the stars and the light of day derive their
luminosity (cf. 1QS10:3).   It would seem as though the

spatial concept of the place of light and darkness which

Aalen concludes from his study of late Judaism was modified

sufficiently by the Qumran concept of 'lot' that the

actual locations should not be pressed. [Cf. S. Aalen,

"Die Begriffe 'Licht' und 'Finsternis' im Alten Testament,

im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus", Skrifter utgitt av

Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi I (1951), pp. 1-351].

Huppenbauer (op. cit., p. 28), rightly sees, however,

that our passage is concerned with ethical light, using

the concept of visible lumination only as analogy:

"'Licht' bedeutet ... den Bereich der Herrschaft Gottes,

in welchem er den Seinen Licht und Heil gibt". Interest-

ingly, in the OT in every instance in which מעון

signifies the heavens it is accompanied by the substantive

קדשך ; heaven is the habitation of God's holiness.

The phrase במעון קודשכה appears in 1QM12:2 parallel

to שמים , but 1QS10:12 describes God himself as a

dwelling of holiness. The same phrase is applied in

1QS8:8 to the Community which prized holiness as one of

its virtues and referred to its members as 'the men of

(perfect) holiness', believing themselves to be in

communion with the holy angels (1QM7:6), in the lot of

light (1QM13:10). Of special interest are the OT texts

where God himself is described as the dwelling-place of

his people. This is particularly striking in Ps.91:9

where מעון is parallel to מחם , followed by
the thought of angels guarding God's Elect.   Ps.90:1
provides a direct parallel in thought to our text: "Lord,
Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations".
The generations of 'truth' in 1QS3:19 must, in recognition
of the previous contrast between 'truth' and perversity,
be those people of every generation whose allegiance was
to the spirit of 'truth'.   They have dwelt in light,
which is equivalent to saying that they have belonged to
the elect lot of light, the lot of God.   Huppenbauer's
'Bereich' is not just the heavens but the ethical sphere
which unites those throughout the cosmos who fight on
the side of God.   (Cf. 1QS11:7ff.;1QH6:13-14 where H-N
correctly translates 'source of light' in vs.18 contra
Mansoor's 'fountain of light').   The different prepositions
also argue against purposive parallelism.

Those who wish to see here reference to the two
spirits as cosmic principles translate תולדות as
'origins' (so D-S, "L'instruction ... ", p. 18, who refers
to Plutarch for the origin of the two spirits in light
and darkness);   but as Licht points out that meaning is
not suitable for תולדות in 3:13 and "the word in
all the numerous ramifications of its use, always means
'things originated' ... rather than 'origins'" (loc. cit.,
p. 90).   There is no Qumran parallel for W-Mø's interpreta-

tion of תולדות here as a synonym of רוחות (so
May, loc. cit., p. 2; cf. "Reconsideration", p. 425).
Presuming his translation of תולדות in 3:13
as 'natures', W-M∮ claims that the word here, following
רוחות means 'characters', 'dispositions', 'minds',
referring in fact to the two opposing inclinations within
man. The argument that in 3:19 רוחות is followed
by תולדות whereas in 3:13 תולדות is followed
by רוחות is weak indeed when one considers that
in each case at least four words and the pause of punctua-
tion lie between them! It is also unclear whether he is
suggesting exactly the same concept by his two translations
of 'natures' and 'qualities'. He argues that an advantage
of his interpretation is that it obliterates the problem
of the author's having stressed the Biblical concept of an
omnipotent God, claiming that 'generations' of evildoers
originate from a source of darkness outside God's control.
The problem W-M∮ recognizes is a real one, but rather than
escaping it he has simply lowered it to a different level:
the origin of evil is as large a mystery when confronted
in the individual as in the mass! W-M∮ gives us no
answer; he claims that a dualistic world order is implied
by the way in which many scholars translate וממקור
חושך תולדות העול but he does not tell us how he would
translate it.

<u>from a fountain of darkness</u> -   מַמְקוֹר הַחוֹשֶׁךְ :   The

word   מָקוֹר   is applied frequently in the DSS, both

positively and negatively, with the simple meaning of

'source' (cf. Hos.13:15).   This first appearance of dark-

ness in our text connects it firmly with perversion, as

light has been associated with 'truth'.   The connection

of the latter two as ethical concepts is already present

in Ps.36:10;43:3;T. Asher 5:3, but darkness in the OT

connotes distress, seldom moral evil.   In the DSS it

appears as the ethical opposite of light.   [For the con-

cept of darkness in 1QS see Huppenbauer, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 29,

Nötscher, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 92-99; and Aalen, <u>passim</u>.   Cf.

also Pierre Grelot's charts, "La Géographie Mythique

d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales", RB 65 (1958), depict-

ing the basic mythical geography of Jewish Apocalyptic

(p. 46) and Babylonian literature (p. 65)].   Reference to

the Underworld should not be pressed, though the closest

parallel to the passage is in 1En.108:11 where reflection

is still centered on the place of departed spirits: "And

now I will summon the spirits of good who belong to the

generations of light and I will transform those who were

born in darkness".   It should also be noted that the

Persian principle of evil, Ahriman, the spirit of darkness,

arose from an abyss (so Leaney, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 47, n. 1).

The antithesis presented in 3:19 has been cited as

evidence of every conceivable type of dualism. The
question is treated below, p. 340 , but two points must
here be noted: firstly that this line must not be allowed
to mislead us into forgetting the powerful statement of
divine omnipotence with which our passage began; if there
is any dualism implicit here, it must be a 'modified dual-
ism'. Secondly, the introduction of light and darkness
immediately lifts us to a level beyond that of human
psychology. W-Mø, citing Huppenbauer as support, stresses
that the antithesis of 'truth'/light and perversity/dark-
ness is an ethical one, but unlike the latter he seems to
think that this definition confines it to a psychological
plane. As we have seen before, W-Mø, in rejecting the
dualism argued by Kuhn, wrongly rejects all cosmic ref-
erence. In so doing he betrays the current twentieth
century bias to deny the ontological and explain all in
terms of the inner life of man. Huppenbauer, on the
contrary, immediately warns that the ethical, inner-world
opposition is, by the mention of a <u>place</u> of light and dark-
ness, expanded to a cosmic dualism. W-Mø seems to miss
this point of Huppenbauer's argument and stresses instead
his recognition of the significance of the preposition
כ . I cannot see that this supports the non-dualistic
argument, or that Huppenbauer emphasizes it! He recognizes
that 1QS attempts to give no answer to the question 'where

does darkness come from?' but simply affirms that God is
ultimately Lord of it as well and that darkness, even in
its work, is not autonomous (Huppenbauer, op. cit., p. 30).

Huppenbauer, like W-Mø, recognizes that God's grace
is the only criterion by which the sons of light are saved.
He uses this, however, as grounds for denying any physical
interpretation of this passage.   While the literal in-
ference of dark and light skin is not likely to be taken
seriously, we cannot so quickly dismiss the possibility
that 1QS3:19 might have read "Im Quell des Lichts liegt
der Ursprung der Lichtsöhne" (ibid., p. 28).   He goes on
to say "Die Zugehörigkeit zur himmlischen Welt des Lichts
beruht nicht auf physischer Verwandtschaft, sondern liegt
in Gottes gnädigem Handeln".   While this is essentially
true, we must now reckon with the "Astrological Cryptic
Document" published by Allegro since both Huppenbauer and
W-Mø wrote [see above, p. 170; also, The Dead Sea Scrolls,
(Penguin Books, 1964), pp. 126-128].   As noted above,
this document implies that each man has a balance of good
spirit against evil or vice-versa.   What is of special
relevance here is that those portions of spirit are said
to be in the House of Light (בית האור   ) and the
Pit of Darkness (בור החושך   ) in 2:7.   In 3:5-6
בית   is used of both places and in one instance the
preposition מן is used instead of ב , Allegro trans-

lating "he has 8 (parts) spirit in the House of Darkness and one (part) spirit from the House of Light". The place of one's origin therefore is not left behind at one's birth but exerts a continuing influence over one by virtue of the physical and spiritual endowments one carries through life.

It may therefore be assumed that in our passage the meaning is that throughout human history those men with a balance of the spirit of 'truth' are in the domain of light, while those with a balance of the spirit of perversity are in the realm of darkness.

3:20

the Prince of Lights - שר אורים :   The identity of this figure has been much debated. Only here and in CD5:18 does this exact title occur in extant Jewish or Christian literature. In the latter text the figure appears in contrast to Belial, it being said that by his hand Moses and Aaron arose, whereas Belial raised Jannes and his brother. A more helpful passage is 1QM13:10 which reads:

> Thou (O God) didst redeem us for Thy-
> self as an eternal people and into the
> lot of light didst Thou cast us for Thy
> Truth. Thou didst appoint from of old
> the Prince of Light (שר מאור) to
> assist us, since all sons of justice are
> in his lot and all spirits of truth in
> his dominion.   (so Yadin)

Since אורים and מאור probably both refer to

heavenly luminaries, the figures thus described may

justifiably be identified. [Betz takes מאור as

illumination, interpreting the spirits of 'truth' as the

agents of assistance which takes the form of enlightenment;

see Otto Betz, Der Paraklet, (Leiden - Köln: E. J. Brill,

1963), p. 67. This does not correspond to the DSS usage

of מאור nor the concept of assistance implied by עזר] .

Van der Woude thinks that the luminaries of 1QS3:20 are in

fact equivalent with angels, but Guilbert's suggestion

that the plural implies this particular angel's control

of the stars whose behaviour so influenced the Community

is more likely. (W-Mø sees in the plural indication of

intensity, signifying superiority to the singular חושך ;

see "Reconsideration", p. 427). Having equated the

figures of 1QS3:20 and 1QM13:10, we find that the function

of the latter is identical with that of the Angel of God's

Truth in 1QS3:23 - to assist (עזר) the sons of light.

1QM17:6 further identifies the angel who assists the lot

redeemed by God as Michael, whose authority is said to be

magnified through eternal light, to light up the house

of Israel in joy. Explicit identification is never made

in the DSS, but one is forced to the conclusion that the

Angel of God's Truth = the Prince of Light = the Prince

of Light = Michael. For further discussion of the Scroll's

angelology, see below, p. 357.   It should be noted here,
however, that in Dan.10:13,21 Michael's function is
described by   עזר , and that the speech attributed to
him in T. Levi 5:6 is very reminiscent of our present
text:

> I am the angel who intercedeth for
> the nation of Israel that they may not
> be smitten utterly, for every evil
> spirit attacketh it.

שר   was used in late Hebrew especially of angels, but
retained its sense of subordination as of vassals under
the king who occasionally act as commander.   Kuhn is right
to equate the term with the NT   ἀρχῶν   (Mk.3:22;
Mt.9:34;Jn.12:31;1Cor.2:6-8;Eph.2:2) which is applied to
Satan, but God had such creatures working for him as well
as against him.   [Although this is the word usual in
Rabbinic literature to depict angelic princes and arch-
angels, Strugnell (loc. cit., p. 324) tells us that it
does not occur in the "Angelic Liturgy" of Cave 4, but is
replaced by   נשיא] .

According to our text, this angel (presumably Michael)
has in his authority rule over all the sons of righteous-
ness.   This is understood to mean that they are in his
charge, under his protection, and that his power over
them is ultimate.   ממשלה is repeated here to

stress that man, who has dominion over the world, is him-
self under the rule of higher powers.

the sons of righteousness - בני צדק :   The phrase
undoubtedly refers to the Community and is synonymous
with the 'sons of light', stressing the ethical manifesta-
tion of their election.   W-Mø sees in this phrase an
important link with Pseudepigraphical literature, as the
pious circle which produced the Book of Enoch called it-
self "the righteous" (cf.1:7 + 45 times).   That righteous-
ness was esteemed in the Qumran Sect is obvious from the
title of its founder, the Teacher of Righteousness.
[For the relation of this self-designation to the expression

    בני צדק   - Ezek.44:15;CD3:21 - see W-Mø's article,
" צדק , צדיק   and   צדוק   in the Zadokite Fragments
(CDC), the Manual of Discipline (DSD) and the Habbakkuk
Commentary (DSH)", VT 3 (1953), pp. 310-315].   Outisde
of our passage, however, the exact phrase does not occur
(cf.3:22).

        We have been told above that the two spirits of
'truth' and perversity were given to man that he might
walk in them; we are now informed that, ruled by the
Prince of Lights, the sons of righteousness walk in the
ways of light.   This blending of ethical and cosmological
terminology refutes any rigid categorization of the two
areas.   (For walking in the light, cf.Is.2:5;Ps.56:13).

3:21

the Angel of Darkness -   מלאך חושך ׃   The use

of 'angel' here rather than 'Prince' is immediately strik-

ing, but since the distinction is not maintained (cf.

מלאך   for the Prince of Lights in 3:23) it is doubtful

that much weight should be attached to it.   It may well

be that the Angel of Light is termed 'Prince' when first

introduced in order to imply his adherence to the side of

victory, but if so this is the device of a verbal illusion,

for the word does not inherently imply superiority to the

word   מלאך . Both are angels, subordinate to God, and

Michaud's exaltation of 'Prince' above this category seems

precariously based on the distinction of Hôromazes (θεóϛ)

and Areimanios (δαíμων) in Plutarch. It is strange

that W-Mǿ, denying Iranian cosmological influence on the

passage, refers to Michaud's parallels from an Iranian

myth; [see Henri Michaud, "Un Mythe Zervanite dans un

des Manuscrits de Qumran", VT 5 (1955), pp. 137-147;

W-Mǿ, "Reconsideration", p. 425, n. 28]. W-Mǿ's basic

point, that the dualism of this passage is not one of "two

cosmic, equally powerful principles" stands, and it must

be agreed that the power of evil is inferior to the power

of good; the difference, however, is not in the angelic

figures, but in the fact that the latter is on the side

of God.

The identification of the Angel of Darkness with
Belial is more obvious than that of the Prince of Lights
with Michael (cf. 1QS1:18,24).   It is Belial who is the
counterpart of the Prince of Lights in CD5:18 and 1QM13:11,
where he is again described as an angel.   For further
discussion of Belial, see below,pp. 355 ;   377, n. 46.

A second divergence in the parallelism of 3:20-21
is the position of the word כול which here appears to
qualify ממשלה , occurring immediately before it and
in line 20, appearing after it, qualifies בני צדק .
While this was possibly the clever transposition of words
by a later editor, there is no question that the divergence
stands, presumably with a purpose, in the text as we have
it.   The Angel of Darkness has <u>complete</u> control over the
sons of perversity;   while the Elect may sin, there is
nowhere mention of those outside the pale being righteous
(<u>contra</u> Treves' interpretation of 1QS5:1,8-10).   Evil
makes inroads on good, but there is no suggestion of the
reverse.   Perhaps the latter was simply not the author's
concern;   that is stated clearly in the first part of the
sentence: although the sons of righteousness may seem
to be falling, the control of <u>all</u> of them is in the hand
of the Prince of Lights.   While recognizing the importance
of the wording, W-Mø seems to have missed the point here.
He interprets our clause as meaning that while Belial is

inferior to God and the Prince of Lights, he at present "has more power over mankind than he has" - but our text does not say "more power over mankind"; it says "all power over the sons of perversity"!   Again W-Mø's denial of Kuhn's position seems to have blinded him to the logical conclusions of his own.   In arguing against two separate groups of mankind, he stresses the doctrine of election rather than predestination, yet fails to recognize that implicit in any concept of election is a division of humanity into the Elect and the non-Elect.   Whatever distinction W-Mø makes between the sons of light/'truth' and the sons of darkness/perversity, it must be made to fit texts such as this.   Nowhere is it asserted that Belial, even temporarily, has more power than God!   He is allowed freedom to exercise his power, but the ultimate display of power in the eyes of the Community was God's ability to rescue them out of the present situation (1QM13:13-14;cf.1QS11:19, 20).   This conviction is expressed in various ways - in 1QM14:5-8, in terms strangely reminiscent of the NT, it is said that God displays his strength through the weak. Such witness to the experience of spiritual power in their midst refutes W-Mø's contention that the sons of light knew themselves to be temporarily in the domain of darkness.   Awareness of grace always increases awareness of sin, but Anderson (loc. cit., p. 301) applies the proper

corrective to W-Mø's position by pointing out that while the sons of light may commit sin, they do not <u>love</u> perversion. It is the sons of perversity whose complete dominion is in the hands of the Angel of Darkness; it is they who walk in the ways of darkness (3:21). It is of the essence of evil however to pervert and the Angel of Darkness is not content with ruling his own - he seeks to influence those who belong to God. This corollary is now expanded in the text.

3:22

<u>the perversion of all the sons of righteousness</u> -

תעות כול בני צדק :   This first admission that the sons of righteousness are open to evil influences indicates that all are prey to the Angel of Darkness. The construction, compared with that of the preceding lines, is significant. The preposition ב implies agency, but lacks the connotation of authority conveyed by ביד ; yet the repetition of   כול בני צדק   leaves no doubt that it is the same people who are meant as have been said above to be ruled by the Prince of Lights. The infinitive (probably Pi'el) of עות , acting as a verbal noun, is best translated "perversion" (cf. Syriac ܛܥܐ ܛܥܝܐ -to deceive), though there is no exact parallel in the OT of this usage (cf. Job 8:3; 34:12 to pervert justice). The

Pi'el takes on the sense of 'corrupt' in Rabbinic literature
(Jastrow) but the intention here is not so complete.
The word is not used again in the same sense in the DSS;
it appears as a noun, seemingly = the OT תעוה in 1QH
4:12,16,20;2:14 (see H-N, op. cit., p. 82, n. 24). [N.b.
the occurrence of the verb in 4QMa5 where the sense is un-
clear due to lacunae.   If Hunzinger's interpretation were
correct, this could be an instance of the hope that evil
could be influenced by good, yet the context seems to
suggest their destruction rather than their transformation;
(Hunzinger, loc. cit., pp. 136 and 146)].   The idea that
the pious are led astray by satanic powers is found in
T. Dan 5:6; T. Benj. 3:3; CD2:17.   When the concept
recurs in line 24 of our text it is with the concrete image
of slipping from the way.   See below, p. 388.

W-Mø interprets this statement to mean that the sons
of righteousness, like the rest of mankind, had two oppos-
ing inclinations of which, despite their name and election,
the perverse one had the 'upper hand' ("Reconsideration",
p. 427).   The sinful nature of the pious, as described in
1QS and 1QH cannot be denied, but it is no more triumphant
than is Belial; it has, in fact, been redeemed by grace.
The righteousness and holiness with which they credit
themselves is not an ideal, as W-Mø would suppose, but as
vivid a reality as their shortcomings.   That this is a

paradox is undeniable, but paradox is of the essence of
religious language.   For further discussion of how the
pious Elect are still able to be perverted, see the
treatment of predestination below, p. 386 ff.   W-Mø
("Reconsideration", p. 428, n. 37) quotes Wolverton as
saying that "a sincere effort of complete devotion to
God while not assuring exemption from conflict at least
puts one on the side of the sons of light", but as he
himself has previously emphasized, it is not effort, no
matter how sincere, that puts one on the side of the sons
of light, but the grace of God!   This in itself, if
properly understood, should refute the 'ideal' argument
which he defends.

<u>and all their sin</u> -   וכול חטאתם: The sequence
of four nouns, with 3rd pers. pl. masc. suffixes, could
in fact be summarized by this phrase "all their sin", but
close analysis reveals some interesting subtleties. כול
undoubtedly governs each word in turn, its significance
being heightened by its previous use in 3:20,21 and at the
beginning of this line.   The string of nouns divides
easily in two, each part comprised of a singular and
plural, the latter perhaps intended to particularize the
idea of the former.   It is noteworthy that the verbal
root of this first word means "to miss a goal or way, to

go wrong". The appropriateness of this may be seen in

relation to   תעות   and will become clearer in the

light of the Qumran emphasis on slipping from the way

(see below, p. 388).   The following word, which has the

overall sense of iniquity, is found in Hos.5:5;14:2 with

כשל   (cf. 1QS3:24), being the means by which Israel

stumbles.   The other meaning of the root   עוה   (which

is thought to be quite distinct) is to bend or twist   (cf.

עות   ) and appears in Prov.12:8 in the expression

'perverted of mind'.

all their offence -   ואשמתם :   The word should

probably be taken here in the sense of offence rather than

guilt, as the other three words imply the action of wrong-

doing, and this singular is detailed by the following   פשעי .

While the first part of the sentence emphasizes the aspect

of perversion, the latter stresses the concrete actions.

in his dominion -   בממשלתו :   The marginal addition

of   תו   seems to indicate an original omission of the

last two letters by error (cf.   בממשל   in 1QS9:24;

1QM1:5;1QH8:37;4QPB1, but always of men).   The frequent

repetition of this word in our text cannot be ignored.

The suffix here obviously refers to the previously mentioned

Angel of Darkness, but it is important to notice that it

is the sins of the sons of righteousness that are in his
dominion - they themselves are not (contrast 3:20,21).

3:23

according to the mysteries of God - לְפִי רָזֵי אֵל :
This is the closest that this passage comes to an explana-
tion of the existence of evil within a monotheistic
universe; the author obviously considered the statement
sufficient. The word רָזֵה is Aramaic (Persian origin)
and its Qumran usage seems to be based mainly on Daniel
where its meaning is that of a secret revealed by God
through the interpretation of specially gifted individuals.
The closing chapters, which concern the revelation of
eschatological secrets received from the Angel Gabriel by
Daniel after confession of his people's guilt, are reflected
in the Qumran preoccupation with the mysteries of the
divine plan [see M. Black, Scrolls and Christian Origins,
p. 130 and R. E. Brown, "The pre-Christian Semitic Concept
of Mystery", CBQ 20 (1958), p. 437 ff.].

Rabbinic literature developed the idea that the
angels guarded the secrets of God (Sabb.88a; Deut.R.s11)
and the Targums further specified these as the secrets of
reward and punishment (Targ. Ezek. 28:3; Gen.49:6;
Ps.91:1; 1Sam.18:22; Deut.13:7; Est.6:1; 2Kgs.6:11).
The Greek equivalent, μυστήριον , appears in the

LXX (Dan. 2:18,27,28,29,30,47), in Theod. (Da 4:9), in
the Pseudepigrapha (T. Levi 2:10, 1En.106:19) and the
NT (esp. Rom.11:25;2Thess.2:7;Rev.10:7).   It is in Daniel
that   μυστήριον   becomes an eschatological mystery,
disclosed by God and, according to Theod.4:9, only to
those inspired by his Spirit.   The Qumran Community prided
itself on being the recipient of special revelations,
through study of the Scriptures and presumably astrology,
about the ultimate Plan.   (For a study of these Qumran
mysteries, Black, loc. cit., refers to W. Grossauw, Studia
Catholica, Jaargang 107, Dec. 1951, p. 294 ff.).   The
first column of the Book of the Mysteries informs the
initiated about the eventual destruction of evil and
ascendancy of good (DJD I, pp. 102-107; cf. 1QS4:20).
The uninitiated, on the other hand, do not know the mystery
of the future or understand things past; they do not know
what will happen to them or how to save their souls from
the future mystery (lines 3-4).   רזה appears here
(1:2) qualified by   פשע   as in 1QH5:36 (fg.50:5? cf.
2Thess.2:7   μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας   ).   The predominant
implication however is that of the mysteries of God as
concealed in Scripture, and revealed to specially gifted
persons; for Qumran, Scriptural resources would not be
confined to the OT, but would include apocalyptic writings.
Leaney illustrates from 1En.1:2 two categories of revela-

tion - understanding of the pattern of the universe and
knowledge of future happenings.   Of special interest,
with regard to the former, are Pierre Grelot's comments
on 1En. 72-82,   (loc. cit., pp. 34-36) and the correspond-
ing Aramaic fragments from Cave 4.   See J. T. Milik,
"Hénoch au pays des Aromates", RB 65 (1958), pp. 70-77.
(Leaney, op. cit., pp. 64-75; according to Strugnell,
there is reference in 4QS1. to the mysteries of the luminous
ones of heaven).   Leaney rightly points to 1QM10:9-12
as an apt description of the Community's openness to revela-
tion.   To them had been revealed the fact that though evil
was now rampant, this was both according to God's Providence
and a temporary state of affairs.

until his End-Time -   עַד קֵצוֹ :   Contrary to W-Mø,
there is no difficulty in maintaining the preposition here
in the sense of 'until', although we understand קֵץ   as
'time' or 'period'.   Indeed the phrase seems to echo
עַד מוֹעֵד פְּקֻדָּתוֹ   of line 18, the meaning being
the same.   The point of both passages is identical - that
evil will, at a time appointed by God, be abolished. First
it is said that man has two spirits in which to walk until
the appointed time of God's Visitation; now after an
elaboration of their effects, we are assured that the
perversion of the sons of righteousness is equally temporary.

It is possible that the suffix refers to the Angel of
Darkness, meaning "the time of his destruction" (so
Vermes), but the subject is more likely the immediately
preceding אל and קץ is synonymous with פְּקֻדה .

his animosity - מַשְׂטֵמתו :   מַשְׂטֵמה occurs in
the OT as a common noun, meaning there, as here, 'enmity'
or 'hatred' (Hos.9:7,8; cf. CD4:5). Although the word
appears several times in the DSS to describe Belial's
characteristics (cf. CD16:5;20:2;1QM13:4,11), it is never
a proper name as in Jubilees. (Yadin, op. cit., p. 234,
suggests that such forms as   מלאך המשׂטמה   may
have been considered to mean 'the Angel Mastema' by
translators of Jubilees). Note that here, as in the
previous line, it is not the people but their negative
qualities which are said to be under the control of evil.
The meaning appears to be that affliction and distress
are caused by the hatred of the Angel of Darkness towards
the sons of righteousness. No indication is given whether
the distress referred to is physical or spiritual but the
implication is the opposite of שלום - all the trouble,
unrest, and implicating web of circumstances that conspire
against those who sin.

3:24

all the spirits of his lot - כל רוחי גורלו : As

we have seen, רוח appears frequently in the DSS in the

above form (cf. above, p. 137). There can be little doubt

that 'spirits' in our text refers to supernatural beings

although Kuhn, interpreting גורל = κληρονομία =

inheritance, is convinced that they are men (K. G. Kuhn,

πειρασμός   p. 207, n. 2 and recently in conversation).

The spirits of Belial's lot are specifically called 'angels

of destruction' in 1QM13:12. That both God and Satan

were thought to have supernatural beings working on their

behalf is evident from 1QM, although outside of our passage

there is no mention of them in 1QS. (For Satan and his

angels, see T. Dan 6:11; T. Asher 6:4; Matt.25:41).

        We encounter here for the first time the important

concept of גורל   , meaning realm or sphere. (For a

discussion of its significance, see below, p. 343). Its

full significance has been realized by Licht whose important

article is discussed below, p. 344. Nötscher distinguishes

five uses of the word in the DSS, this one among them

(op. cit., pp. 169-173), and Mansoor notes the development

of the term in 1QH beyond its traditional meaning (op. cit.,

p. 20). It is the contention of the writer that this is

the basic concept underlying all expressions of opposition

between good and evil; it is this understanding of two

spheres pervading the cosmos that enabled the men of
Qumran to hold together what seem to us mutually exclusive
ideas.   They did not draw a horizontal line dividing
human inclination from cosmic powers but a vertical one
sharply distinguishing anything evil from anything good;
the first belonged to the sphere of Belial, the other to
the sphere of God.   Warfare between the two was constant,
though only expressed explicitly in those terms in 1QM.

to cause the sons of light to stumble - להכשיל בני אור :
It is the task, the commission, of the spirits of Belial's
lot to cause the sons of light to stumble (cf. 4QFlor.1:9).
(For appointment or compulsion expressed by ל + inf.
constr. with the verb to be, the latter often omitted, see
Ges.§114h; contra W-Mø who thinks להכשיל here a
finite form, and D-S who thinks the infinitive describes
what will happen in the future).   The Hiph'il of כשל
appears in Prov.4:16 in the sense of the wicked causing
the righteous to stumble from their path, and it is this
meaning which is here reflected (cf. 1QM14:5 כושלים of
the Community).   In 1QH5:28, 36 it is the individual's
spirit which is said to falter, this being paralleled by
a cessation of strength; the result, according to verse
28, is the same: " ... to cause (the spirit) to fail and
to make an end of strength, so that he should not hold fast

to the place of standing".   The thought is more often
expressed by the verb   מוט , to totter, shake or slip,
used in the OT with   רגל   as subject (cf. 1QH6:21,27;
7:7;1QS11:12) and by frequent reference to the ways of
righteousness and their counterpart.   It is undoubtedly
this concept which underlies the present text - the aim
of the spirits of evil was to make the members of the
Community stumble and fall from the path of righteous
living.   Far from being a digression (Licht) this is one
of the most important points in our text.   See below, p. 388.

It is Kuhn who has most accurately caught the
meaning of this phrase.   He sees in this word   להכשל
the background of the NT use of   πειρασμός   and points
out that such temptation "by definition, applies only to
the believer.   The unbelievers who stand outside are not
in the state of peirasmos.   Satan already has them in his
power" ("New Light ...", pp. 95-96).   What in the NT is
described as the aim of making the believer fall away from
faith is in the DSS conceived as the attempt to make the
faithful man of integrity fall from the way of perfection.
Kuhn is right to emphasize in both the attitude of the
brave soldier in battle with the devil;   this state of war,
elaborated in the apocalyptic style of 1QM, nonetheless
forms the context of our passage in 1QS.   He also correctly
stresses that the Now and the Then fade into one another,

the Sect knowing itself to be an eschatological Community
in the midst of which God is already fighting the enemy.
Not only are present and future blended, but also abstract
and concrete (or, in the language we have been using,
cosmological and anthropological); sin is a <u>power</u>, which
when man comes under its control causes him to bear fruit
accordingly.   This is the assumption of our text - that
supernatural powers play upon the righteous in an attempt
to influence them.   Inasmuch as they succeed, it is
manifested in the ethical, moral behaviour of the individual
who will deviate from the straight and narrow path.   For
seemingly no reason, our author is again using the term
'sons of light' rather than 'sons of righteousness' - in
the chiastic style of this passage the phrase prepares the
way for the reference to the spirits of light and darkness
in the next line.

<u>the God of Israel and the Angel of his Truth</u> —
<u>ואל ישראל ומלאך אמתו</u> :   That God fights
contemporarily against evil is made plain in this next
statement.   The phrase   אל ישראל   affirms Qumran's
dependence on the Biblical structure of ideas (cf. Gen.33:20;
Ps.68:36), but the Angel is not explicitly identified.
It has been demonstrated above, however, that he is the
same personage as the Prince of Lights and therefore can,

on the basis of function, probably be identified with

Michael. The expression 'Angel of his Truth' may well

derive from the OT 'Angel of Yahweh' who was at times

identical with, at times distinct from, God himself.

That he is here identical with God, however, is extremely

unlikely. The defence of the faithful (performed in

2Kgs.19:35;Ps.34:7;35:5 by the Angel of Yahweh) was already

the task of Michael by the time of Daniel, and the develop-

ment of Jewish angelology in inter-Testamental times

resulted in the emergence of the Angel of the Presence as

an independent personage called also 'the Angel of the

Face'. To argue, as W-Mø does ("Reconsideration", p. 426),

from the singular verb to the identity of God and the

Angel is surely to start from the wrong end. He is then

forced to admit that if the Angel is identical with the

Prince of Lights then the latter is identical with God!

(loc. cit., n. 31). If, on the other hand, we begin by

accepting the identity of the Angel with the Prince of

Lights = Michael, we are left with the problem of a

singular verb and duplicate subject.   עזר , however,

is not necessarily a verb, and the problem disappears if

it is read as a noun (so D-S). Aside from the subject of

the sentence, this reading of   עזר is supported by the

fact, which W-Mø has admitted elsewhere (The Manual, p. 72,

n. 75), that we would expect an imperfect rather than a

perfect verb here. The noun is frequently used in the
OT in the concrete sense of one who helps and appears as
a collective without the ב essentiae in Ezek.12:14.
The present translation assumes our text to be a parallel
structure. God and his Angel, Michael, fight on the side
of the Elect against the satanic enemy. It does not
necessarily follow from the identification of the Angel
with the Prince of Lights that the Angel "has nothing to
do with the OT idea of   מלאך יהוה   " (so W-Mø, ibid:
so also van der Woude); the question is whether in the
evolution of angelology the Angel of the Presence did or
could become identified with Michael. Guilbert seems
to have no difficulty with this position (op. cit., p. 33,
n. 18); see discussion of angelology below, p. 357.

In the OT the verb   עזר   , and also the noun, occur
most often with God as subject; in the inter-Testamental
literature, however, the concept of supernatural aid was
further developed, as we have seen, through the agency of
angelic hosts (see above, p. 87). Perhaps the closest
parallel in thought to our text is to be found in T. Benj.
6:1: "The inclination of the good man is not in the
power of the deceit (perversion?) of the spirit of Beliar,
for the angel of peace guideth his soul". In the Test. XII
we saw a development in the role of the supernatural powers
strengthening humanity against the influence of evil. This

was a basic religious conviction at Qumran (see below,
p. 360).   The classic passage in the DSS for the participa-
tion of angels in the midst of the Community is 1QM12:6-9.
D-S ("L'instruction ...", p. 21) points to Yasna 1:5 for
the Iranian concept of divine aid, and thinks that the
title 'Angel of Truth' here fuses Zoroastrian ideas about
the Spirit of 'Truth' with the older Biblical concept of
the Angel of Yahweh.

It is God himself who fights, assisted by this angel,
to help the sons of light.   W-Mø, claiming the identity
of God and the Angel, stresses that "God alone is capable
of coping with the attempt of Belial and all his demons
to trip up the children of light" ("Reconsideration", p. 426);
it is not clear how he reconciles such 'coping' with his
former statement that Belial has 'the upper hand' and
'more power than God'!   With greater insight, Schweizer
has pointed out that 'angels' are not just accidentally
employed here as another term for 'spirits' but that this
has been done to make plain that they are messengers of
God's power, and not detached, independent forces.   Thus
the terms 'spirit', 'angel', 'prince' can all be employed,
for they share the common property of being created by God.
Schweizer is therefore led to the following conclusion,
the significance of which will become plain in discussion
of the next phrase: "So sind diese beiden Geister oder

Engel oder Fürsten durchaus <u>als Mächte</u> verstanden, die
ausserhalb des Menschen stehen, ihn verführen oder ihm
helfen" ("Gegenwart des Geistes", p. 492).

3:25

<u>(the) spirits of light and of darkness</u> - רוחות אור וחושך :
This first section of our treatise closes with a familiar
ring.   There can be no doubt as to who "he" is in this
sentence -   הואה   is the same strong pronoun which in
line 17 represented the God of knowledge.   He has more
recently been referred to as 'the God of Israel' and the
author now continues the Biblical foundation by using again
the verb   ברא   (cf.   והואה ברא אנוש   in line 17).
The object of the verb now is 'spirits of light and dark-
ness', the identity of which is not as straightforward as
it might appear.   They have been assumed by all scholars
to be equivalent to the two spirits of 'truth' and perversity
defined in line 19.   Even W-Mø, with his interpretation
of them as inclinations, retains the equation he recognized
earlier (<u>The Manual</u>, p. 72, n. 76).   The express state-
ment here that they were both created by God confirms the
'modified dualism' implied by   ישם   above.   The occurrence
of 'light' and 'darkness' in line 19 has however fore-
warned us of their cosmic implications and their reappearance
here, immediately following the reference to the super-

natural forces in the battle of good and evil, justifies
the question of whether רוחות here might have the
same meaning as רוחי in the preceding line. This
would simply be confirmation that God had created super-
natural beings, here called 'spirits' in the lots both of
light and darkness. Such an interpretation, however,
would require a sharp distinction between the spirits of
'truth' and perversity as human characteristics, and the
spirits of light and darkness as supernatural beings;
this seems denied by the fluidity of terminology through-
out the text and especially by the equation of the two
pairs of spirits implied in 3:26-4:1,9.

Despite the abundance of angelic/demonic activity
depicted in apocalyptic literature, the Test. XII are
unique in calling these supernatural beings 'spirits'
when describing their influence on humanity (see Russell's
list of the uses of the word 'spirit', op. cit., Appendix II,
pp. 402-405). Russell notes that the use of 'spirit' to
depict supernatural beings influencing man for good or
evil is at times "hardly distinguishable from its use to
denote the Spirit of God acting on men or the capacity of
man to act in a positive way" (p. 405, n. 1). Furthermore,
Russell points out that in the majority of cases the phrase
'Spirit of God' is used in apocalyptic literature to
express its operation in producing ethical results in

human behaviour, which makes it difficult to distinguish
from the spirit of man (p. 149).   As we have seen above
(Ch. 2, p. 94), the spirit of man seldom occurs in
Pseudepigraphical literature without the connotation of
being influenced by external powers, be they the Spirit of
God or supernatural beings.   This blurring of categories,
of which we saw the beginning in the OT, is of utmost
significance for the proper understanding of רוח in the
DSS.   Beyond the familiar angels and demons, Russell has
recognized that inter-Testamental apocalyptic literature
at times referred to spiritual beings which were not
specifically assigned to either category.   In this regard
he points to 1En.39:12 where God is said to have "filled
the earth with spirits", the 104 instances in Enoch where
God is called "the Lord of Spirits", and especially to the
above mentioned instances where spirits are said to in-
fluence man for good or evil.   Under this heading he
lists the locus classicus of T. Jud. 20:1, thus admitting
dissatisfaction with any of the categories which scholar-
ship has imposed upon these two spirits (pp. 150-151).

Apocalyptic literature, with its over-powering em-
phasis on ethics, thus bequeathed to the Qumran Community
a vivid dichotomy of good and evil against a hazy background
of their relationship to man.   This is reflected in the
fact that despite numerous explanations of the two spirits

in 1QS commentators have realized that the basic problem
is that the text nowhere explains <u>how</u> they influence human
behaviour [so Jacob Licht, "An Analysis of the Treatise
of the Two Spirits in DSD", <u>Scripta Hierosolymitana</u> 4
(1958), p. 93] ; or in other words, their exact relation-
ship to man. We have seen that on one hand the cosmo-
logical, astronomical interest of the Community produced,
out of a Biblical background, the concept of two opposing
lots of light and darkness. Good and evil, known existen-
tially in the force they could exert over the human heart,
were conceived as powers created by God and active through-
out the cosmos; they are manifested as two opposing inclina-
tions within man, two modes of behaviour, two influences
exerted upon him from outside - inasmuch as he encountered
these moral opposites they made their force felt, and there
could be no better concept by which to convey this impression
than the dynamic, power-imparting רוח . That the Spirit
of God as the motivating, enabling power for good, had
begun to be blended with the spirit of man was obvious by
the close of the OT; in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
the fluidity of influence was extended to angels and demons;
we have in 1QS reached the point where רוח , in both
positive and negative sense, seems to depict simply moral
power on any level.

With this understanding, our present phrase is all

the more revealing, coming as it does after the description
of these influences in relation to men. All scholars
translate "the spirits of light and darkness", although
the article is not present in the Hebrew. While its
absence poses no grammatical problem in a construct
construction, there is no obvious reason for its omission,
unless it were to represent the subject as imprecise,
indefinable (cf. Ges.§126i, as opposed to §126l and n.).
God created spirits (powers) of light and darkness!
On this understanding, the supernatural beings of line 24
become manifestations, the Prince of Lights and Angel of
Darkness personifications, of the two spirits, as does
any expression of the ethical essence of the lots of light
and darkness.

Interestingly, W-Mø has little to add apropos the
spirits of light and darkness. He interprets line 25 as
"an abridged repetition" of line 17, disclaiming any
cosmic dualism in either text. We can only repeat that
the fact that "both these phrases allude to human behaviour
and have an ethical connotation" is no argument against
cosmic overtones.

and upon them - וַעֲלֵיהֵון :   This word seems to have
an Aramaic suffix, the only alternative being a strange
form of plene writing [so D-S; see W-Mø, The Manual, p. 72,

n. 77; see also Jongeling, "Les Formes QTWL dans l'Hébreu des manuscrits de Qumran", RQ 1 (1958-1959), p. 491]. Its feminine suffix refers unmistakably to the afore-mentioned spirits. The preposition על seems to begin a series of consecutive constructions, thereby giving clues as to what is missing in the last worm-eaten line of Col. 3. Upon these two spirits, as a foundation, God has established all activity (cf. מעשה in 3:16).

3:26

(upon their portions) all worship - [ועל מפלגיהן]

כול עבודה: The restoration adopts Guilbert's suggestion of replacing D-S's סודיהן with מפלגיהן the former being too short to fill the lacuna and the latter allowing parallelism of thought with 4:15. Many scholars assume dittography, but this seems almost too convenient to be true! (so Brownlee, Burrows, Vermes, Lohse). The translation of עבודה as 'worship' is clarified by its reappearance in 4:10 and discussed below, p. 285.

and upon their ways (all visitation) - ועל דוכיהן

[כול פקודה] : The restoration follows D-S (adopted by Guilbert) in reading כול פקודה . That visitation (retribution) was dependent upon the ways of the spirits

is borne out by 4:6-8;11-14.   So all of life, activity,
worship and reward is dependent upon these two spirits;
this statement, with the following one, is a summary of
the first section.

the one   -   אחת :   This spirit which God loves is
obviously the afore-mentioned spirit of light, the power
of good, and its ethical importance is once more stressed:
God is pleased with all its deeds.   One is reminded of
the frequent injunction in the DSS to love what God has
chosen and reject what he hates (cf. 1QS1:4-5).

4:1

the other   -   אחת :   In contrast, God abhors the spirit
of darkness, the power of evil.   The vivid opposition of
the verbs is enhanced on reflection that in the OT   אהב
is used of God's Covenant love towards the people of
Israel, while   תעב   occurs (in the Pi'el, as here) in
reference to the abominations of idol worship (Ps.106:40;
cf. also Ps.5:7;Amos 6:8 for the ethical sense).   Here
it is the counsel (סוד   ) of this spirit which God is
said to abhor, and its ways he hates.   While it has
previously been recognized that   סוד   should here be
translated 'counsel' the full sense of the word in context
is only apparent with the above interpretation of   רוה .

The 'counsel' of a spirit is obviously the influence
brought to bear on a person. W-Mø approaches this
understanding in correcting his former translation of
'council', realizing the close connection of סוד with
דרכיהן ("Reconsideration", p. 429). Our interpreta-
tion presents no obstacle to his reconstruction of CD2:8.

4:2

<u>their ways in the world</u> - אלה דרכיהן בתבל :
This heading introduces a catalogue of virtues and vices,
plus a list of their retributions, the prosaic style of
which is striking in contrast to the deep thought of the
preceding and following sections. Here the ways in which
good and evil manifest themselves in human attitudes and
behaviour are described. This concentration on the
anthropological level serves only to demonstrate the wider
concerns of the rest of the passage. The fem. suffix of
דרכיהן refers to רוחות , the spirits of light
and darkness mentioned in 3:25, yet we have here another
instance of their equation with the spirits of 'truth'
and perversity; the latter appears at the introduction
of the second list, indicating that the contrasting
רוח האמת should be understood here (so D-S). W-Mø's
opinion that this introduction refers to the ways of a
multiplicity of spirits is forced; the opposition through-

out the opening section has been between the two ethical
forces of good and evil, and given that there is a
multiplicity of human spirits, the construction of "the
one ... the other" in 3:26-4:1, referring to the two
spirits of light and darkness, argues for the maintenance
of this subject in the opening phrase of this second section.

The ensuing two paragraphs have been compared to the
already familiar discourses on the Two Ways in T. Asher
(1:3-9), the Didache (I-VI), the Epistle of Barnabas
(XVIII-XX), and Hermas (Mand.VI). Similarities have also
been noted to Yasna XXXI:2 where the idea of two ways occurs
in association with two distinct camps of humanity, and to
the poetry of Hesiod, the myth of Hercules at the cross-
roads, and the symbolism of the letter Y among the Pythag-
oreans (so D-S, op. cit., pp. 22-23, who sees in our passage
a blending of Iranian, Greek and Jewish influences). It
must be noted, however, that 1QS does not speak explicitly
of 'two ways' - its primary concept is with two spirits
which manifest themselves in diverse ways, observable in
man's behaviour. The opposition of the ways of light and
darkness in 3:20-21 applies the plural of דרך to each
sphere, and the same plural applied to the one spirit in
4:1 would suggest that at the time of this passage's composi-
tion the idea of opposing ways had not crystallized into
two distinct paths, but retained the earlier sense of

diverse manners and characteristics. So Butler's study
of the literary relationship between the various parallels
leads him to the conclusion that about 30 A.D. there
existed a Jewish form of the Two Ways theme in Greek dress
that was as different from that preserved in 1QS as it was
similar to that now reflected in the Didache, Barnabas and
Hermas. [See B. C. Butler, "The 'Two Ways' in the Didache",
JTS 12 (1961), p. 27ff.]. For discussion of the ethical
similarities see below, p. 390. An interesting suggestion
for the possible background from which our 1QS passage
sprang has been made by M. Black (in recent conversation)
in pointing out the similarity in sound between the Aramaic
words for 'way' and 'spirit' - it is indeed tempting to
see here the clue to the blending of concepts.

to enlighten the heart of man - להאיר בלבב איש :
This phrase begins a series of three purposive functions
introduced by the preposition ל , similar to that found
in 3:13. The Hiph'il האיר is rich in nuance (cf.1QSb4:27
for the verb form). The chief effect of the spirit of
light/truth is to shed light wherever it is manifested;
the locale here is the heart of man. The term לבב was
used by the Rabbis of the double heart, the home of the
two inclinations, which is no doubt the intended reference
here. The word retained the sense of moral will and

intention implicit in לב , (see Seitz, loc. cit.,
pp. 89-91); the function of the spirit of light/truth
then is obviously to enlighten (probably in the sense of
wisdom) the inner man so that he can discern the ways of
light and walk in them, thus proving himself a 'son of
light'. This statement that the spirit is to enlighten
the seat of the two yēṣers would seem to deny identifica-
tion of יצר and רוח .

to make straight before him all the ways of righteousness –
וליישר לפניו כול דרכי צדק : The aiding
function of the spirit is continued here, but with no
sense of compulsion. The expression דרכי צדק does
not appear in the OT, but is found in inter-Testamental
literature. Note again the plural of דרך ! אמת
may originally have been a gloss (so W-Mø), but its associa-
tion with צדק is frequent (1QS4:24; 5:3; 8:2; 11:14; CD3:15;
20:29); it was probably added here to underline that the
ways of righteousness are the ways of the spirit of truth.

dread of the judgments of God – ולפחד לבבו במשפטי אל :
If פחד is a verb, as seems required by the parallelism,
its form is unclear, for the context demands that it be
causative. It should perhaps be taken as a noun, with a
verb such as 'impart' understood. Certainly the sense
is that of dread aroused in the heart of man. In view

of the detailed retribution at the close of each paragraph,

משפט   here probably has the connotation of judgment,

though W-Mø, seeing the phrase as an allusion to Ps.119:161,

thinks it has replaced דבר and therefore means 'command-

ment' or 'law' (The Manual, p. 73, n. 7; so also Leaney).

The list now becomes more terse, simply naming qualities.

4:3

a spirit of humility   - ורוה ענוה :   רוח is

undoubtedly used here in the sense of 'disposition' which

W-Mø imposed earlier.   The present context, in contrast

to what has preceded, serves to heighten the difference in

usage.   It is possible to argue that רוח governs not

only עַנוה but the other attributes listed, until רוח

reappears in line 4.   In the absence of a verb this seems

plausible, if only to connect the subsequent phrases (so

W-Mø, The Manual, p. 74, n. 8; also van der Ploeg).   A

humble spirit is mentioned in 3:8 as one of the means by

which sin can be atoned (cf. also 1QH14:3;1QM14:7;Ps.10:2,9;

Is.66:2).   The list of ethical qualities characterizing

the spirit of truth/light which is here given has been

compared by most commentators to the 'fruits of the spirit'

noted in Gal.5:18.

__patience__ - וארך אפים :   In the OT this
phrase is, with one exception, used of God. W-Mø has
drawn attention to the parallel of 1En.61:11 where, as
here, רוח is the _nomen regens_ of several qualities.

__great compassion and eternal goodness__ - ורוב רחמים
וטוב עולמים :   These being again phrases usually
descriptive of God's dealings with men, the implication
emerges that those who walk in the ways of light reflect
in their behaviour the nature of God. The description
of such characteristics as 'eternal' must not be confused
with our interpretations of this word; such adjectives
described essence rather than longevity to the Hebrew.
(For confirmation of this view, see Laurin, _op. cit._,
ch. 8).

__wonderful wisdom__ - רח כמת גבורה :   The transla-
tion adopts W-Mø's suggestion that גבורה can
mean 'wonderful', with the connotation of mystery (_The
Manual_, p. 74, n. 10). For this usage he appeals to
Job 12:13;Prov.8:14;CD13:8;Sir.38:6;42:17,21;43:25 and
notes the LXX rendering of גבר as σύνεσις in
Job 22:2.   חכמה , here following בינה brings
to mind Is.11:2 (cf. also רוח דעת in the following
line); these were in the OT gifts of the Spirit of God.

(For parallels to 'mighty wisdom' see D-S, op. cit., p. 23).

4:4

trusting in all the dealings of God -   מאמנת בכול

מעשי אל : מאמנת begins a double participle construction,

the fem. subject of which is either   חכמה or רוח .

מאמנה   is difficult; it appears to be Pi'el, for

which there is no known parallel. Burrows and W-M∅

read it as passive to the subject 'wisdom' but the follow-

ing   ונשענת argues for the active. The English

'believing in' is unsuitable only if understood as mental

acceptance; the idea of trust, **however**, is essential to

the Hebrew root and here forms a parallel to   נשענת

which W-M∅ himself translates 'leaning on'. The objection

of unsuitability therefore is unclear (so Yalon, adopted

by W-M∅, The Manual, p. 74, n. 11).   מעשים is a

familiar word in our passage (cf. 3:14,25;4:10,16,23 and

later in the same line 4:4) and there is no reason to

suppose its meaning differs here from its other occurrences.

Generally used to portray the actions, the behaviour of

men, here it designates the dealings of God with man.

The answer to the dread of God's judgments (4:2-3) is

faith in his Covenant relationship; allusion has just

been made to its characteristic attributes. If, as

W-M∅ now claims, this passage was addressed with paedagogic

intent to the Community, then it is quite fitting that
they should be reminded that a characteristic of the
sons of light was faith in their election.   W-Mø's
translation of 'the secrets of God' based on a complicated
exegesis of CD13:7, is quite unnecessary (The Manual,
p. 74, n. 11).   Our interpretation is borne out by the
explicit reliance on grace in the following phrase and
especially its use of the Covenant term   חסד .   (There
is no need to emend this to the plural as does W-Mø, follow-
ing Habermann, ibid., p. 76, n. 12).   That this was the
emphasis of the Community who believed themselves to be
under the dominance of light is obvious from 1QH.   That
they needed to be reminded is also relevant, for as we
have seen the belief that all was predetermined did not
obliterate the sense of individual responsibility.   The
doctrine of election, wherever it is found, is not free
from anxiety.   This is grasped by George Johnston who,
in relation to the Qumranians, quotes the story of D. M.
Baillie:

> A Methodist knows he's got religion, but he's
> afraid he may lose it.
> A Presbyterian knows he can't lose it, but he's
> afraid he hasn't got it.

(loc. cit., pp. 31-32)

<u>a spirit of knowledge</u> - ורוח דעת ‎ ‎רוח now

recurs, but not to govern the following phrases in 4:5-6.

The words בכול מחשבת מעשה are ambiguous: if

the preposition introduces the object (so van der Ploeg,

Leaney), the implication is that the individual has a

knowledge of the purpose behind every action. The alternate

suggestion that מחשבת may refer to the thought

preceding and motivating the action is appealing; knowledge

would then be equivalent to discerning reflection (so W-Mø,

<u>The Manual</u>, p. 76, n. 13; also D-S). The light now shed

on the attention paid by the Sect to astrology (Leaney)

and their conviction that the universe operated according

to divine ordinances lends weight to the previous interpreta-

tion. As we have seen, the Sect believed itself to be

recipient of special revelation about the mysteries of God

- this, rather than any intellectual gnosis, was their

means of achieving knowledge. That this is the thought

behind this passage is borne out by the use of רזי

in line 6 and the reference to ordinances in the following

phrase. Such knowledge was, of course, one of the

gifts or manifestations of the spirit of 'truth'.

<u>zeal for the ordinances of righteousness</u> - וקנאת

<u>משפטי צדק</u> :   For the fact that 'zeal' was not always

admirable, see Leaney, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 151, who draws attention

to O. Betz, "Die Donnersöhne", RQ 3 (1961-2), p. 41 ff.
There can be little doubt however that here, in a list
of praiseworthy qualities, it shares the positive connota-
tion, being considered a sign of 'the true witness'
(cf. 1Macc.2:24).   For the interpretation of   מִשְׁפַּט   as
'ordinance', see above, p. 219.

4:5

<u>holy intention</u> - וּמַחֲשֶׁבֶת קוֹדֶשׁ :   The intentional
repetition of   מַחֲשָׁבָה   here surely indicates the same
word play as in 3:15-16.   Having insight into the divine
purpose behind actions, the purpose or intent in the heart
of the enlightened will then accord with it.   It thus
becomes a holy intention.   (Leaney, however, could be
right in translating this 'holy design' as the second object
of 'zeal').   This is the first occurrence of   קוֹדֶשׁ   in
our passage, but its use in 4:21 is not unrelated.   There
it is the influence of holiness which cleanses man from
all the deeds of wickedness.

<u>with steadfast inclination</u> - בְּיֵצֶר סָמוּךְ :   We
have here the Rabbinic use of   יֵצֶר , now almost parallel
to   מַחֲשָׁבָה   (cf. 1QH1:13,16; for the Rabbinic concept
of two yēṣers, see below, p. 354).   The passive participle
implies an inclination which is upheld, sustained, supported.

That such an interpretation is connected with the 'know-
ledge' mentioned above is confirmed by 1QH1:35; (H-N,
op. cit., p. 27, n. 75, draws attention to the fact that
the expression ‏יצר סמוך‎ is further clarified by
1QH18:13 as the character which God supports. Of special
interest to our interpretation is the fact that it is
God's strength which has supported him). The concept here
is that of integrity, of a personality supported in its
intention and therefore able to fulfil it.

great love towards all the sons of 'truth' - ‏ורוב חסדים‎
‏על בני אמת‎: The repetition of
‏רוב חסד‎ (now pl.) is striking, now characterizing
men instead of God. The ‏בני איש‎ are obviously
those men ruled by the spirit of 'truth' (i.e. the
Community). D-S (op. cit., p. 24) rightly interprets
‏חסדים‎ as affection, contrasted to the hatred
directed towards the sons of darkness [1QS1:10;5:1-2;8:13;
cf. Sutcliffe's article, "Hatred at Qumran", RQ 2 (1959-1960),
pp. 345-357]. He points out that according to Josephus
the Essenes were distinguished by the great affection in
which they held one another (B.J.II.8.2.§119; cf. also
Jn.13:35). 'Mercy' makes no sense in this context; it
is the faithful love known from the Covenant God which
should be reflected in the Community life of the Sect.

purity of worship -   וטהרת עבוד :   The transla-
tion assumes W-Mø's emendation of the text which trans-
forms   כבוד   into   עבוד .   In support of this he
cites the frequent interchange of   כ and   ע   in Sirach
and in our document at 8:9 (The Manual, p. 77, n. 17;
for omission of the fem. ending see his note on 5:14,
ibid., p. 97, n. 55).   The resulting contrast to
עבודת טמאה   in line 10 is most convincing and the emenda-
tion has the advantage of facilitating translation of the
following phrase.   מתעב (Piʿel participle) also
has an unexpected masc. form which W-Mø is probably correct
in associating in constructio ad sensam with the pious
man (The Manual, p. 77, n. 18; n.b. Sc reads
כבוד מתעבת).   The idols of impurity are probably syn-
onymous with those of 1QS2:2, which reflects Deut.29:18-20,
namely the idols retained in the heart despite entrance
to the Community; these cause a man to stumble in sin.
N. Wieder (op. cit., p. 151), however, draws attention to
the Karaite claim that Rabbinic Judaism was tantamount
to idol worship.   The same word   גלולים   is used,
with reference to Ezek.14:3-4,7: "Anyone who practises
man-made commandments, not those in the Torah of the Lord,
is like an idolator".   Such an interpretation of our
phrase would tie in with the following phrase.   Stumbl-
ing in sin, whatever its cause, betrayed the opposite of

a   יצר סמוך , a heart and will divided.   These
passages spring from a day more sophistacated than that
which produced Deut., but although the idols were no
longer gods of other nations, the warning was still
valid: "Beware lest there be among you a man ... whose
heart turns away this day from the Lord our God ...".
Pure worship, with integrity of heart, was demanded of
the men of truth (n.b.   אמת   as 'faithfulness').

נדה   recurs in the sense of moral impurity in
4:21-22.   That the Qumran Community considered itself
a 'spiritual temple' in which purity of worship was
preserved has been observed by many commentators.   [See
Flusser, "The Dead Sea Sect and pre-Pauline Christianity",
Scripta Hierosolymitana 4 (1958), p. 227 ff. who sees
this as a development of the Book of Enoch.   Cf. also
Bertil Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran
and the New Testament (Society for New Testament Studies
Monograph Series No. 1, ed. Matthew Black;   Cambridge:
The University Press, 1965)] .

careful conduct with shrewdness about everything -
והצנע לכת בערמת כול :   The translation
is basically dependent on W-Mø's insight into the
intricacies of this difficult phrase (see his extended
argument, The Manual, pp. 77-78, n. 19,20).   The accuracy
of the traditional interpretation of כול בערמת לכת והצנע

as 'to walk humbly with all wisdom' is open to question

because of the unexpected position of כול . lQS10:25,

where 'prudence of knowledge' is the means of 'hedging'

the truth, allows us to allot a parallel function to

ערמה here. The word has the connotation of shrewd-

ness which is as applicable here in the good sense as it

is in line 11 in the bad; (cf. Prov.1:4;8:5,12). The

awkward phrase והצנע לכת is probably best taken

as the infinitive (so D-S, contra W-Mø; the Pi'el does

not occur in Biblical Hebrew but is found in Mishnaic

Hebrew and Aramaic), and translated by the noun 'conduct',

qualified by the adjective corresponding in meaning to

the root צנע . Since we know from 9:17 that the

secrets derived from study of the Torah were not to be

revealed to those outside the Sect, W-Mø's conclusion

that our author read into this verb the Aramaic meaning

of 'conceal' seems justified. [D-S ("L'instruction ...",

p. 25) had already so translated, drawing attention to

9:17;10:24 and also Josephus B.J.II.8.7.§141 : "(il

jure) aussi de ne rien cacher aux membres de la Secte

et de rien révéler à d'autres qu'eux"]. This idea is

certainly elaborated in the following phrase, but it may

be more accurate here to adopt Hyatt's translation of

'walking wisely', with the understanding that this has

the secretive connotation which he rejects. For this

reason, the translation given is 'careful', the import being surely that the sons of 'truth' are to keep careful trust of everything revealed to them, this being made more explicit in the following phrase. In this connection too, N. Wieder sheds interesting light on the subject from Karaitic texts, in which the prerequisite for finding hidden things is piety (op. cit., p. 57ff.). Wieder's opinion, therefore, is that the reference in our text is not to esoteric doctrines, but the divine precepts by which man lives, these being veiled in obscurity to the uninitiated.

4:6

and a faithful concealment of all the mysteries of knowledge - וחבא לאמת רזי דעת :   The above interpretation does not necessitate W-Mø's emendation of וחבא to יחבא , and while his theory of dependence on Is.42:3 is attractive, it is by no means certain (The Manual, p. 97, n. 20). The content of these past two clauses would probably be included by the Community under the term 'pure worship', for the responsibility not only of interpreting the Torah but of guarding that interpretation was a strict religious duty (see Leaney, op. cit., pp. 151-152). While it cannot be denied that many of the qualities listed above could be possessed by anyone,

the implicit reference to attitudes and gifts cherished
by the Qumran Community is equally inescapable (contra
W-Mø).

these are the counsels of the spirit - אלה סודי רוח ‎:
Cf. סוד in 4:1, סוד אמת in 1QH2:10. The use
of the word here may have an intended word-play, in that
it can mean 'secret counsel', that which has been revealed
(in either a good or bad sense). Interestingly רוח
here has no qualification, but the automatic assumption
is that the reference is to the power of light/'truth'/
righteousness = the force that activates God's purposes
= the spirit of 'truth'. (D-S thinks that אמת or an
equivalent word has dropped out here).

to the sons of 'truth' in the world - לבני אמת תבל ‎:
Commentators vary between 'of the world' and 'in the world',
but no-one has produced a satisfactory explanation for
the missing preposition! The parallel in line 19, con-
trasted to בתבל in line 2, tempts one to suspect
that the omission has a significance. Licht's suggestion
that in both instances אמת תבל means 'Truth' of the
World (i.e. spirit of 'truth' or company of 'truth') is
unconvincing, especially when one considers that the
phrase בני אמת occurs elsewhere and should probably

be read as a unit in our text (see Licht, "Analysis ...",
p. 96, n. 32). W-Mø's interpretation of this is unclear
("Reconsideration", p. 434), but all commentators who have
noticed the peculiar construction seem to recognize in
this phrase some connection between truth as an abstract,
universal concept, and the 'spirit of truth' (see also
Davies). Context suggests that the ל here introduces
an indirect object rather than a genitive (contra D-S).

the Visitation of all who walk in it - פקודת כול

הולך בה : That Visitation is thought of here primarily
in its eschatological sense is obvious from the ensuing
description, but for the conviction of 'realized eschatology'
held by the Community, see above, p. 210. The idea
that all blessings would be conferred on the righteous
when the new age dawned was developed in Pseudepigraphical
literature and is reflected in 4:20ff. of our passage.
Phrases such as 'length of days', 'fruitfulness of seed'
in the present paragraph serve as a reminder that even
the eschatological hope remained centered on this world.
Most of the phrases which follow are familiar from the
OT and inter-Testamental literature, though some take on
new meaning from our knowledge of the Sect.

4:7

<u>healing and great prosperity</u> -   מרפא ורוב שלום :

מרפא   is used in the OT in reference to eschatological
salvation, and as such is common in Pseudepigraphical
literature.   For the idea that the Qumran Community
cherished healing as a gift, see G. Vermes' article, "The
Etymology of 'Essenes'", RQ 2 (1959-1960), pp. 427-443;
cf. also the emphasis on exorcism in 1QGen.Apoc.20:29;
4QPrayer of Nabonidus 1:4.   (D-S refers to physical and
moral healing in Yasna XLIV 2.16; XXX 1.19).

<u>with length of days and fruitfulness of offspring</u> -
<u>באורך ימים ופרות זרע</u> :   In Jewish eschatology,
expectation of abundant progeny played a key role and "it
is reasonable to believe that our community took over this
idea, quite irrespective of whether they practised marriage
or not" (W-M∅, <u>The Manual</u>, p. 79, n. 23).

<u>complete glory</u> -   וכליל כבוד :   The Aramaic
'crown' (T. Benj. 4:1) was adopted in late Hebrew (see
Jastrow), but there is no need to look beyond the Hebrew
'fullness' (cf.1QSb3:25), which better accords with the
following phrase.

4:8

with a majestic measure — עם מדת הדר :   Of
the three alternative meanings for מדה , 'measure',
'reward' or 'attire', the latter has a strong parallel in
1En.62:15 (cf. also 2En.22:4-10).   Most commentators
adopt this translation, combining it with 'a crown of
glory' in the preceding phrase.   It should however be
noted that the discovery of Allegro's "Astrological Document"
opens the possibility for another interpretation, here
tentatively offered: מדה in the sense of 'measure'
can mean 'dimension', or 'proportion' and appears parallel
to 'weight' in B.Mets.56b.   If the contemporary position
was conceived in a way that allotted to the sons of light
a sufficient proportion of shares in the domain of light
to indicate their affiliation to it, yet still recognized
their shares in darkness as well, (see above, p. 170),
then presumably their eschatological expectation might
well include obliteration of all darkness and a personality
completely composed of light.   (So Allegro conceives the
Qumran Messianic expectations, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 127;
and 1QS4:20 states that every spirit of perversity will
be destroyed from humanity).   Our phrase could then read
'with majestic measure' and the preceding phrase 'complete
glory', in the sense that the whole person now reflected
light.   The closing phrase   באור עולמים   makes

this view particularly attractive, and the use of מדה
in the sense of 'measure' in 1QS8:4 supports it.   In
fact the word does not appear in the DSS with any other
meaning! (cf. 1QH1:29,5:21,9:17;17:1 and fg.11:2?). The
lack of counterpart to our suggested translation in the
following paragraph is no argument against it, as there
is no systematic opposition between the two lists, and
it would presumably be the eschatological 'measure' of
their own natures that would interest the Community - the
wicked were to be destroyed.

4:9

the spirit of perversity - ולרוח עולה :   The
terminal ה attached to עול is unexpected; it may
be a fem. ending to agree with רוח or the trace of an
Aramaic suffix (cf.4:20;1QHfg.5:6); the occurrence of
רוחי אמת ועול argues against the latter. This
paragraph begins with a terse list of qualities (cf. the
catalogue of vices in Rom.1:21-24).

negligence in the service of righteousness -
ושפול ידים בעבודת צדק :   The excessive Waw in
שפול   may also show Aramaic influence (so W-Mø, The
Manual, p. 80, n. 28; see also Jongeling, loc. cit.,
p. 488 for argument against Habermann's vocalizing of

r ho b). Righteousness is mentioned at the beginning
of this list as it was in the former, but here is immediately
followed by רשע whereas in the preceding instance it
was followed by אמת .

arrogance and pride - גוה ורוב לבב :

רוב לבב is familiar from Jer.48:29, except for
the double ב . Here the expression heightens the
contrast to the 'heart' described above as one enlightened
and in awe of God.

4:10

great profanity - ורוב חנף : W-M∅ interprets
this as 'great profanity' (adopted by Leaney), based on
the meaning of חנף given in Jastrow p. 484. There
is however no direct parallel to our text. Cf. Is.32:6.

impatience - קצור אפים : This begins a series
of phrases which contrast their counterparts in the
preceding paragraph - cf. ארך אפים in 4:3.

insolent zeal - וקנאת זדון : This phrase may
be not only contrasted to the zeal for the ordinances of
righteousness (4:4), but compared to the 'negligence' of
the preceding line. Here we find the negative connotation

to 'zeal' which Leaney discusses; the enthusiasm is now

for abominable behaviour (cf. תועבה in 4:17,21).

The language is that of sexual impurity, the meaning, as

in the OT, that of human disloyalty to God; the sexual

implication should not be pursued.

impure ways in worship - ודרכי נדה בעבודה טמאה :
The contrast continues, forcing the reader to connect the

impurity (נדה) of this worship with the idols of im-

purity (נדה) avoided above. The worship described

here is unclean (טמאה ; cf. Ez.36:17 and the connection

with idols), the opposite of the pure worship (טהרה)

described in the first paragraph. Presumably the ref-

erence here is similar to other descriptions of the wicked

in 1QS - 'stubbornness of heart' (2:14,26), 'the idols of

the heart' (2:11,17), causing the spirit to swerve (7:18,

cf.7:23) and prevent whole-hearted worship of God. The

Qumran sect believed the Temple worship of their day to be

defiled and substituted their own ritual purity. This

has been discussed by Licht, "The Dead Sea Sect ...",

p. 229ff.

4:11

hardness of heart - וכיבוד לב : W-Mø notes the

orthographically interesting point that Yod here occurs

before Dagesh Forte (on these grounds Yalon emends to

וכובוד   ).   This phrase is the fifth and last in

a series of expressions, all common OT descriptions of

those who have turned away from God.   They disclose the

insight, wisdom, and perception bestowed by the spirit of

light and find their counterpart in descriptions of the

Sect as open to revelation (cf.1QH18:19-20;1QM10:10-12).

walking in all the ways of darkness   -   ללכת בכול

דרכי חושך :   Another parallel springs to mind with the

occurrence of   לכת   (cf. line 5) although the statement of

this paragraph is more concise.   There is a definite word-

play on   ערמה   , above used in the sense of shrewd

wisdom, here in the negative sense of craftiness.   The

shrewdness which in the Community is put to good use is

among the sons of darkness used towards perverse ends.

The climactic statement that they walk in the ways of dark-

ness (3:21) serves as a reminder that such people are in

the control of the Angel of Darkness.

4:12

the Visitation of all who walk in it   -   ופקודת כול

הולכי בה :   The fem.   בה   is surprising, as no

reference to the spirit precedes it (contrast 4:6), the

most recent being in the introduction to the paragraph.

As above, description of the Visitation includes some
phrases applicable to the present but the concentration
here is definitely on the eschatological.

the angels of destruction - מלאכי חבל :   The
phrase is introduced by the preposition ל , beginning
another series of three such constructions. These angels
are in 1QM13:12 identified with the spirits of Belial's
lot (cf.1QS3:24), where it is said that they walk in the
boundaries of darkness, desiring to render man wicked
and guilty. That they are presently active is confirmed
by 1QM14:10 and CD2:6, the latter detailing the inflictions
they render as "power, might and great wrath with flames
of fire ... against them that backslide from the way".
Indeed, in contrast to the NT, the powers of evil have no
role to play at the End-Time; the initiative then is
entirely God's. W-Mø's view is thus supported that the
afflictions of the wicked referred to in 1QS3:23 are those
experienced during their life. The angels of destruction
(חבלה) are known in Rabbinic literature (cf.Sabbat.
55a).

everlasting ruin - לשחת עולמים :   שחת may
simply mean 'ruin' but is likely a reference to Sheol.
עולמים   is the first of three words in this text to

render 'eternal'; the same three appear above in line 7,

עולמים , עד , and נצח , although in a different

order. That the thought here is eschatological seems

likely since the action has now moved into the hand of God.

by the anger of a vengeful God - <u>באף עברת אל</u> :

נקמת   It seems as though the text originally read

אל נקמות   as in Ps.94:1. The editor who put

נקמות   into the singular effected the presence of a

construct with no complement (so Guilbert); this seems

more likely than W-Mø's view that this is now a participle.

4:13

<u>in the fire of the dark places</u> - באש מחשכים :

אש   in the OT can be figurative of God's anger, to which

this text has just made reference (cf.Ezek.22:31;38:19

אש עברתי   as the means of punishment). מחשך

can mean simply the dark region in which men lose their way

(fig.), but in combination with אש   here is probably a

direct reference to Sheol as in Ps.143:3;88:7.

<u>and as for their generations</u> - לדורותם :   W-Mø

rightly recognizes a periphrastic genitive here. The

translation does not assume the preposition ל   to be

one of reference, but attempts to clarify in the English

the distinction between eschatological events and daily
misfortunes of those who live before the End.   The
thought has now returned to the generations of men,
dominated by wickedness, who live out their lives before
the time of the Visitation (the same use of   דורות
here as in 3:14).   Their times (קץ = period = the time
span of one generation) will be spent in mourning, grief
and bitter misfortune.

during the existence of darkness -   בהרו ת חושך :
Commentators vary between 'happenings' and 'abysses' for
הרות   .   The extra Waw is no easier accounted for
in either case, but cf.   הרות   in 3:15.   The latter
translation rests on the concept of hell as a deep, dark
gulf (En.22:2;Jub.7:29) and assumes an eschatological ref-
erence.   So W-Mø thinks that the combination with dark-
ness indicates locality.   There are, however, within our
passage three similar uses of   היות   as 'existence'
in the abstract (3:15,16;4:18), one referring to the end
of the existence of evil.   The present context is of
the time that precedes this and it therefore seems likely
that the preposition indicates the sphere of time (Ges.
§119h) rather than space and that   הרות   should be
translated 'existence'.

4:14

no escaped remnant of them - וֹפליטה למו :

ואין governs this phrase as well as שרית . The
translation, as an English genitive, attempts to render
the meaning of the poetic word formed by the attachment
of מו to ל - _i.e._ that all will be destroyed
and none left to start afresh.

Despite instances of parallel construction in the
above two paragraphs, there seems to have been no systematic
attempt to form corresponding lists. Therefore we cannot
agree with Driver that this passage represents a fusion
of two ways and two spirits possible only when both
doctrines were sufficiently developed to be worked into
a composite theory. From this position he argues for a
dating in the Roman era. [See G. R. Driver, The Judaean
Scrolls, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), p. 553].

4:15

in these - באלה : The first two words seem to
be written in a different hand. While it is tempting on
the grounds of אלה in 4:2 to translate "In these (ways)
the generations of all the sons of men (walk)", the fem.
pl. suffixes which follow make it clear that the subject
is again the two spirits, and despite paucity of direct
reference to them, they dominate this last section. In

language reminiscent of 3:13-15 the author moves from the task of description to explanation and the content of the Maskil's teaching about 'the generations of all the sons of men' is further unravelled, answering many of the questions which were raised in section 1.   The opening phrase serves as an introduction: "By these (two spirits) the generations of all the sons of men (can be explained)" (so Guilbert).   The precise meaning of these first two lines is as obscure and ambiguous as that of 3:13-15!

all of them in each generation -   כול צבאותם לדורותם:
That this phrase is the subject of our sentence seems generally agreed.   The masc. pl. suffixes clearly refer to the   בני איש   , though   צבאות   is not usually applied to humans.   Guilbert is probably correct in say-ing that the word indicates the crowds of humanity that live in any generation (cf.Gen.2:1, Guilbert, op. cit., p. 37, n. 61), which sense the translation attempts to convey by the less awkward 'all of them'.   This interpreta-tion allows   דורות   to be taken in the same way, with the same slight distinction from   תולדות   , as we suggested in 3:13.   The periphrastic genitive has been noted by W-Mø, The Manual, p. 83, n. 57.

have an inheritance in their portions -   ובמפלגיהן
ינחלו :   The introduction of these two words

into the text helps to clarify the basic issue of the individual's constituency. The fem. pl. suffix of מפלגיהן indicates allusion to the spirits; the masc. ending of the word is strange and lacking explanation (cf. line 16, the Biblical מפלגה as in 2Chr.35:12; W-Mø thinks the masc. applies to spirits, the fem. to humans). In inter-Testamental times the verb פלג took on the meaning of 'to assign a share' in the Pa'el, while the Ithpa'el/pe'el was used to describe the division of land among the twelve tribes of Israel (Targ.Num.26: 53,55; Targ.Gen. 14:15; B.Batt.121b); the noun פלג thus meant 'part' or 'share' (Tam.28a of divine grace; of mental maturity; cf. T. Jud. 5:16 - it also confusingly meant 'a half'!). The form מפלגה is not cited by Jastrow. The concept of גורל in Qumran had its roots in the tradition of the division of land to the twelve tribes; their 'lot' or 'inheritance' was, like the Levites', God himself (see below, p. 343). The introduction of the verb נחל in the present context strengthens suspicion that it is this ancient partition which lies behind our text as well. The apportioning of land has now developed into the concept of apportioned abilities, characteristics, as illustrated in the use of פלג above. (The noun is used in 1QH3:30 with the meaning "channel"; פלג has a similar meaning in

1QH8:23,24;10:25 and beyond these no occurrence in the
DSS).   That this concept was held at Qumran is borne out
by Allegro's recently discovered "Astrological Document",
in which the statement that a man has six (parts) spirit
in the House of Light and three in the Pit of Darkness is
very close indeed to the meaning of our text.   The spirits
are apportioned to each man, his inheritance being a
mixture of the two (n.b. the direct allusion to Num.26:56
in the following line).   In this sense W-Mø is quite
correct to stress that each individual partakes of both
spirits, in contrast to the traditional early view that
mankind was divided by the criterion of possessing one or
the other.   Taking   מפלגיהן   as 'divisions',
K. G. Kuhn originally drew parallels from the Gathas
(Yasna XXXI:2,3;43:12;44:15) to support this view and so
influenced many scholars (see "Die Sektenschrift und die
iranische Religion", p. 305; cf. Brownlee's eschatological
interpretation of these lines, refuted by W-Mø, The Manual,
p. 83, n. 56).   Having originally adopted this position,
W-Mø is now at pains to deny any implication of duality.
He argues that since the number 'two' is only mentioned
once in the whole essay, its implication should not be
assumed throughout, yet surely there is no denying that
light and darkness, 'truth' and perversity, are opposing
qualities of two basic ethical categories, and that the

human characteristics listed in 4:2-6,9-11, though they
may be varied, fall into these categories.   The latter
is illustrated even in the paragraphical division of the
text!   To reduce all references in the text to the
psychological level does not and cannot obliterate the
basic moral conflict which it seeks to explain.   Even
the Rabbinic doctrine to which W-Mø appeals ("Reconsidera-
tion", p. 422), posited only <u>two yēṣers</u>!   W-Mø himself,
in summarizing his non-dualistic theory, is forced to use
the phrase "various good and bad inclinations" (<u>ibid</u>.,
p. 432), in which the dual ethical categorization over-
rules the first adjective!   May summarizes the case well
when he says, in reference to 4:2-8,9-14:

> Here primarily, although not exclusively,
> the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit
> are associated with two classes of people,
> so that all the sons of man may be classified
> in accord with the one or the other, although
> the two spirits may struggle within a single
> heart ...
>
> (<u>loc. cit</u>., p. 3, n. 14)

Although we agree with W-Mø's important emphasis that

מפלגיהן   does not refer to two groups of mankind

and with his basic conviction that each individual has
capacity for both good and evil ("Reconsideration", p. 432),
we cannot accept the means by which he arrives at these
conclusions or the implications he draws from them.   To

take באלה as a reference to the variety of
characteristics catalogued above is very forced and
ignores both the occurrence of אלה in 4:2 and the
obvious duality of the two preceding paragraphs. The
plurality of the other words he mentions poses no obstacle,
and does not necessitate his conclusions; the theory that
each man possesses "at least potentially" the variety of
qualities rests solely on his interpretation of אלה .
Furthermore, W-M∅ copes with the fem. suffix on מפלגיהן
by claiming that רוח , to which it refers, describes
many moods and manifestations of the 'two spirits', but
we have shown this to be a quite different use of the word
and not one particularly dominant in our text. Our
position differs from W-M∅'s at this point in two ways:
(a) He sees the variety of qualities with which man is
endowed as simply a conglomeration of characteristics,
whereas we interpret it to be an inheritance (נחל ;
W-M∅ in his "Reconsideration" pays no attention to this
word), a concrete deposit, of cosmic powers which so
manifest themselves within him.
(b) He sees the variety as equally distributed, each man
having the capacity to do and be everything, whereas on
the grounds of Allegro's "Astrological Document" we under-
stand the balance of inheritance to differ from one person
to the next. This is in fact borne out by the following

line in the text.

4:16

and all their behaviour - וכול פעולת מעשיהם : This
seems to be a compound phrase meaning 'activity' with no
implication of retribution (so Burrows, W-Mø, contra
Vermes). 3:14 stipulated that the Maskil was to discuss
the behaviour of men in each generation and now, having
been told that every individual receives shares in con-
flicting forces, we are informed that human behaviour,
under the influence of these shares, varies according to
the inheritance in each power, whether it be large or
small. בין רוב למועט echoes Num.26:56, but
the progression of thought that has taken place is not
clear. In the OT the division of land was proportionate
to the size of the tribe; there is no suggestion in 1QS
of what the criterion of allotment was considered to be;
presumably this was involved in the mystery of grace and
election. (There is no justification for Treves' comment
that God's grace is the effect of man's good works!;
loc. cit., p. 451). Allegro's document sheds no light
on this; it merely illustrates that a man may have a
balance of six to three in light, whereas someone else
has eight to one in darkness. This precise mathematical
calculation, based on astrology and the figure nine, seems

to be a later development (or fringe speculation) of the
precursory thought found in 1QS, but it reflects that
basic conviction of the Qumran Sect that the heavenly
bodies influenced both physical and spiritual characteris-
tics of those born under the signs of the Zodiac (cf.
Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 127, where he translates
'a humble demeanour' as one of the signs of Taurus).
Leaney has recognized the significance of Allegro's document,
and also the fact that we are as yet dependent on the
editor's explanation of it (op. cit., p. 155). Our
author in 1QS is not interested in precise calculation
pertaining to the individual, but in the distribution of
conflicting powers throughout Creation; neither is he
interested in the proportion of light possessed by the
wicked, but only in the fact that the sons of light inherit
some measure of darkness. Leaney rightly sees that the
outcome of this thinking is that "God redeems, indeed, but
only those who already possess more light than darkness".
(He compares the NT in general, and especially Paul's
belief that the justified have still to face judgment
though the fate of the wicked is known in advance).

בין רוב למעוט   in the OT means 'either many or
few' but has been traditionally translated in 1QS as
'great or small'. Our understanding of   מפלגיהן   ,
however, allows the original meaning.   נחלת איש is

ambiguous, possibly meaning 'the inheritance of each
man' (so W-Mø, The Manual, p. 84, n. 59) or 'the inheritance
of each spirit'; the parallel of 4:24 argues for the
former.

their proportions - בד בבד :   This phrase occurs
only once in the OT (Ex.30:34) where the meaning 'equal
parts' is possible, not necessary (so BDB contra W-Mø,
The Manual, p. 84, n. 60).   It is translated thus here
by most commentators, but Anderson, seeing the relevance
of Allegro's document, suggests the rendering 'in certain
quantities or parts' or 'proportionately' (loc. cit.,
p. 300; for similar constructions see Ges.§123c&d). He
rightly points out that the overall impression given by
the DSS is not that the final ethical decision lies with
man, the obvious implication if this phrase means 'equal
parts'.   Rather, the OT trust in divine Providence
(Ps.37:23), the belief that man's steps are directed by
God (Jer.10:23), is developed in the DSS into a theology
of complete dependence, physically and morally, upon God
(cf.1QH4:31;5:13,22;2:23,33;1QS11:2,10).   As we have
seen, such dependence does not, paradoxically, deny human
initiative; W-Mø's insistence on the priority of the
latter, however, fails to take account of the former
("Reconsideration", p. 428, n. 38).   There is no other

indication in the DSS that the spirits in each man were
conceived to be equal.   Once again, in refuting the
traditional position of Kuhn, W-Mø has swung unnecessarily
to the opposite extreme; a denial of dualism does not
demand the assertion that the two spirits are 'perfectly
balanced' in each individual.   Indeed W-Mø's exact
meaning here is difficult to discern; in order to allow
for diversity in people he suggests that the two spirits,
although allotted in equal proportion, were given in
different 'quantity' to each man.   This does not seem to
allow for much diversity!   (It must be admitted that
Allegro's document, if taken to its logical conclusions,
seems to allow for only eight types of personality!)
("Reconsideration", p. 433, n. 47).   Anderson, wisely
cautious about the application of ideas in Allegro's
document, concludes that while it is difficult to know
what exactly the proportions there discussed mean for 1QS,
it seems at least obvious that "man's spirit has a part
in both opposing spheres and that his inheritance is never
in equal parts" (loc. cit., p. 300).   Anderson also
catches the further significance which our interpretation
of this passage suggests:

> Rather a man has his inheritance in
> both parties and his inheritance means
> the extent of the influence of the
> respective /

> respective spirits. In spite of all
> this, there still are the two oppos-
> ing groups of mankind: the sons of
> light and the sons of darkness; man's
> loyalty belongs to one spirit only,
> but his actual performance is accord-
> ing to his inheritance.
>
> (_ibid_., p. 301)

The continuing sense of the participle (the fem. ending
must again refer to the two spirits) bears out the sense
that until the End-Time God has ordained the proportions
in which the spirits influence each man.   The predestina-
tion implicit here should be interpreted in the same way
as that of 3:15-16.   It is only in cases such as Allegro's
document that it is pushed to its logical conclusion,
producing extreme speculations which against the para-
doxical theology of primary documents like 1QS suggest
that it was the product of another time and/or group.
The place of such speculation within the Qumran Community
may well have been comparable to that within Medieval
theology of the argument about how many angels could
stand on the point of a pin!

<u>until the End-Time</u>   –   עַד קֵץ אַחֲרוֹן :   The phrase
is synonymous with   פְּקוּדָה ,   קֵץ being used in the
sense of a definite period of time and   אַחֲרוֹן   meaning
'last' in an eschatological sense.

4:17

<u>the portions allotted to man</u> - מפלגותם :   The

word now appears as a fem. pl., the final ם being a

supra-linear addition.   W-Mø ("Reconsideration", p. 431,

n. 44) would plead for an intended distinction between

this and the previous occurrences of the noun as masc.

It is not clear, however, what translation he proposes

here.   His original 'classes' would force him into the

dualistic connotation he is trying to avoid.   His insight

that   מפלג   in all three instances, plus   דרכיהן   ,

is plural fits our interpretation, but seems to drive him

to a distinction of the 'spirits' and 'human beings' which

threatens his 'psychological' theory.   Having mentioned

the portions twice within two lines with the suffix referr-

ing to the spirits it is possible that our author now

simply used the regular feminine plural, stating that

God had given eternal enmity between the portions.   A

later editor has perhaps felt that this needed a suffix

and thus added ם , thinking of the portions in man, hence

the translation here adopted.   There seems to be no

adequate explanation of the use of both genders (see Ges.

§87m; most fem. words whose plural ends in   ים   have

the sing. ending   ה .   It is interesting that the

one exception is   פילגש   , of similar orthography,

see Ges.§87q.   Ges. points out that strict distinction

of gender between the two plural endings is obvious
only in adjectives and participles; <u>n.b.</u> תהלים as
well as ספר תהלות as headings of the
printed editions of the Psalms). It is possible that
whereas the two previous occurrences here have evoked
thought of the mixture of shares within the individual,
the present usage implies a more collective sense of all
the portions of light being at enmity with all the portions
of darkness (Ges.§124a&b; esp. Job 17:1). That the
enmity is between the two powers of good and evil, what-
ever their manifestations, is reiterated in the following
phrases which take us back to the terminology of 'truth'
and 'perversity'. Note that כול prefaces 'the ways
of truth' again, denying a strict parallel to other 'Two
Way' passages (see above, p. 275). The abstract ref-
erences to 'the deeds of evil' and 'the ways of truth'
(minus the occurrence of רוח) further support our
interpretation that these are conceived as two cosmic,
moral powers, for the following clause indicates that the
subject is still the two spirits.

4:18

<u>all their ordinances</u> - כול משפטיהן :   For
this meaning of משפט see above, p. 219 ; again
<u>contra</u> W-Mø's 'qualities'.

<u>an end to the existence of perversity</u> - קֵץ לִהְיוֹת עַוְלָה :
The same verb is used here as in the line before; God,
who has set enmity between good and evil, has also set a
time limit to it.   קֵץ here is used in the traditional
sense of 'end'. The appearance of לִהְיוֹת is reminiscent
of 3:15-16 (<u>contra</u> W-Mø's suggestion for emending to

להיות   ).   Our text does not say that God will put
an end to the evil inclination in man, but uses the
philosophical language we had previously encountered in
3:15-16.   "Here is promised the annihilation of the evil
principle in the universe itself" (Leaney, <u>op. cit.</u>, p.
156).   That the thought of other Jewish writers had such
cosmic overtones is illustrated by Jub.50:5; Ass.Moses
10:1; cf.1QM17:5.   Our phrase further explains 3:18 -
man will only have two spirits in which to walk until the
time of the Visitation, for God has ordained that that will
be the end of the existence of perversity.   עמד here
has the force of the English 'exterminate'.   This is the
beginning of a description of the End-Time which now
occupies the author's attention.

4:19

<u>truth shall emerge victorious in the world</u> -   תֵצֵא
<u>לָנֶצַח אֱמֶת תֵּבֵל</u> :   When evil is destroyed, the
war will have been won and truth, always on the side of God,

will be triumphant. Although לנצח is used in 4:1 in its traditional sense of 'forever', the present context argues for the suggestion made by Brownlee (loc. cit., p. 17, n. 36) and adopted by most commentators, that it here implies victorious emergence (cf.1QH4:25 and H-N's note). In eschatological context this meaning is a corollary of the former: what survives forever is by definition victorious over that which is destroyed.

For the problematic construction of אמת תבל cf. above, p. 289 . Commentators here vary between the translations 'in the world' and 'of the world'; the latter seems unlikely in that there has been no indication that the world is thought of as good or faithful - the following phrase in fact suggests the opposite. 'In the world' accords with Jewish eschatology in that this world is the stage upon which the final drama is played. תבל here, as throughout our passage (cf.3:18;4:2,6) depicts this inhabited earth; here the final battle of cosmological, ethical power is fought. The Book of Mysteries (1.1:6-7) tells us that wickedness will at the End disappear before righteousness, as darkness before light, and that when wickedness has gone forever, righteousness will appear like the sun, the measure of the world (תכון תבל) and that knowledge will fill the earth.

<u>for it has defiled itself with the ways of evil</u> —

<u>כיא התגוללה בדרכי רשע</u> ;   D-S is

surely right in taking תבל (fem.) as the subject of

the verb התגוללה . It is not necessary to

accept his translation of 'wallow' in order to appreciate

the point that it is inconceivable that truth, here

equal to the spirit of 'truth', should be involved with

the ways of wickedness (cf.4:17). Most other commentators,

however, take אמת as the subject. That the world has

been perverse, even to the extent that the sons of light

have participated in the ways of darkness has already

been made plain. The translation of the verb accepts

W-Mø's suggestion, based on the occurrence of גלל in

the Hithpa'el with the sense of 'to pollute oneself' in

Sir.12:14. The verb appears to have this meaning also

in CD3:17 (cf. Rabin, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 12, who points to the

LXX rendering of 2Sam.20:12). The passage speaks

significantly of the dominion of perversity, again in the

abstract, the familiar word ממשלה indicating that

evil <u>per se</u> was thought of as a power which could influence

and control men. In contrast to W-Mø's theory that the

world is presently under the complete domination of Belial,

this passage restates the idea of 3:22, that its con-

descensions to evil are due to his influence or control.

4:20

the appointed time of decreed judgment   -   עד מועד

משפט נחרצה : The numerous redundant references in
this passage to the End merely serve to emphasize God's
control and design, in the same way that it was stressed
in 3:15ff.   The usual translation of 'judgment' for

משפט   is not out of place here, although the theme
of divine judgment is not to the fore, and 'ordinance'
also fits the context.   If the implication here is
judgmental rather than decisive (see   בדר   4:21) then
another theological problem is implicit although not
raised: how and why can God judge per se what he himself
brought into being?).

God will test with his Truth   -   יברר אל באמתו :
The repetition of the introductory   ואז   ensures that
the following is a further description of the event already
mentioned.   The movement is from the general to the particu-
lar.   The abstract Truth is now both related and sub-
ordinated to God who, in line 18 the off-stage playwright,
now becomes the principal actor in the drama.   That
Truth here is simply a human characteristic seems very
improbable.   God's Truth is referred to without qualifica-
tion in 1QM13:10, as an attribute of his lot in 1QM13:13,
and in our passage in apposition to his Angel (3:24).

The plural subject and sing. verb of the latter text have led some commentators to see a parallel construction here, interpreting the function of ב as denoting accompaniment rather than agency. The functional role of אמת in the following line, however, seems to support the alternative interpretation. Truth is the cosmic power through which God acts and will act at the End-Time; it is the expression of his omnipotence. Such a concept is fully in keeping with the OT idea of the Spirit as the means, the power by which God acted upon man. We have noted the association of this idea with God's cleansing of his people. The following line provides instance of the amalgamation of the two ideas.

The verb ברר can mean either 'purify' or 'select' in the OT and despite the usual translation (Burrows, W-M∅ - 'purify'), it is the second of these which best fits our context. The extended meaning of 'test' or 'prove' occurs in Ecc.3:18 in a context similar to ours. It is moreover this implication of selection which seems to have prevailed in inter-Testamental usage of the verb (see Jastrow). In Rabbinic literature it is used of sifting grain (Sabb. 2; Y.ib. 10a; Gith. 9), the second most frequent meaning being that of 'to make clear, prove, ascertain'. In fact the verb is not cited by Jastrow in the sense of 'purify'. It is there-

fore feasible that in our text the point is that 'Truth'
(faithfulness) is the gauge, the criterion, by which the
deeds of men are tested in order to ascertain who will
be redeemed (a parallel usage seems to occur in 1QS1:12,
cf. also CD10:4, although the author of 1QH appears to
have used the word to mean 'purify').   Since only a
portion of men are to be redeemed, it seems unlikely and
pointless that God would cleanse the deeds of all (contra
W-Mø who claims that "the purification is universal, but
the election is limited"; "Reconsideration", p. 424).
The text renders much more sense if the action is seen as
progressive.   First God selects those to be redeemed,
then he must purify these for, as we know, they have
become defiled by evil.   (It is possible that the verb
here is Pi'el as the following one; for the suggested
meaning in Pi'el, see Y.Ber.9:13c).

Brownlee's Messianic interpretation of   גבר   has
been developed by Vermes in Scripture and Tradition in
Judaism (Studia post-Biblica, Vol. 4; Leiden: E. J. Brill,
1961), p. 55 where he transliterates   גבר   and   איש
to render 'all the fabric of Geber' and 'the frame of Ish'.
The theory is well summarized by Leaney, op. cit., p. 157
and rejected in favour of the more traditional view that
a remnant (i.e. of the Sect) will be saved; this accords
with 1QS2:25b-3:12.   That   גבר   was used to mean 'man-

kind' in the DSS is borne out by 1QH11:20 where it
appears parallel to אנוש [cf. Brownlee's article,
"The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls,II", BASOR
135, (1954), pp. 33-38].

will refine for himself part of mankind - וזקק לו
מבני איש : The traditional understanding of a partitive
מן here (so Brownlee, van der Ploeg, W-Mÿ and Leaney;
cf.Is.58:12;Ex.16:27;Ges.§119w2) has been challenged by
Yadin who sees מבני as a form of מבנה and
translates 'frame of man' [see Yadin, "A note on DSD
IV:20", JBL 74 (1955), pp. 40-43]. This interpretation
has since been accepted by many scholars (Licht, Burrows,
Vermes and Guilbert), but despite its parallels in 1QH,
it here seems very forced. Its implication that mankind
in general will be cleansed is less in keeping with the
context than the partitive reference to the select sons
of light, and the frequent use of בני איש through-
out our passage argues for its recurrence here. D-S
has recognized the necessity of reading the object of
the verb as singular in order to accord with the suffixes
of the next line, but insertion of another word is hardly
necessary and his conjecture based on the proximity of
לו to מבני is too fantastic! The singular
suffixes would appear to be another instance of constructio

<u>ad sensum</u>, the group refined thereafter being thought of
as an entity (see D-S, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 32, n. 1). For a
refutation of Brownlee's Messianic interpretation, see
W-Mø, <u>The Manual</u>, pp. 86-87, n. 70, who rightly understands
the Servant motif here adopted by the Community in a
collective sense. Acceptance of Brownlee's original
suggestion that our text alludes to the refining of the
sons of Levi in Mal.3:3 accords with the partitive
interpretation; this is not the only instance in which
the Qumran Community saw itself as a reflection of that
OT group; (W-Mø also notes 1QS3:11 as a quotation of
Num.25:13). It is difficult to know what rituals, if any,
lay behind our text; more likely this particular phrase
reflects merely expectation. (See D. Flusser, "The
Dead Sea Sect ...", p. 242ff.).

<u>from the depths of its humanity</u> - מתכמי בשרו :
The Hiph'il infinitive of תמם occurs in a parallel
construction and context in Ezek.22:5: "I will destroy
your uncleanness out of you" (והתמתי טמאתך ממך).
The problem in our text is caused by the word מתכמו
unknown in any Semitic language. The ingenious suggestions
of commentators have been manifold! The key, however,
is to be found in Mansoor's note on 1QH5:28 (<u>op. cit.</u>,
p. 138, n. 7) where, correcting Sukenik's text on the

basis of 1QS 4:20 and 36.14:2, he translates בתכמי
as 'in the bowels of', 'in the midst of'.   In explanation
of this verdict of research by himself and J. Baumgarten,
Mansoor gives a survey of other theories.   He claims
that the word תכם meaning 'middle' was known to
Hebrew scholars of older days [see Costello's Lexicon
Heptaglotton, 1699; cf. also Joseph Baumgarten and
Menahem Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving
Hymns) III", JBL 75, 1956, p. 110, n. 28] and that the
plural can mean 'middle' or 'midst' in the same way that
קרב can signify 'inward part' or 'midst'.   The plural
is found in construct relationship both in 1QH4:20 and
36.14:2, which supports W-Mø's emendation of our text;
this requires merely the substitution of Yod for Waw
(letters often confused in the DSS) and has the advantage
of being simpler than most emendations suggested.

       We are now left with the statement that God will
refine every spirit of evil 'from the midst of its flesh',
assuming that the suffix refers to the surviving remnant.
Davies, in his study of 'flesh' and 'spirit' in the DSS
is led to the conclusion that   בשר is used in a variety
of ways: (a) to signify merely a physical entity, (b) to
emphasize the weakness of mortal man, (c) to signify
'the morally lower nature of man' and (d) sometimes simply
as a synonym for 'mankind'; (Davies, "Flesh and Spirit",

<u>The Scrolls and the New Testament</u>, p. 161). It is a
combination of (b) and (d) that seems best to suit our
text. Davies has noted that the latter usually holds
a connotation of evil, and it is humanity in its weak,
wicked, pre-refined state with which our text is dealing.
It is not necessary to accept Davies' strict dualism (in
agreement with Kuhn's) to agree that to belong to the
'flesh' was to belong to 'wicked humanity' (see W-Mø,
"Reconsideration", p. 440, n. 67; cf.1QS11:9 where the
author, talking of the election of the Community, claims
that he belongs to 'the company of erring flesh' which
occurs as a parallel with 'wicked humanity'). Our con-
text speaks of those who are to be redeemed; at this
point in the text they have been selected because their
works showed adherence to the spirit of 'truth'; now they
are to be refined. The vividness of the verb becomes
obvious: until the last time the sons of light still
inherit portions of the lot of darkness, are under the
influence of the spirit of perversity; their human nature
therefore has defects similar to those found in gold or
silver when it is first mined. At the time of the Visita-
tion, however, they are to be refined, the defects strained
out, evil destroyed, and their essential nature displayed
in its purity. Perhaps here more than anywhere else in
the text רוח illustrates our interpretation of it.

God will remove from the Elect all traces of evil influence,
they will be free of its power, for its existence will
come to an end.   It has already been abstractly stated
that there will be an end to the existence of evil; now
we are concretely told that it will be rooted out of human
nature itself.   The translation attempts to convey the
concrete imagery.

4:21

<u>to cleanse it with a spirit of holiness</u> - <u>ולטהרו ברוח</u>
<u>קודש</u> :   The preposition ל continues the purpose of
refinement and the repetition of the 3rd masc. sing. suffix
assures that the subject (whatever or whoever it may be
conceived to be!) is the same.   The word רוח is also
repeated, but here with the contrasting modification of
'holiness' (W-M∅, "Reconsideration", p. 440, n. 67 quotes
Nötscher as rightly recognizing that רוח עולה and
not בשר contrasts רוח קודש).   Comparison
must be noted with 1QS3:7, where man is said to be cleansed
(טהר) from his sins by the holy spirit <u>of the Community</u>.
That text is discussed in detail below, p. 407 ; here it
must suffice to see the phrase in its context and to note
that elsewhere a 'spirit of holiness' refers to the human
spirit.   In our text the subject is God, the verbs are
all transitive, and the 'spirit' would appear to be an

objective reality encountering man. The fluidity of
concept pleaded for above allows for the interpretation
that the operation of an external power upon man would
result in the manifestation of its influence within that
person; thus a man cleansed by a spirit of holiness would
thereafter have a spirit which was holy. The use of
the word קדוש here is significant; appearing in
contrast to רוח עולה and parallel to רוח אמת ,
the 'spirit of holiness' would seem equivalent to the latter.
Attribution of the cleansing function to the spirit of
holiness is a development beyond the OT, but its explana-
tion is not difficult to find. By the close of the OT
the Spirit of God was, as we have seen, conceived as the
motivating, enabling power for good that worked within a
man; synonymous with the very Presence of God, this was
in Ps.51 described as a 'holy' Spirit, holiness expressing
the moral nature of God which he wished reflected in his
people. Yet 'holiness' was preserved with the connota-
tion of ritual cleanness and separation in the priestly
tradition. At the same time, the outpouring of God's
Spirit became one of the chief expectations of the
eschatological hope. The combination of these ideas by
a priestly Sect becomes obvious in the following line of
our text. Our present phrase serves to introduce this
next stage in the progression of thought; evil influence
has been removed, but the Elect must be cleansed from what

they have been in the past.

<u>and he will sprinkle upon it a spirit of 'truth'</u> -

<u>וייז עליו רוח אמת</u> :   The conceptual background

here seems to be a blend of two ceremonies described in

the OT: the purification of the Levites (Num.8:5 with

water, Ex.29:21 with blood) and the ritual cleansing of

a man defiled from contact with the dead (Num.19:18-21).

W-Mø notes the latter and thinks our text clearly reflects

the concept of spiritual baptism (<u>The Manual</u>, p. 86, n. 74),

but commentators have failed to appreciate the rich back-

ground to our text both in language and thought.   It is

רוח   which here replaces blood or water as the object

of the verb נזה .   Treves points to the verb as evidence

against the identification of spirits and angels, reminding

us that angels cannot be sprinkled!   Neither, in that

literal sense, can inclinations!   (Treves argues here

that the 'spirit' is imagined as a liquid, but makes no

attempt to reconcile this with his insistence that the

'two spirits' are merely human inclinations; <u>loc. cit.</u>,

p. 450, n. 5).   Influences, however, can be shed upon

people, and it is a traditional OT concept that the Spirit

of God is poured out upon men (without the literal under-

standing of   רוח   as a liquid!)   Ezekiel had already

related the image of sprinkling water to the effect of

moral transformation (36:25). It seems as though our author, seeking to describe the final display of God's power, has seen in the language of the OT purification rituals a means of expressing the purification of the Elect; in the sprinkling metaphor he has found a parallel to the prophetic vision of the outpouring of God's Spirit in eschatological times (see Joel 2). As the sprinkling of blood on the Levites was to make them 'holy' to serve as priests, so the cleansing by a 'holy' spirit and the sprinkling of the spirit of 'truth', the power of God that fights for righteousness, would produce men of moral integrity at the End-Time. So David Hill, equating the spirit of 'truth' and the spirit of holiness, summarizes:

> If our understanding of the 'two
> spirits' is correct, this identity means
> that God's holiness or truth, when known
> and acknowledged, is itself a powerful
> impetus towards the fulfilment of righteous-
> ness in conduct: as that 'spirit' operates
> on man, it exerts a cleansing influence and
> leads to knowledge and righteousness.

(op. cit., p. 237)

This passage may well reflect not just the author's ability to use Scriptural metaphors, but an actual Community ritual at which sprinkling with water signified spiritual cleansing. [For detailed discussion of possible baptismal rites at Qumran and their relation to the preaching of John the Baptist, see Charles Scobie, John the Baptist (London:

SCM Press Ltd., 1964) and Joseph Thomas, <u>Le Mouvement</u>
<u>Baptiste en Palestine et Syrie</u>, (Gembloux: J. Duculot,
Editeur, 1935); Leaney, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 140ff]. W-Mø may
be right in suggesting that our passage simply projects
into the future the ritual ablutions of the present in
which 'a spiritual quality was conveyed' ("Reconsideration",
p. 440); like Treves, however, he makes no attempt to
reconcile his understanding of 'spirit of truth' here with
his previous definition. Is he suggesting that one of
the two yēṣers was conceived as being conveyed during such
a ritual?

<u>like waters of purification</u> - כמי נדה :   This
phrase occurs in Num.8:7;19:9 of both rituals. Literally
'the waters of impurity', the expression draws attention
to that from which the waters are supposed to cleanse
(נדה). This has already been mentioned (4:5,10) as
a manifestation of the evil from which the Elect are to
be purified. They have been defiled by contact with evil
just as one became defiled by contact with the dead. We
know that ablution was considered an important ceremony
in Rabbinic Judaism, but there is still dispute as to
whether this was the purpose of the cisterns discovered
at Qumran.

and from defilement by a spirit of impurity — <u>והתגולל</u>

<u>ברוח נדה</u> :   A preceding מ to the infinitive

construct must be understood here, forming a parallel

with מכול   (so D-S, W-Mø). The meaning suggested

by W-Mø for   התגוללה   in line 19 is even more

appropriate here. Again fluidity of concept is demanded;

the Elect have been defiled by contact with the power of

evil, the influence of perversity. This results in

their own spirits being impure, but the tenor of the

passage is abstract and רוח   here, as in line 20, is

primarily a reference to the power which throughout time

has opposed God. It is here described as 'impure' in

accord with the purifying connotation of the verb.

4:22

to instruct the upright — <u>להבין ישרים</u> :   The follow-

ing two phrases, introduced by similar verbs and construc-

tions, to those found at the opening of the passage (3:13),

are usually thought to be a resumé of the Maskil's task.

Yet it would seem that the infinitive construct is parallel

to   להתם   in line 20 and taken thus the text offers

more sense, retaining its eschatological context. God,

having selected the redeemed because their works show

them to be dominated by the spirit of light, then has to

purify them; having done this, he then initiates them

into his most holy mysteries.   The use of the same two
verbs as in 3:13 is consistent with the fact that in their
lifetime the sons of light received understanding, through
study and the insight of gifted men, of what God revealed.
Now, however, it is not the mysteries of human existence
that they are to understand, but of the divine realm.
Knowledge of the Most High and wisdom of the angels (lit.:
sons of heaven; Vermes thinks this refers to the pious
as in 1En.101:1).   That this is to be revealed to the
'perfect of the way' supports the interpretation that the
Sect, which considered itself the Elect, is equivalent to
the saved remnant of this last section. תמימי דרך
was a favourite self-designation.

for an eternal Covenant - לברית עולמים ;   The
subject of the text has now become 'the perfect of the
way' instead of the singular 'part of mankind', but the
intention is the same.   The frequency with which the word
'Covenant' appears in the DSS (140 times) is itself indica-
tion of the importance of the concept (cf.   רוח   173
times).   The eternal nature of the Covenant would be
ratified at the End when, despite their perversions, the
Elect knew they would be purified and saved.   They also
designated themselves 'the chosen ones', (1QS8:6;9:4;CD4:3),
as reflected in the verb used here.

4:23

<u>all the glory of Adam</u> - כ‍ול כבוד אדם ;   Guilbert
is surely right in seeing reflected here the Jewish
tradition which attributed as recompense to the just all
that Adam had deprived them of by his sin (cf. Greek text
of Sir.49:16), although many scholars translate 'man'.
ראין עולה   is best taken as an elaboration of the
preceding phrase (cf. the similar isolated construction
of   ראין להשנות in 3:16).   The meaning then
becomes obvious that, at the End-Time with all traces of
evil removed even from their own natures, the sons of
light will no longer be torn between conflicting powers
but will be wholly good as was Adam before the Fall.

<u>until then</u> - עד הנה ;   W-Mø correctly recognizes
this as an apocalyptic term, marking the transition into
the Messianic era.   Since this whole section has dealt
with the future, it is best rendered 'until then'.   Its
emphasis is on not the time but the change.

<u>spirits of 'truth' and perversity struggle in the heart</u>
<u>of man</u> - יריבו רוחי אמת ועול בלבב גבר ;
This is quoted as the crucial text for the psychological
understanding of our passage, but it is no more nor less
than a concise summary of the predominant theme.   Until

the End-Time there is a power at work in the world which
is at variance with God; good and evil are in constant
conflict on every level. Since the concern of our
passage is to explain the seeming contradictions of
human nature, it is logical that the heart of man should
be the locale where that battle is portrayed (see the use
of לבב in 4:2). Our thesis is not to deny that the
spirits struggle there, but to affirm that to have said
this does not exhaust the scope of their significance nor
explain their origin.

4:24

they walk in wisdom and folly - יתהלכו בחכמה ואולה :
W-Mø ("Reconsideration", p. 434) corrects his former position
that the two groups of mankind are here the subject to
the view that it is the two spirits who walk in opposing
ways. This is again a summarizing thought; we have
their ways detailed in the middle two paragraphs of our
passage and the statement in 4:18 that they do not walk
in harmony.

and according to the inheritance of each - וכפי נחלת
איש : This phrase is an exact parallel to that of
line 16, confirming that there איש refers to the
individual. Here אמת and צדק (cf.4:2) are
combined in a description of the lot referred to; depend-

ing on how many portions one has inherited from this lot,
he will accordingly hate evil (n.b. again abstract;
cf.4:1   שנא).   The following sentence is an exact
contrast in thought, although not in construction: accord-
ing to a man's inheritance in the lot of evil (בגורל
עול   ; this exact phrase has no parallel in the DSS)
and wickedness, so he abhors truth (cf.   תעב in 4:1).
The replacement of   נחלת by   ירשת may be for the
sake of a word-play with   ירש .   The text is some-
how corrupt after   בגורל עול .   It would appear
that originally the reading was that restored by W-Mø's
emendation (here adopted) as this effects complete parallel-
ism with   אמת וצדק .   Perhaps a later scribe by mis-
take wrote   ירשע with his eye on the previous   וכירשתו
and then   בו was added, by him or someone else, to make
more sense of the passage.   If we emend to   ורשע the
בו   becomes redundant and is therefore deleted
(W-Mø, dittography, The Manual, p. 41).

4:25

for God has ordained -   כי בד בבד שמן אל ;   These
words too echo what has previously been said (cf.4:16),
the word order being different to convey different emphasis.
Whereas before it was important to stress that it was God
who had ordained this, now it is the fact of proportion

that is emphasized. This time the reference is not
explicitly to spirits, but simply to proportions in the
lot of 'truth'/righteousness and evil/wickedness. Surely
the concept of spheres of influence is more appropriate
here than that of 'inclinations'; how would W-M∅ under-
stand   גורל   in the previous line?

the New Creation - ועשות חדשה :   Unknown in
the OT, this phrase has similarities with the concept of
the 'New Covenant' (cf. Jer.31:31;CD6:19;8:21;19:34;20:12;
probably also 1QpHab.2:3) and reflects the Creation of
Gen.2:4.   חדש is not a common word in the DSS,
occurring outside of our passage and above references
only once. The context of 1QH13:12 is unclear, but H-N
is surely right (op. cit., p. 213, n. 18) in seeing a
reference to the new world which God was about to create
rather than the Rabbinic doctrine of the repeated renewal
of the world (Gaster). There is no evidence of the latter
belief in 1QS which, like the OT, points consistently to
an End-Time, here equivalent to the New Creation. Licht
thinks that the members of the Sect were taught what
others did not know, that it is God's intention to create
anew after destroying the old order, and that this is
included in the mysteries shared with the initiated. The
idea arises from Is.43:19;65:17 and 66:22, is developed

in 1En.45:4;72:1;91:5;Jub.1:29;2Bar.32:6 and becomes
part of the NT expectation.

<u>and he knows their behaviour in all periods</u> - <u>והראה</u>
<u>ידע פעולת מעשיהן</u> :   The strong personal pronoun
(cf.3:17,25) is retroactive to אל , the phrase again
being reminiscent of the opening of the passage (cf.

מאל דעות   in 3:15).   פעולת has the same meaning
here as in 4:15, but this time the activity is specifically
that of the spirits.   The fem. suffix is surprising and
indicates the strong influence of the 'two spirits' through-
out this last section despite paucity of overt reference
to them.   That God knows their activity in all periods
(<u>i.e.</u> in each generation) is a restatement of his omniscience.
Unfortunately the last line of this important section is
worm-eaten.

4:26

<u>to know good (and evil)</u> - [ורע] לדעת טוב ,   So
all commentators complete this phrase.   God has given the
two spirits (fem. suffix on   וינחילן) to man so that
he may know good and evil.   That this reflects Gen.2:9,17
is almost certain, but equally clear is the distinctive
Qumranian contribution to the story.   The Genesis account
already explains the evil within man by reference to a

broader canvas; its mythology presents man with the
possibility of acquiring knowledge of good and evil, a
state characterizing only God and achieved by the objective
action of eating from the tree. That such knowledge was
thus acquired by man in no way necessitates the understand-
ing that good and evil from then on existed only as
properties within him; they are already portrayed as two
moral principles associated with God. Furthermore, al-
ready the temptation to acquire this knowledge comes from
without in the form of a serpent. Our author, centuries
later, having to explain the post hoc status quo, invokes
the concept of two opposing powers, good and evil; it is
man's inheritance in these that makes him know the moral
difference. Again the traditional tendency to see in any
duality a reference to two groups, each possessed of only
one spirit, has been corrected by W-Mø who now realizes
that the significance of this statement does not in fact
go beyond that of Gen.2:9.

so that the lots will (fa)ll - להֿ[פֿיל גורלות : Most
commentators so restore and translate, yet miss the
significance of this phrase. That the OT concept of
'casting lots' to determine one's fate lies in the back-
ground from which the DSS understanding of 'lot' as
'sphere' emerged, is discussed in detail below, p. 343.

Here we have the two concepts obviously combined. The import of our sentence is that man's destiny will be in accordance with his spirit at the time of the Visitation - _i.e._ the lots will fall to him in accordance with the fate his spirit merits. Yet we know from our passage that this fate will be eternal membership in one sphere or another. Thus there is an obvious word-play here on גורל . רוח is used here of the individual human spirit, as it was in 3:14, where it is stated that the subject of the discourse will be the variety of men's spirits. That 'spirit' in this sense of 'self' had something to do with man's religious leanings has been grasped by most commentators. David Hill, while dismissing Flusser's view that רוח in this sense is associated with the degree to which men possessed gifts of the Holy Spirit, admits that the emphasis on the religious aspect of man's life allows us to interpret 'spirituality'. In this regard he says: "Probably we have here an extension of the Old Testament use of רוח to describe the controlling impulse or attitude"(_op. cit._, p. 235). We have seen that from this there developed the conviction that if a man showed an obviously perverse character, he must be dominated by an evil power. Accordingly speculation grew until it reached the extreme calculations of Allegro's "Astrological Document". In regard to 1QS we

can only point to the well-attested practice of weighing man's spirit as evidence of the belief that each individual spirit was prey to both good and evil powers, but dominated by one.   This predominance indicated whether or not he belonged to God's chosen Elect, to the lot of Light and accordingly his entrance to the Qumran Community was judged.   Our passage closes by saying that likewise at the End-Time judgment of each individual will be in accordance with his spirit.

We have argued that the text of 1QS 3:13 - 4:26 does not permit a study of the human spirit in isolation from supernatural forces.   In conclusion, two contemporary scholars may be quoted, one a psychiatrist, the other a philosopher:

(a)　　　... Scripture, tradition, and experience
warn us that the struggle against evil on
earth can be seen in its true light only
against the background of a more mysterious
conflict in the unseen realm.

> (Frank Lake, "First Aid in Counselling,
> Part 2", ET, June 1967, p. 285)

(b)　　　All religions can be seen as variations on
a fundamental theme - the impinging of holy
Being upon the being of man.

> (John MacQuarrie, Principles of Christian
> Theology, quoted by Frank Lake, ibid.,
> Part 1, p. 2)

The men of Qumran had a better grasp of this 'fundamental theme' than do W-M∅ and Treves in analyzing their writings!

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1QM XIII

(1) And they shall bless[1], from their position, the God
of Israel[2] and all his 'true' deeds, and they shall
curse (2) there [Bel]ial and all the spirits of his
lot[3]. And they shall say: "Blessed be the God of
Israel for all his holy Plan[4] and his 'true' deeds and
b[lessed] be (3) all who [   ]him in righteousness
and know him through steadfastness.   (4) And cu[rsed]
be Belial for the Plan of animosity and cursed be he
for his guilty ministry[5], and cursed be all the spirits
of his lot for their (5) wicked Plan and cursed be
they for all their impure works of uncleanness[6], for
they (are) the lot of darkness, but the lot of God (is)
to light (6) [etern]al.   (7) And[   ]God of our
fathers, we bless Thy name eternally, for we (are) an
eternal people and Thou didst [m]ake a Covenant with
our fathers and Thou wilt fulfil it to their seed
(8) for the appoint[ed] times of eternity. And in all
things ordained[7] of Thy glory there has been remembrance
of Thy [being] in our midst[8] to assist[9] the remnant and
the survivors of Thy Covenant (9) and[   ]the
ordinances of Thy 'true' deeds and mighty wonders.
[   ]us to Thyself an eternal people and Thou didst
cast us in the lot of light for Thy 'Truth'. And the
Prince of Light[10]

1.1: from their position - Yadin, Ch. 7, 2, (3) explains
                            the technical meaning of the
                            equivalent ממעמד .
1.2: there - most commentators do not translate שם .
      and they shall say - lit: and they shall answer
                                 and say
1.3: through steadfastness - lit: in faith, fidelity
1.6: for we are - lit: and we are
1.8: to assist - lit: for the assistance
      of Thy Covenant - lit: to Thy Covenant

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1.   Cf. 1QS2:2-11 for blessing and cursing
2.   Cf. 1QS3:24; below 1.14
3.   Cf. 1QS3:24; below 11. 4,5
4.   Cf. 1QS3:16 of God; of Belial, below 1.4, also
     1QH4:12-14
5.   Cf. Ps.103:21 of angels
6.   Cf. 1QS4:10
7.   Cf. 1QS3:16
8.   Cf. 1QM10:1
9.   Cf. 1QS3:24; below 1.14
10. Cf. 1QS3:20

(1) ורבכו על עומדם את אל ישראל ואת כול מעשי אמתו וז̄עמו

(2) שם את [בלי]על ואת כול רוחי גורלו וענו ואמרו ברוך אל

ישראל בכול מחשבת קודשו ומעשי אמתו וב[רו]כים (3) כול

[ ]תיו בצדק יודעיו באמונה (4) וא[רו]ר בליעל במחשבת

משטמה וזעום הואה במשרת אשמתו וארורים כול רוחי גורלו

במחשבת (5) * רשעם וזעומים המה בכול עבודת נדת טמאתם כיא המה

גורל חושך וגורל אל לאור (6) [עולמ]ים (7) ו[ ] [ ] אל

אבותינו שמכה נברכה לעולמים ואנו עם [עו]ל[ם] וברית [כ]רתה

לאבותינו ותקימה לזרעם (8) למוע[ד]י עולמים ובכול תעודות

כבודכה היה זכר [היות]כה בקרבנו לעזר שארית ומחיה לבריתכה

(9) ול[ ] [ ] מעשי אמתכה ומשפטי גבורות פלאכה את[ ] [ ]יתנו

לכה עם עולמים ובגורל אור הפלתנו (10) לאמתכה ושר מאור מאז

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1. ורבכו   is the 7th word in line l.
2. Yadin's text shows the initial ב of the 3rd word
   and he restores ב[לי]על .
3. Yadin restores וב[רו]כים . So van der Ploeg,
   Jongeling etc.
4. There is an inexplicable space of about six letters
   at the beginning of the line, but nothing seems left
   out.
5. Accepting Yadin's restoration.
6. [עו]ל[ם] is Yadin's reconstruction on the strength
   of line 9; so van der Ploeg (?), Dupont-Sommer;
   Del Medico, שלום ; Bardtke, אלנו .
7. Accepting Yadin's reconstruction of [היות]כה ,
   van der Ploeg, [אמרנת]כה .

1.3 Yadin: משרתיו
1.7 Yadin restores וא[ת]ה at beginning of line.
1.9 Yadin restores ולס[פר] as the 1st word; later
     את]ה אל פ[דיתנו .

Thou didst appoint from of old to assist us and
[   ]and all spirits of 'truth' (are) in
his dominion. And (11) Thou didst make Belial to
corrupt[1], an angel of animosity[2], and [   ]
in his purpose to make wicked and guilty, and all the
spirits of (12) his lot, angels of destruction[3], walk
in the boundaries of darkness, and unto it [   ]
together. And we in the lot of Thy 'Truth' are glad of
(13) Thy mighty hand and delight in Thy salvation and
rejoice in Thine assistan[ce and in Thy pe]ace. Who (is)
like Thee in strength, O God of Israel, and with (14) the
poor is Thy mighty hand; and who, angel or prince, (is)
like the assistance of [   ]from of old Thou
has appointed for Thyself a day of battle[4] [.   ]₅,
(15) [   ]in truth and to destroy in guilt[5],
to bring low darkness and to add strength to light and
to [   ](16)[   ] for
eternal position[6], for destruction of all the sons of
darkness and joy to a[ll the sons of light.]

1.12: *are glad of* - lit: rejoice in

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1. Cf. 1QpH4:13;1QH3:38;CD15:7
2. Cf. 1QS3:23;CD16:5 above 1.4
3. Cf. 1QS4:12;CD2:6;1QM14:10
4. Yadin translates 'a day of encounter'
5. Yadin's translation of 'those of guilt' seems to
    make sense
6. Yadin translates 'existence' here

פקדתה לעוזרנו וב־]   ק] וכול רוחי אמת בממשלתו

ואתה (11) עשיתה בליעל לשחת מלאך משטמה ובחו־ד]   תו]

ובעצתו להרשיע ולהאשים וכול רוחי (12) גורלו מלאכי חבל בחוקי

חושך יתהלכו ואליו]   קתמה יחד ואנו בגורל אמתכה בשמחה[^1] ביד

(13) גבורתכה ונשישה בישועתכה ונגילה בעז[רתכה ובש]לומכה[^2] מיא

כמוכה בכוח אל ישראל ועם (14) אביונים יד גבורתכה ומיא מלאך

ושר כעזרת פד]   ־] מאז יעדתה לכה יום קרב ר־]   ־]

(15) [   ] ל] [־]ר באמת ולהשמיד· באשמה להשפיל חושך

ולהגביר אור ול]   (16) [   ]

ל] למעמד עולמים לכלות כול בני חושך ושמחה ל[כו]ל [בני אור][^3]

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1. The text reads   נשמ   חה , with an inexplicable space between the מ and the ח .
2. Accepting Yadin's reconstruction; so van der Ploeg, Dupont-Sommer, Bardtke.
3. So Yadin completes the line.

Two lines beneath 1.16 the text reads   א] אתה יעדתנו למ־] devoid of context.

1.10   Yadin restores   ובג]ורלו כול בני צד[ק]
1.11   Yadin restores   ובחוש]ך ממשל[תו   ;
      Carmignac: אשמ[תו]   Dupont-Sommer:
      וכחד]במחשב[תו
1.12   Yadin: תשו]קתמה [   ]
1.14   Yadin suggests פנ]יכה כי[א ; Carmignac
      פ]דותכה כי[א , accepted by van der Ploeg who
      restores the final lacuna as ר]ב ונחשיר] ; ר]ב בחוש]ך
      Carmignac ר]בו ארתיכ]ה , Dupont-Sommer
1.15   van der Ploeg suggests להכי]ר] at the
      beginning of the line; Dupont-Sommer ־ר[או להציל]
      Yadin ־ור[ז]ל [   ] .

CHAPTER FIVE

C O S M O L O G I C A L   I M P L I C A T I O N S

A R I S I N G   F R O M   1QS 3:13 - 4:26

I   <u>DUALISM</u>

The explicit contrast of opposites in 1QS 3:13 -
4:26 early attracted the label of 'dualism' for the Qumran
manuscripts.   In particular, 1QS 3:19 seemed to divide
mankind, while reference to the Prince of Lights and the
Angel of Darkness implied cosmic overtones.   As a defini-
tion of dualism, we can accept that of R. E. Brown:

> By dualism we mean the doctrine that the un-
> iverse is under the dominion of two opposing
> principles, one good and the other evil.
> Modified dualism adds the corrective that
> those principles are not uncreated, but are
> both dependent on God, the Creator.   1

The latter description applies to the two contrasting
spirits of Zoroastrianism as K. G. Kuhn sees them reflected
in the Dead Sea writings.

One of the first scholars to suggest Persian in-
fluence, Kuhn published his views in Z.Th.K. in 1950, claim-
ing that in the Qumran texts we have "die Einmundungstelle
der Predigt Zarathustras in das Judentum zu fassen"[2].
After the publication of <u>The Manual of Discipline</u>, Kuhn
expanded his views in the article entitled "Die Sekten-
schrift und die iranische Religion", arguing a similar
basic theological structure between the religion of Zarathus-

tra and the Community at Qumran. Kuhn identifies in
both the following characteristics:

(a)   a thorough 'dualism' which pervades both the
         anthropological and world view.

(b)   the ethical nature of that 'dualism' - that the
         struggle is between righteousness and unrighteous-
         ness.

(c)   the eschatological character of this thought -
         that the struggle will end in the victory of
         God, who will bring the good to reward and the
         evil to destruction[3].

He points to 1QS 3:13 - 4:26 as the passage in which these
characteristics are crystallized: " ... der in einer
geschlossenen Darstellung das Welt - und Seinverständnis,
die dualistische Anthropologie in ihrer unlöslichen
Verbindung mit der Ethik und der Eschatologie dieser
Gemeinde entfaltet"[4].   Kuhn's interpretation of a dualism
here which rigidly divides mankind into two groups is the
view which scholars have come to associate with his name.
It can be summarized as follows:

> Dieser Dualismus beruht auf einer uranfänglichen
> Bestimmtheit alles Seins: Am Anfang steht
> der Gegensatz der beiden „Geister", des Geistes
> der Wahrheit und des Geistes des Frevels.

Und entsprechend sind auch die Menschen als
entweder dem einem oder dem andern zugehörig
vorherbestimmt.   5

Kuhn's identification of Zoroastrianism as the source of
Qumran dualism was widely accepted[6], at the expense of
ignoring his recognition of differences between the two[7]
and the essentially Jewish character of the Scrolls[8].

Millar Burrows had pointed out that the antithesis
in Qumranian thought was not an absolute dualism[9]; Mansoor
had underlined the fact that 'a tyrant whose hour of defeat
is certain is a tyrant already overthrown'[10]; but the
reaction against Kuhn's theory of Persian dualistic in-
fluence was led by Wernberg-Møller, pleading for a return
to Jewish sources. Emphasizing that foreign ideas would
have been transformed and reinterpreted as they were fitted
into an entirely different context, Wernberg-Møller points
to closer parallels to 1QS in the Test. XII than in
The Gathas[11]. Unfortunately his denial of cosmic dualism
led, as we have seen, to the opposite extreme; only in
the ethical content of the Scrolls does he find Hebraic,
Biblical tradition retained, and there he refuses to see
any hint of dualistic thought. While Wernberg-Møller's
methodology allows "explaining the nature of a specific
concept on the basis of evidence of that concept in other

literary products originating from the same circles"[12], he makes no use of the theology of 1QM. Nowhere is the 'dualistic' thought of Qumran more clearly expressed than in that document, bearing the antithetical title: <u>The War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness.</u> Here we have, described in picturesque detail, the plan of the eschatological battle between good and evil; here, in Column 13, the blessing of the God of Israel and the cursing of Belial as they are described in their cosmic struggle. While a detailed discussion of dualism does not fall within the scope of this thesis[13], a study of 1QM 13, with particular reference to its use of the term גורל sheds considerable light on the antithetical thought pattern of Qumran which is reflected in 1QS 3:13 - 4:26 and has aroused so much speculation.

The point of 1QM 13 seems to be to underline the essential opposition of two powers of good and evil, their far-reaching effects portrayed by the frequent use of the word גורל . The Community is to bless God for all his 'true' deeds, but is to curse Belial and all the spirits of his גורל (1.2). This is further described in line 6 as the גורל of darkness, in contrast to the גורל of God which is (to) light eternal. The members of the Community consider themselves part of the latter (1.9). The term גורל appears to reflect a spatial

concept used here to describe a sphere encompassing beings
on all levels of the cosmos, but separated from its moral
opposite.   If so, this is a use of the word previously
unknown in Hebrew, the implications of which have been
missed by many scholars[14].   The only thorough treatment
of the term's development has been by Jacob Licht in an
article as yet not translated from the Hebrew[15].

The basic meaning of the noun   גורל   as it
appears in the Old Testament was that of a small stone,
the instrument by which lots were cast.   Originally used
to determine the division of land, the practice became
the means of reaching any decision; accordingly, the word
came to designate the decree itself[16].   These two related
uses came together in the emphatic expression: הגורל

יצא _ 'it has been decided'.   The basic use of גורל
being related to the division of property, the word even-
tually acquired the connotation of partnership or co-opera-
tion (e.g. the wicked say to the righteous, "throw in your
lot with us", Prov. 1:4).   In the Old Testament, with one
exception[17], lots are always cast by men;   in the DSS,
with one exception[18], it is God who cast the lots[19].   In
1QH 7:34, the author praises God that he has not cast his
lot among the community of perversity.   The sentiment is
differently expressed, however, in 1QM 13:9-10 where we

find the words ובגורל אור הפלתנו -
"and in the lot of light you cast us". Here גורל
does not represent the decree or the inheritance, but
the sphere into which the person has been placed.

The obvious interpretation of this 'sphere' is
that it depicts the Community itself, the congregation
of people whose lots have been cast to the same side of
the ethical fence. Yet the text does not allow us to
confine this congregation to the level of humanity.
Assisting the righteous is the Prince of Light (13:10),
whom we know to be the Angel Michael[20]; Belial and his
spirits, elsewhere identified as angels[21], are the lot
of darkness (13:6) and we know from 1QS 3:24 that it is
their task to try to make the faithful stumble. Super-
natural beings of both camps take part with men in the
final, eschatological battle (1QM 1:10-11). The
boundaries of the 'lots' are never defined but there
are only two - one good and the other evil, one belong-
ing to God, one opposing him[22], and they include not
only people but supernatural beings referred to as angels
and spirits.

When we explore the Old Testament background of
the allotment of land, we find that Israel was chosen to

be the portion (חלק) of God (Deut. 32:9). Noting
the spatial similarity between a 'division of land' and
גורל   in its distinctive Qumran meaning, Licht thinks
it possible that on the basis of Deut. 32:9, Qumran adopted
the term   גורל   in the Old Testament sense of 'inhe-
ritance' = 'division of land' and, applying an ethical
connotation to 'division', gave the term a different
meaning.   He cannot reconcile this line of development,
which gives men the initiative in the division, with the
doctrine of two powers according to which God has given
Satan authority.   His conclusion, therefore, is that the
concept of   גורל   which emerges in the DSS was created
purely for the sake of Qumran's 'predeterministic, dualistic
doctrine'[23].   Licht's problem is that he does not allow
the 'two powers' enough fluidity.   His attempt to find
the origin of the Qumran concept in the division of land
is seemingly correct, but attention should be drawn to the
Joshua narrative where the word   גורל   occurs in connec-
tion with the priestly emphasis (18:6, 8, 10).   No lots
are cast for the tribe of Levi because God himself was
their inheritance, conferred in the priesthood.   Here,
within the Old Testament, the spatial aspect of 'inhe-
ritance' has been converted from an area prescribed by
geographical boundaries to an area characterized by God's

special relationship with the people belonging to it.

This represents a subtle shift of emphasis from the

concrete gift itself (i.e. the land) to the activity

within it; it is possible that this accounts for a

gradual change of word usage in which גורל eventually

replaced חלק . The people of Qumran, believing them-

selves the Elect of God, were concerned to preserve the

true priesthood[24]. If this was their precious inheritance

- the sphere (גורל) within which God operated - then,

given their understanding of two powers at work in the

world[25], the natural development would be to conceive of

a separate sphere within which evil held its sway. There

was already a strong Biblical tradition describing the

domain of God as 'light'[26] with distinct ethical connota-

tions; the opposing sphere, therefore, must be darkness,

with the respective moral qualifications. We have seen

that Qumran used the word רוח to describe the dynamic

powers of good and evil without confining them to any level

of the cosmic hierarchy; גורל now emerges as the term

used to depict the spheres in which each had mastery. As

such it is a spatial concept dividing the cosmos vertically

rather than horizontally, allowing the close association

of angels and demons with men.

The exegesis of 1QM 13 is thus much simplified[27].

The antithetical nature of reality is assumed in the

blessings and curses with which the Column begins. The Community is to praise God for his faithfulness[28] in which they see reflected his ultimate intention; also deserving praise are those who respond[29] with righteousness and steadfastness. For Belial's intention is to pervert God's people and in this he is aided by the corrupting activity of the angels belonging to him. The antithesis is obvious in the contrast of adjectives describing the two intentions - God's is a holy Plan, Belial's a Plan of animosity and wickedness; it is summarized in line 6 by the opposition of the lot of darkness to the lot of God, which is light. God's faithfulness is interpreted within the Biblical context of the Covenant made with the early Israelites; the Community of Qumran is the remnant and as such, relies on God's presence to assist them[30]. Equally Biblical is the conviction that Michael, here called the Prince of Light, has been appointed by God to protect and strengthen his people[31]. Belial is now mentioned in contrast, the point being made that it was God who likewise appointed him to his destructive activity. Despite the opposition portrayed throughout the cosmos, the passage ends with a proclamation of God's ultimate strength.

> Who (is) like Thee in strength, O God of
> Israel, and with the poor is Thy mighty

hand; and who, angel or prince, (is) like the
assistance of [   ] ? (ll. 13-14).

In this conviction, all in the sphere of light, who know
themselves to belong to God in a Covenant of election and
to be strengthened by his presence and his ministering
angels, rejoice.   For the afflictions which Belial and
those of his lot, be they angels or men, cause are trans-
itory and the power he represents will ultimately be
destroyed.   This is the same basic view of reality that
we found in 1QS 3:13 - 4:26, only here the cosmic over-
tones are inescapable.

The conflict which pervades the cosmos is of two
moral powers firmly under the control of the Jewish God.
This is in no sense a 'dualism' that sees the universe
'under the dominion of two opposing principles'; rather
it represents the fundamental antithesis of good and evil
found in all poetry, religion, and primitive philosophy[32].
Even the term 'modified dualism', though it preserves the
concept of monotheism, has too many inappropriate connota-
tions to accurately describe Qumran thought.   Russell
points out that the Jews did not think dualistically, but
that in wrestling with the problem of evil, reached a
point where they had to adopt a demonology, making the
monotheistic theology of the Old Testament into "a dynamic

monotheism, an understanding of the world and its history
that can only be called 'antagonistic'"[33]. This is a
much more fortuitous description of the thought world of
Qumran. Before determining the degree of foreign influence
this 'antagonistic' world view reflects, we must attempt,
in tracing the development of angelology and demonology,
to see the extent to which it is evident in Jewish lit-
erature.

II   ANGELOLOGY / DEMONOLOGY

The mention of the Prince of Lights, the Angel
of God's Truth, and the Angel of Darkness in 1QS 3 is
the biggest stumbling-block to those who would interpret
the passage on a strictly 'psychological' level. No
matter what weight may be given to the mundane contents
of the rest of 1QS, we have only to look at other scrolls
to realize that this is not an isolated reference to angels
but that belief in supernatural beings, both good and
evil, was a vital element in Qumran thought. It is again
in 1QM that we find the cosmological elaboration of what
is hinted in 1QS; as Yadin says, that scroll "uses every
opportunity to explain the activities of the different

angels and their names"[34]. An exhaustive study of Qumran
angelology/demonology is beyond the scope of this thesis[35].
The present concern is to outline the development of an
'antagonistic' pattern in Jewish sources, with particular
reference to its expression in angels and demons, and then
to judge what discrepancy merits the assumption of foreign
influence in the DSS.

1. The growth of demonology:

In the ancient East, including Palestine, disease
and accident were attributed to evil spirits of the nether
world. Israel thus inherited, from her heathen past, a
bevy of goat-like spirits, hairy demons who roamed the
wilderness, known by the collective names of 'seirim'
(שעירים — Lev. 17:7; Is. 13:21; 34:14) and 'sedim'
(שדים — Deut. 32:17; Ps. 106:37). In focusing all
life on Yahweh, however, she interpreted affliction as
the judgment of God transacted by celestial beings who
were his servants and thus robbed the demons of their sig-
nificance. They survived as folk-lore, later to be used
as a base on which to graft other ideas, but within Jewish
monotheism there was no room for an independent kingdom of
evil. As we have seen, the evil spirit tormenting Saul
came from Yahweh[36], and even Satan was originally an
angel of the celestial court, with the specific task of

prosecuting men[37]. Eichrodt thinks it is in this latter
figure that the source of the realm of evil lies[38], but
May draws attention to the earthly struggle of Israel
with her enemies[39].

When in the royal Psalms the nations of the world
are pictured as conspiring against the Davidic king, the
conflict has acquired a universal tone[40]. When Israel's
enemies are categorized simply as 'the wicked', opposing
not only the people of God, but God himself, a cosmic
dimension becomes evident:

> ... men who maliciously defy Thee,
> who lift themselves up against Thee for
> evil.
> Do I not hate them that hate Thee, O Lord?
>
> And do I not loathe them that rise up against
> Thee?   41

Particularly in eschatological thought, this cosmic
implication of the conflict was obvious. In Ezek. 38-39,
the defeat of God and Magog represents victory not only
over all nations, but over evil per se. Yet the enemy
here expressed mythologically is essentially no different
from Ariel's enemy in Is. 29:5-8; evil, visualized in
concrete form, was understood to be a cosmic force. To
interpret the Old Testament's repeated contrast of the
righteous and the unrighteous as merely portraying Israel's
struggle against her pagan neighbours on a historical plane

is to deny her any appreciation of the cosmic reality
behind her myths[42]. Yahweh was head of Israel's army,
her wars were his wars (Num. 21:14); victory was there-
fore his achievement (Ex. 15:21). The final eschatological
battle was a reality in Jewish minds long before the
composition of 1QM! It is expressed in Is. 27:1:

> In that day the Lord with his hand and great
> and strong sword will punish Leviathan the
> fleeing serpent, Leviathan the twisting serp-
> ent, and he will slay the dragon that is in
> the sea.

Such a high degree of awareness of ethical altern-
atives was bound to arouse speculation about the origin
of moral evil. We know that such speculation flourished
in the inter-Testamental period, under the influence of
Persian demonology, but the question had already been raised
within the Old Testament, most notably in the Book of Job
and the story of the Fall. In the second century B.C.,
two theories emerged, one reflected in Sirach, the other
in Ethiopic Enoch.

(a)   In the Old Testament, the word יצר had come to
        mean man's disposition or inclination which on
        the basis of Gen. 6:5 was believed to be intrins-
        ically evil. In Sir. 15:11 ff. this conviction

is repeated to emphasize the moral responsibility
of the individual, whom God created free to make
a choice:

> It was he who created man in the begin-
> ning, and he left him in the power of
> his own inclination. If you will, you
> can keep the commandments, and to act
> faithfully is a matter of your own choice.

God is not accountable for evil; there is no
realization that if the evil יצר is created by
God as part of man's nature, this, then, imputes
the origin of evil to God.   What is important is
that God has provided a means of overcoming the
evil inclination.   This means was primarily thought
of as self-discipline, and the Rabbis thence devel-
oped a complicated doctrine of two opposing inclina-
tions in constant conflict[43].   There are indica-
tions, however, that in some circles, belief in the
evil יצר reinforced man's dependence upon God.
The human will must be strengthened (Sir. 33:1), to
be righteous man needs wisdom (Wsdm. 9:6), and that
is given by God through his holy Spirit (Wsdm. 9:17).
Moral victory is possible only when men recognize
the power of God and allow it to influence them[44].
It is this aspect of Hebrew spirituality that makes

even the premises of Wernberg-Møller's 'psychological' theory suspect.

(b)   Also based on Gen. 6, was the legend of the Watchers' union with mortal women, resulting in the idea that the offspring had survived as evil spirits who were a source of corruption[45].   Their constant harassment of the righteous became a second explanation of moral evil, the evil   יצר   being simply the fertile ground on which they worked.   In the Test. XII this army of demons has, as its head, the figure of Beliar, the Prince of Deceit, whose will is the embodiment of evil in opposition to God.   This portrayal of the leader of the opposition[46] gave emphasis to several factors implicit in the Old Testament: it increased the force of the opposition, secured it on a cosmic level, and heightened the awareness of man's need for supernatural aid in the battle.

The conflict of good and evil thus pervaded the cosmos, from the celestial courts to the inner chambers of men's hearts.   The fluidity with which the struggle shifted from one level to the other is seen in T. Gad. 4:7:

> For the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan through hastiness of spirit, in all

> things to men's death; but the spirit of love
> worketh together with the law of God in long-
> suffering unto the salvation of men.   47

Yet, despite speculation about its origin, the power of evil never threatened Hebrew monotheism. That Yahweh was Lord, even over evil, had been established in the Old Testament: "Is it not from the mouth of the Most High that good and evil come"[48]? This point was not lost when, in inter-Testamental times, Apocalyptic writings gave dramatic form to the ethical opposition of the Old Testament. Under the influence of Persian mythology, the belief in evil spirits flourished; their number increased and they were led by various colourful figures: Azazel, Beelzebub, Ashmodai, Mastema, Belial, the latter being the most frequent designation. A common theme in the Pseudepigrapha is that God, who has designated the tasks of all spirits, has appointed Belial to corrupt the righteous. It is precisely this image that appears in the DSS.

The term 'Belial' occurs 33 times in the DSS to depict the leader of the army of darkness, 12 in 1QM, 10 in 1QS. God ordained that he corrupt and by his counsel 'render wicked and guilty' (1QM 13:11), but ultimately, at a time appointed, he and all the spirits of his lot will be destroyed (1QM 18:1). Meanwhile, for

protection, the faithful have recourse to

(a)   observance of the Law (1QM 14:8-10) and

(b)   the assistance of God and his angels (1QM 12:6).

Yadin has pointed out that "all this is in complete
agreement with the statements about Belial (or Beliar)
in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha". Further he con-
cludes that all other names in the DSS appertaining to
this angel of wickedness are "simply titles describing
his character and action"[49]. Once again, the theology
of 1QM facilitates our understanding of 1QS 3:13 - 4:26.
There is nothing either startling or mysterious in the
mention of the Prince of Darkness and the spirits of his
lot. We know him from 1QM to be Belial, his army of
angels being his instruments in corrupting men, and the
explicit statement of their task - to cause the sons of
light to stumble - is exactly what we should expect in
Jewish inter-Testamental literature.

2. The growth of angelology:

Despite the concern of the Old Testament to present
an exalted image of God, it does not picture him alone
in celestial grandeur, but surrounded by a band of obedient

angels. The mythology reflects not a doctrine, but an imaginative mentality that conceived of the mediation of God's will by personalized agents. Though we attribute the roots of such a concept to polytheism, its survival forces us to recognize that from the beginning Jewish monotheism existed "in conjunction with a belief in a spiritual world peopled with supernatural and super-human beings who, in some ways shared the nature, though not the being, of God"[50].

These celestial angels are described in various ways. They are the 'host of heaven' (צבא השמים - 1 Kgs. 22:19; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7, etc.), the 'holy ones' (קדשׁים - Job 5:1; 15:15; Zech. 14:5; Ps. 89:6, 8, etc.), the 'seraphim' (Is. 6:2) and 'cherubim' (Is. 37:16) which seem to have been special categories. The Hebrew word מלאך bearing the sense of 'messenger', they are sent into the world to declare what is right (Job 33:23), appearing in human form or remaining anonymous (Hos. 12:4; cf. Gen. 32:24), to be the interpreters of revelation. They guard the faithful (Ps. 91:11), protect and deliver the righteous (Ps. 34:8). They seem to form an army of the Lord (Josh. 5:14) under an angelic commander referred to as שׁר [51].

With the exception of Satan, only one angelic figure

emerges as an individual in the Old Testament. Described
as 'the angel of God' (מלאך האלהים - Gen. 21:17),
'the angel of Yahweh' (מלאך יהוה - Gen. 16:7, or
merely 'his angel' (Gen. 24:7, 40) or 'the angel'
(Gen. 48:16), he eventually acquires identity as 'the angel
of the Presence' (מלאך פניו - Is. 63:9), 'the angel
of the Covenant' (מלאך הברית - Mal. 3:11). As such
he seems to represent God particularly in his capacity of
protecting and guarding the faithful. The emergence in
the book of Daniel of Michael as the guardian angel of
Israel may well represent a development of this figure.
An oft-quoted comment of the Rabbis claims that the Jews
brought back the names of the angels from Babylonia[52].
Certainly it is in post-Exilic times that more angels become
identifiable in Jewish literature as distinct personalities.
Most important are the seven archangels who are named with
their functions in 1 En. 20:1[53]; of these Michael has
retained his position over 'the best part of mankind'
(i.e. Israel). The others are distinguished according
to rank, the angels of the presence and the angels of
sanctification now becoming two superior classes (1 En.
2:2, 18) commissioned to observe the Sabbath in heaven
and on earth. Lesser angels assume control over natural
phenomena and the luminaries (1 En. 60:11 ff).

Apocalyptic literature simply intensified the role that angels had played in the Old Testament. In retrospect they were believed to have intervened in Israel's history, particularly the promulgation of the Law on Sinai (Jub. 1:27); they still were immortal, dwelt in heaven, and did not marry (1 En. 15:4-7). Under Persian influence speculation about them increased so that a naive mythology developed into a complex, sophisticated one and secret revelations about the angels became a spiritual status symbol. An Aramaic fragment from Cave 4, entitled "The Words of the Book which Michael addressed to the Angels", would indicate that the Qumran Community played its part in claiming this type of esoteric knowledge[54]. In addition 4QSl. now gives evidence of a more complicated angelology than is obvious in the larger scrolls[55]. It is unclear whether the variety of terms used there to describe angels betrays a distinction of classes or is merely a literary device[56]; there does seem to be, however, an emphasis on the priestly role of angels in a heavenly temple. None of this is incompatible with the Jewish tradition as it developed in inter-Testamental times[57].

As we have seen, the belief that God's angels fight with Israel against her enemies originated in the Old Testament. Certainly it was sustained in inter-Testamental

literature: angels help Judas Maccabeus (2 Macc. 10:29),
they are depicted fighting the Parthians and Medes in the
eschatological battle (1 En. 56:5), and they minister to
the Rabbis (B. T. Hag. 14b). 1QM is a classic expression
of this conviction:

> Migh [ty men and] a host of angels are among
> those mustered with us, the mighty one of war
> is in our congregation, and the host of his
> spirits is with our steps. (12:7-8)

An even more graphic picture is painted in 1QM 9:14-16
where four battleshields are inscribed with the names of
angels: Michael, Gabriel, Sariel, and Raphael. Seemingly
they were expected to personally lead these four units into
battle, a belief echoed in the Pseudepigrapha and Rabbinic
writings[58].

The host of spirits fighting for and with the
Community are described in 1QM as מלאכים or אלים ,
and frequently 'sons of heaven', 'mighty ones', 'holy
ones', 'angels of the presence' and 'spirits'[59]. Their
role is not only aggression against the enemy, but also
support of the Elect (1QM 12:7).

The term עזר used to describe such support is
repeated in the description of their leader's responsibility.
In direct contrast to Belial, whom God has appointed to
the task of corruption, 1QM 13:10 states that the Prince

of Light has been appointed 'from of old' to assist the
righteous. The function is further clarified by its
association with strength (גבור) in 1QM 17:6 and its
connotation of alliance (cf. 1QM 1:2). Used mainly in
the Old Testament in reference to God[60], the verb עזר
appears in Dan. 10:13 with Michael as its subject. Out-
side of the Scrolls, Michael's functions are:

(a)   to be the guardian of Israel (Dan. 10:21; 12:1;
        1 En. 20:5),

(b)   to be the eschatological agent bringing vengeance
        on Israel's enemies (Dan. 12:1),

(c)   to be head of the angels, holding the keys to the
        kingdom of heaven (Syr. Bar. 11-15) and

(d)   to reveal the secrets of the heavens, stars and
        luminaries (1 En. 71:3 ff).

The absence of (c) and (d) in the DSS over against the
importance of (a) and (b) would seem further evidence of
Biblical rather than foreign influence at Qumran. Michael
emerges as the head of the angelic army of light, whose
chief tasks are to lead them into battle against the spirits
of Belial, to strengthen the faithful, and to be God's
instrument in the final, eschatological battle. There

would appear to be some confusion even in the Old
Testament between the image of Michael as Israel's guardian
and the tradition that God appointed angels over other
nations but was himself the patron of Israel.   The latter
view is not lost in the DSS.   1QM 13:14 asks: "What
angel or prince is like the help of [Thy face]"[61]?   God
himself has the care of the righteous.   In this he is
assisted by Michael, the Prince of Light, but though he
be in charge of the angels who fight the spirits of dark-
ness Michael is not the head of the lot of Light.   He and
Belial stand on equal footing, appointed to different
tasks, but both subservient to God.   This essential Jewish-
ness of the Qumran material is nowhere more clearly expressed
than in the 1QS reference to Michael.   The context in
which he is there mentioned speaks of 'the God of Israel
and the angel of his truth' who together come to the assist-
ance (עזר) of the sons of light[62]. ✓

III   רוח   AS COSMOLOGICAL POWER

The concept of   גורל   , and of the angelic/demonic
powers at work within it, supports the contention of this

thesis that the DSS do not confine the moral struggle to man's individual psyche.   The battlefield is wide as the cosmos and the regiments that meet upon it are numerous.   A detailed anthropology developed in inter-Testamental times alongside the increasingly complex angelology/demonology but, as we have seen, the growing awareness of individual responsibility did not conflict with appreciation of supernatural influences.   T. Asher, for example, speaks of the soul which inclines to the evil inclination being under the rule of Beliar[63]!   In these circumstances it is not surprising to find that the one word,   רוח , can describe activity on so many different levels, or that these are not always disting-uishable.   The interpretation of the two spirits of 1QS 3:13 - 4:26 as the uncategorized powers of good and evil at war in the universe[64] takes account of this fluidity;   their cosmic connotations must now be underlined.

The basic idea that the two spirits are forces or influences has been recognized by many commentators, but its implications have been obscured by the persistent attempt to categorize them.   The confusion that has emerged is illustrated by the following remarks of W. D. Davies:

These spirits are both the creation of God,

but (and it is important to notice this)
they are regarded as a kind of permanent
element in every man, since Creation, until
the 'End' decreed by God. On the other
hand, that they are not merely inherent
properties of man, as such, emerges clearly
from the use of the term 'angel' to describe
the two spirits: this preserves the 'other-
ness' of the two spirits even when they appear
to be merely immanent. Nevertheless, the
emphasis is not on the invasive, transcendent
character of the two spirits, but on their
enduring presence and persistence until the
End: they suggest not an inrush of espe-
cially given energy, but if we may so express
it, two constant currents of good and evil
forces in conflict.   65

Similarly David Hill, adopting Wernberg-Moller's terminology

of 'metaphysical' and 'psychological', illustrates the

problems in equating the spirits with the two yēṣers:

The passage in the Manual is not concerned
with a metaphysical theory of dualism, but
with psychological insights and the realities
of life. The 'spirits' are the forces,
inwardly experienced, which drive a man to
act in a certain way, the influences which
condition or bring about behaviour: they
create, and to some extent become equivalent
to, attitudes and dominant dispositions.   66

The understanding of the two spirits that has been estab-

lished above is not intended to deny that, working within

man, these forces manifest themselves as human attributes;

it merely insists on recognition of the wider frame-

work in which our author understood them.   1QS 3:13 -

4:26 was written for the purpose of explaining the ethical

dilemma that faces man in his everyday life, but it is painted on a theological canvass which incorporates the whole cosmos.

Wernberg-Møller draws support for his psychological interpretation of the 1QS passage from the fact that two opposing angels occur also in <u>Hermas</u>, where the text deals explicitly with the conflict in the heart of man[67]. He insists that in both documents the angels are "personifications of the two inclinations within man"[68]. Two points must be made here. Firstly, Wernberg-Møller assumes that portrayal of cosmic conflict implies a mythologizing of the prior 'yēṣer' idea; yet have we not seen that the theological bias of the Old Testament presumes a cosmological interest, the implications of which are later elaborated in a doctrine of human nature[69]? God, not man, was the centre of the universe in Old Testament thought; it is his attributes that become personified[70]. Consequently it is more in accord with Jewish thought to see the moral conflict within man as symptomatic of ontological reality than to mythologize from the former to the latter. The doctrine of the two yēṣers was, after all, a late development within Judaism. Secondly, although the conflict is systematically presented in <u>Hermas</u> by the use of three different sets of opposing realities (two spirits -

Mand. 5 [71]; two angels - Mand. 6; two inclinations -
Mand. 12), the area of conflict is consistently the heart
of man. In 1QS, the wider scope of the moral battle is
evident in the use of the terms 'light' and 'darkness' in
addition to 'truth' and 'perversity'. In keeping with
the cosmological connotation of the former, the angels
are described as figures of light and darkness whereas in
Hermas they have only the more mundane qualifications of
righteousness and wickedness[72]. The two spirits in 1QS
are appropriated to both levels[73]. Does this difference
between Hermas and 1QS not accord with an earlier date
for the latter, at a time before the idea of two yēṣers
had succeeded in focusing speculation entirely on the
nature of man without reference to theology[74]?

In his effort to stress the importance of the
yēṣer concept in the DSS, Seitz refers to the Qumran text
of Is. 45:7 where the word טוב is substituted for שלום,
intensifying the ethical contrast:

> I have formed light and created darkness,
>
> I have made goodness and created evil.   75

Seitz postulates that, on the basis of the occurrence in
both passages of the participle יוצר , a connection
was made between Zech. 12:1b and Is. 45:7, which resulted

in the concept of man's spirit that is illustrated in

1QH 4:30-31 [76]. Yet the participle יוצר does not

qualify טוב in Is. 45:7, but אור , and despite the

affinities Seitz sees between the two yēṣers and the two

spirits, he is forced to admit that the school of inter-

pretation at Qumran pursued a different course to that of

Rabbinic exegesis. His speculation about the derivation

of the Qumran idea of the human spirit is, he admits,

guesswork[77]. As an equally tentative proposal, it is

here suggested that the influence of Persian religion,

which can scarcely be completely denied, had confronted

the Qumran Community with the possibility of two cosmic

principles, that passages such as Deut. 30:15 and Is. 45:7

provided the soil in which such an idea could take root,

but that it was the essentially dynamic Hebrew concept of

רוח as 'power' that brought the dichotomy to life in

its Hebrew environment[78]. This position differs from the

traditional interpretation of Zoroastrian influence in

that it postulates concepts of Persian origin being

modified not only by contact with Jewish monotheism but

with the concept of רוח as divine energy. Even when

the conflict is described as being within the heart of

man, we would argue, the use of the two spirits in 1QS

conveys the power of influence exerted upon him. Betz

has caught the essential fluidity here argued for when
he says:

> Aber die Geister stellen das sittliche
> Prinzip, die Kraft des Handelns dar.   Ihr
> Wirken findet im Herzen des Menschen statt,
> wo sich die 'Geister der Wahrheit und des
> Irrtums streiten' (1QS 4:23);   als Geister
> haben sie die Fähigkeit unsichtbar im
> Menschen Wohnung zu nehmen und dessen Geist
> mit ihrem Geist zu erfüllen.   79

That the term   רוח survived into the inter-
Testamental period with its connotation of dynamic,
invasive power, despite the increased emphasis on the
human spirit has been illustrated above[80].   Most often
cited as a parallel to the Qumran concept of two spirits
is T. Jud. 20:1-2, in which, as we have seen, Russell
claims 'spirit' to refer to the supernatural 'with no
particular reference to angels or demons'[81].   Two further
points concerning this passage should be noted:

(a)   ἀλήθεια   and πλάνη , qualifying 'spirit', are
      more abstract concepts than the human attributes
      mentioned elsewhere in Test. XII and

(b)   the verb σχολάζω   implies outside influence.
      Generally translated here 'to wait upon', the Greek
      is used usually of persons, pointing to the object
      of their attentions, or of a place or house, in-

dicating its readiness for occupation[82]! In relation to the spirits the verb would seem to indicate that their relationship to man was that of objective realities over against him rather than being essentially part of him[83].

Footnotes

1. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls ... (I)", p. 405.

2. Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen ... ", p. 211.

3. Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift ... ", pp. 296-297.

4. Ibid., p. 297. Kuhn cites Yasna 30:3-5 for comparison. Brownlee and Dupont-Sommer already had noted Zoroastrian parallels; ibid., n. 2.

5. Ibid., p. 303. Kuhn notes that in 1QS 4:23 it is the individual rather than mankind that is divided but claims this to be only a difference of terminology. In 4:20 ff. the concept of two spirits, adopted from Iranian religion, combines with the Old Testament idea of a 'new spirit' which God will give to the individual, lending this a new dualistic accent; in 3:15 ff. it is the Jewish usage of בשר that has combined with Iranian dualism, gaining the connotation of sinful humanity over against God. In both cases the faithful are capable of sin because of the battle within them, but the antithesis remains the same: Truth hates the deeds of Wickedness and Wickedness abhors the way of Truth. So Kuhn, p. 301, n. 4.

6. E.g. R. E. Brown, who sees in the alignment of men into two distinct, opposing camps "a clearly extra-Biblical" inspiration, quotes Kuhn's statement that "Diese ganze dualistische Denkweise ist dem Alttestamentlichen Denken fremd und findet von dorther keine Erklärung". Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls ... (I)", p. 405, n. 10.

7. Kuhn claims it is more important to notice the following difference between Iranian religion and 1QS than the parallels: in the former, the dualism results from an original choice between good and evil made by the two spirits; in the latter they are created good and evil by God in whose hand is the predestination of all his creatures. Ibid., p. 310 ff.

8. /

8. Kuhn concludes, "Aber doch ist dabei der Grund-
   charakter alttestamentlich-jüdischen Glaubens gewahrt
   dadurch, daβ der Schöpfungsgedanke und damit der
   jüdische Monotheismus fastgehalten und allem
   Dualismus vorgeordnet ist". __Ibid.__, p. 303.
   Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration ... ", p. 416,
   n. 6, does recognize this point as Kuhn's but con-
   cludes that he over-emphasizes the differences
   between the Qumran writings and other Jewish lit-
   erature.

9. Millar Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls,
   (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958), pp. 278-279.

10. Mansoor, op. cit., p. 131, n. 6, quoting S. B. Frost
    re the 'modified dualism' of Apocalyptic.

11. Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration ... ", especially
    p. 413, n. 1. Wernberg-Møller argues that Kuhn's
    assumption that Persian ideas were adopted in the
    form in which they were encountered has resulted in
    "the introduction into Qumran studies of a false
    note"; see Summary above, p. VIII. The parallels
    in Test. XII to the concept of the two spirits,
    psychologically interpreted, had already been
    demonstrated by Seitz in his article, "Two Spirits
    in Man ... ".

12. Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration ... ", p. 415, n. 5.

13. For further treatment of the subject, see Huppenbauer,
    op. cit., pp. 95-115; Mansoor, op. cit., pp. 55-58;
    Peter von der Osten-Sacken, Gott und Belial, (Studien
    zur Umwelt des Neuen Testament, Bd. 6; Göttingen:
    Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), passim; Nötscher, "Zur
    theologischen Terminologie ... ", p. 79 ff.; Seitz
    loc. cit.; for 'dualism' in the Scrolls compared
    with the New Testament: Otto Böcher, Der
    johanneische Dualismus im Zusammenhang des nach-
    biblischen Judentums, (Güterslak; Gütersloher
    Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1965), passim; Charlesworth,
    loc. cit., and Brown, loc. cit.; for 'spirit' and
    'flesh' dualism in the DSS: Pryke, loc. cit.,
    and Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls ... ".
        It has been illustrated above (p. 157) that
    Qumran did not adhere to a flesh-spirit dualism.
    While retaining the Old Testament sense of dichotomy
    between the human and divine, the Scrolls, rather
    than contrasting רוח and בשר , in fact combine
    these two words to signify human nature, open to
    supra-natural /

supra-natural influence.   This view has recently
found support in the work of Hans Hübner who,
attempting to clarify the antithesis in 1QH 3:20 ff.
and 11:12, writes: "Unbestreitbar ist zumindest
der Dualismus 'schlechtes Fleish' - 'guter Geist'
terminologisch hier nicht artikuliert", and further,
"Die etwas ältere Literatur differenziert im Blick
auf die Frage nach dem Verhältnis von 'Fleish' und
'Geist' verständlicherweise nicht zwischen den
einzelnen Qumran-Schriften";   Hans Hübner,
"Anthropologischer Dualismus in den Hodayoth?",
NTS 18 (1971-1972), p. 280 and especially n. 2.
Focusing his attention on the change effected at
the time of a man's entry into the Community ("eine
qualitative Änderung seines Seins"), and contrasting
the individual's spiritual state 'before' and 'after',
Hübner insists that an opposition of flesh and spir-
it is not even implied; loc. cit., p. 281.

14.   As has been mentioned, Mansoor and Nötscher both
noted a development in the term;   see above, p. 260.
Yadin states merely that the word occurs meaning
a 'preordained segment' of humanity, time, of an
event, or of a collection of objects;   Yadin,
op. cit., p. 256.   Osten-Sacken has devoted three
pages to גורל , noting in 1QM 1 its use to
describe the 'Anhängerschaft' or group belonging to
Belial or God.   Grasping the expansiveness of the
concept, he says, "'Los' als Bezuchnung für das
Heer Belials oder das Volk Gottes impliziert einen
räumlichen Aspekt, indem der Begriff eine grossere
Gruppe umfasst";   Osten-Sacken, op. cit., p. 78.
See also Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, Enderwartung und
gegenwartiges Heil, (Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen
Testament, Bd. 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht),
pp. 72-75.

15.   Jacob Licht, " המונה גורל בכתביה של כת" מדבר יהודה "
Beth Miqra, pp. 90-100.   I am indebted to Mr. Rifaat
Ebied, formerly of the University of St. Andrews,
for aiding my understanding of this article.

16.   Num. 26:55;   56;   33:54;   Josh. 21:4;   this use of
גורל   is obvious in 1QH 3:27 where, both nouns
being governed by נפל , it is synonymous with
קו .   Cf. 1QM 1:13-15 where the casting of lots
is symbolically played out in consecutive battles
until the final decision is reached.

17.   Is. 34:17.

18. /

18. 1QSb 4:26.

19. In God's distribution of righteousness and wicked-
    ness there seems to be continuation of the Biblical
    thought that man's portion in life did not depend
    on merit, but solely on God's will. The Old
    Testament term חלק in its finality and definite-
    ness, resembles the division of land and in Ps. 16:5;
    Is. 17:14; 57:6 גורל is used; this appears to
    be the meaning of גורל in 1QS 4:26. See above,
    p. 336.

20. See above, p. 137, n. 43.

21. 1QM 13:10; see above, p. 260.

22. For the association of men and angels in one 'lot'
    or 'Gemeinschaft', see H.-W. Kuhn, op. cit., p. 66 ff.
         See 1QH 3:24-25 where the author, presumably
    a member of the Community, claims to be 'within the
    borders of ungodliness and with the vicious by lot'.
    Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 69, n. 22, interprets
    גורל here to mean 'more or less by chance to
    be in the same boat as', but this does not lessen
    the impression that the psalmist considers himself,
    at least momentarily, to be one with the 'enemies
    of God'. The explanation of this lies in the
    paradox of a doctrine of 'election'; see below,
    p. 396.

23. Licht, loc. cit., p. 98 ff. He draws attention to
    Ps. 125:3, suggesting that גורל would be better
    translated 'Community' than 'Inheritance'. In
    Jewish Apocalyptic, the only instance where this
    meaning seems possible is 1 En. 48:7. Jastrow
    cites only one interpretation of גורל - "a small
    stone to cast lots"! It is difficult to determine
    the Hebrew behind κλῆρος in the Apocrypha, perhaps
    due to confusion between the terms גורל and
    נחלה as they were translated into the LXX.
    See Licht, p. 99 ff.

24. N.b. especially the place of the priests within the
    Community as shown in 1QS 1 & 2; also the concept
    of 'holiness' as it developed at Qumran, see below,
    p. 398. See also Gärtner, op. cit., passim.
    H.-W. Kuhn, op. cit., p. 72, has recognized the
    priestly influence on the development of the גורל
    concept.

25./

25. See above, p. 267 ff.

26. See above, p. 238 ff.

27. See the text and translation, above, pp. 338-339; also pp. 137 & 142.

28. For this interpretation of 'truth' see above, p. 232.

29. The lacuna must bear this sense, כול possibly applying to angels as well as men; cf. l. 4. Yadin may be right in restoring משרתיו .

30. Cf. the post-exilic emphasis on God's presence in the midst of Israel, above, p. 32.

31. See below, p. 359 ff.

32. So Leaney, op. cit., p. 38 ff.   Cf. Alan W. Watts, The Two Hands of God: the Myths of Polarity, (Toronto: Collier - Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1969). Leaney leans heavily on Aalen in seeing in this basic antithesis the influence of astronomical interest in the order of the universe, the opposites of day and night, etc.

33. Russell, op. cit., pp. 239-240.

34. Yadin, op. cit., p. 229.

35. For fuller discussion of the Scrolls' angelology, see Mansoor, op. cit., pp. 77-84; Yadin, op. cit., pp. 229-242; cf. also "Angelology" in The Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. Isidore Singer, (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1925), Vol. I, pp. 583-596; for "Demonology", op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 514-520; "Demon, devil", in A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), Vol. I, pp. 590-594.

36. See above, p. 12.

37. See above, p. 13 ff.

38. Eichrodt, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 209.

39. May, loc. cit., passim.

40. Cf. Ps. 2:2-6.

41./

41. Ps. 139:20-21. May calls this a 'quasi-Essene' psalm, foreshadowing the hatred of the sons of darkness. Cf. also Jer. 25:30-31; Ps. 3:8-9.

42. Cf. the Marduk/Tiamat myth underlying the Creation narrative. May suggests that the cosmic perspective which Israel gave to her struggle with other nations is, in fact, a manifestation of her appreciation of the premordial conflict between Yahweh and the insurgent forces opposing him; loc. cit., p. 12. To May, 'mythopoeic identification' and personification are two indications of cosmic reference; certainly Wisdom serves as an example of the latter (Prov. 8:22).

43. The evil yēṣer was the primary concept; it was believed to be an inherent part of human nature, created by God, who will also remove it in the last days. Ezek. 36:26, 27 is referred to as a basis for the latter promise. The inclination is particularly associated with sexual impurity and had a compelling force as witnessed in this statement from Yoma 35b, "The rabe excuses sexual activity by saying he was pressed by his yetzer". Cf. also the words attributed to R. Simeon b. Levi in Kid. 30b, quoted by Montefiore and Loewe, op. cit., p. 295: "The evil yetzer of a man waxes strong against him day by day and seeks to kill him, and if God did not help him, man could not prevail against it". There were, however, various means of defeating the evil yēṣer. God was believed to have also created in man a parallel inclination for good, (Ber. 6a; Cant. R. Ic) which was the avenue to observance of the Law, prayer, and wisdom. The Law, in particular, was considered God's preventative measure: "The evil yetzer has no power over against the Law, and he who has the Law in his heart, over him the yetzer has no power", (Midr. Ps. CXIX:10 quoted by Montefiore and Loewe, op. cit., p. 125).
    For fuller discussion of this Rabbinic concept, see Schechter, op. cit., pp. 242-263, Montefiore and Loewe, op. cit., pp. 295-314.

44. For this emphasis in Rabbinic thought, see Schechter's chapter entitled, "Man's victory by the grace of God, over the evil yezer created by God", op. cit., pp. 264-292.

45. In the Similitudes of Enoch there appears the complicated idea that the 'Satans' influenced the Watchers/

Watchers who then corrupted man (40:7; 54:6, 64);
this seems to imply a cosmic dualism, for the
Satans are conceived as constituting a kingdom of
evil in opposition to God.

46.   בליעל   appears in the Old Testament as a noun
meaning 'worthlessness', or 'destruction' - e.g.:
'good-for-nothing', 1 Sam. 25:25; counsellor of
ruin, Na. 1:11; floods of destruction, 2 Sam 22:5.
The exact time at which the change took place is
unknown, but in Apocalyptic literature the word,
along with the derivative 'Beliar', appears as the
name of the figure at the head of the army of evil -
probably under the same influences that transformed
Satan from an Angel of God into the Adversary.
Whatever the name in inter-Testamental literature,
the function of this figure is the same - to torment
and lead astray the righteous. Eichrodt thinks
two myths lying beneath the surface of the Old
Testament were resurrected under the influence of
Persian ideas to give credibility to this evil
figure:
(a)   the story behind Gen. 6:1-4 implying an
       outrage against God and
(b)   the legend of the star and son of the dawn
       who wished to take heaven by storm in Is. 14:12
       which reflects the pagan myth of a rebellious
       angel, finally exiled to the underworld.
       Eichrodt, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 207-208.

47. That the adherents to good or evil were considered
distinct groups, divided ethically like the rest
of the universe, seems implied in 1 En. 41:8;
108:11.   In T. Asher 3:1 the dual nature of all
reality is given explicit expression: "Two ways
hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclina-
tions, and two kinds of action and two modes of
action and two issues.   Therefore all things are
by twos, one over against the other, for there are
two ways of good and evil, and with these are the
two inclinations in our breasts discriminating them".

48. Lam. 3:38.

49. Yadin, op. cit., p. 234.

50. So Russell, op. cit., p. 235, who claims further
that the growth of angelology is an indication of
the/

the demotion of heathen gods and an increasing
transcendence of the God of Israel.

51. This term, applied to a human in Dan. 10:13 and
the angel Michael in Dan. 12:1, means 'prince' and
was used increasingly in inter-Testamental literature
of angelic leaders both good and evil.

52. Gen. R. 58; Jer. Rosh ha-Shanah 56d.

53. Cf. Ezek. 9:2.

54. See Driver, op. cit., p. 202.

55. Cf. above, p. 141 ff.

56. There seem to be seven chief princes and Strugnell
thinks their functions in relation to the angels
may tell us something about the order of the latter -
e.g. the sixth Prince blesses the 'mighty ones of
understanding', but the seventh Prince the 'holy
ones'. Strugnell, loc. cit., p. 330.

57. The idea of a heavenly temple, the cult of which
serves as a model for earthly ritual, is found in
ancient, oriental literature and the Old Testament
but is not developed in the Pseudepigrapha.
Strugnell, ibid., p. 335, suggests Ezekiel as the
main source of Qumran's emphasis.

58. Yadin thinks that Uriel's absence from this four-
some is not accidental, but that Michael has taken
his place as the Prince of Light. For an analysis
of their respective appearances and functions in
apocalyptic literature, see Yadin, op. cit., p. 238 ff.,
especially his table on p. 238 and his reference
to G. Friedlander for Rabbinic parallels, ibid.,
n. 3. It should be noted that Josephus' statement
about the Essenes 'preserving the names of the
angels' is often mentioned in connection with the
DSS; see Josephus, B. J. II, VIII, 7 §142.

59. See Mansoor's list of similarities between Biblical
and Qumran terminology re angels; op. cit., pp. 81-83.

60. This is also true of the DSS.   עוז is a function
of God in 1QM 4:13; 13:6, 8, 13, 14 and in all
three /

three occurrences of the word in 1QH - 2:34; 5:6; 7:23.

61. So Yadin completes the lacuna.   Cf. Jub. 15:31-32 where the theme is expanded at length; also, 1 En. 41:9; Sir. 17:14.

62. Contra Mansoor, op. cit., p. 79, who, in discussing Qumran's angelology and particularly the 'Prince of Light', quotes Molin's statement that here "one comes across a thought which is very unlike the Old Testament and rarely Jewish".

63. T. Asher 1:8.

64. Above, p. 267 ff.

65. W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls ... ", pp. 172-173, my underlining.

66. Hill, op. cit., p. 238, my underlining.

67. Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration ... ", p. 426, n. 30.

68. Ibid.   Wernberg-Møller does not accept Otzen's theory that the late Jewish idea of micro-cosmos/macro-cosmos lies behind 1QS 3:13 - 4:26, but Otzen's interpretation of the angels as a 'mythologizing' of the two yēṣers is very close to his own.

69. See the arguments of Lys, above, p. 43 ff., and May, above, p. 352 ff.

70. E.g. Wisdom (cf. Prov. 8:22; Wsdm. passim).

71. It is of interest that Hermas uses the Biblical expression 'lying spirit' to depict the evil force (Mand. 2:4; 3:1).   Seitz points out that the Biblical concept is of "an invasive rather than immanent power which comes upon man from without and again leaves him", loc. cit., p. 87.   So Mand. 5:2a, 3, 4 reflect the LXX rendering of 1 Sam. 16:14, depicting the activity of the evil spirit as 'choking' rather than 'tormenting' and later describes sudden changes of mood as " ... a kind of invasive compulsion which 'enters' a man, and to which he attaches the term 'spirit'", ibid., p. 88.

72./

72. The antithesis of light and darkness does not occur in <u>Hermas</u>.

73. This has led Betz to say that the opposition of the two spirits in 1QS is systematically developed on three different levels - the ethical (truth/false-hood), the mythological (angels/demons) and the cosmological (light/darkness). He rightly sees that the opposition between the spirits pervades the cosmos and his equation of the angels with the spirits leads him approximately to our position.

74. <u>Contra</u> Seitz, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 94, who, appealing to Biblical references in <u>Hermas</u>, contrasts 1QS with the comment, "It would appear that the compilers of the <u>Manual</u> were already well on the way to the kind of exegesis which discovered in Deut. X:16 'uncircumcised' as one of seven Biblical names for the yēṣer hā-raʿ ".

75. Leaney rightly sees that the substitution of טוב justifies a sharper rendering of רע . "In the MT this means evil in contrast to physical and social welfare, in the scrolls version its contrast with 'good' makes it mean moral and cosmic evil". Leaney, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 45.

76. Seitz, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 94-95.

77. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 95.

78. This would accord with Seitz' statement that whereas the Rabbinic school developed from Gen. 2:7 and 6:5 the idea that God formed man with two conflicting yēsers, Qumran affirmed that in creating man God appointed for him two spirits of light and darkness, for which no evidence is cited from Scripture. <u>ibid.</u>, p. 94.

79. Betz, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 66.

80. See above, p. 92 ff.

81. See above, p. 89 and especially p. 114, n. 53.

82. Cf. Mt. 12:44 (cf. Lk. 11:25) where the image of entering a house is used to describe the possession of/

of a man by evil spirits.

83. The connotation of a powerful, invasive force ex-
ternal to man that thus clung to the Hebrew concept
of 'spirit' is, we would suggest, reflected in the
New Testament use of 'power' (both δύναμις and ἐξουσία).
Unspecified supernatural powers are mentioned in Mt.
24:29; Eph. 3:10; in association with 'the
spiritual hosts of darkness' in Eph. 6:12, and with
the angels in Rom. 8:38; 1 Pet. 3:22; Col. 1:13
speaks of deliverance from the 'power' of darkness;
Acts 4:7 asks by what 'power' a cripple was healed.
Furthermore, Lk. 10:17-20 equates the evil spirits
causing illness with 'the power of the enemy';
Eph. 2:2 equates 'The Prince of the power of the
air' with 'the spirit that is now at work 'in the
sons of disobedience'. Reminiscent of the Old
Testament, Luke makes the overt association of the
Spirit of God which results in healing with the
concept of power (cf. especially 4:14, 18, 36; 5:17)
and Eph. 3:16 describes the activity of God and his
Spirit within the individual as the power at work
within us!

1QH VII:6-25

(6) I praise Thee, O Lord!
For Thou hast supported me[1] with Thy strength
(7) and hast shed[2] Thy holy Spirit upon me,
so that I do not totter.[3]
Thou hast strengthened me[4] in the face of battles of
wickedness,
and in all their destruction,[5] (8) Thou hast given me
n[o] cause
to despair of Thy Covenant.

Thou hast set me up like a strong tower, like an
unscalable wall;
thou hast established (9) my building upon a rock,
eternal foundations for my foundation,
and all my walls as a tested wall,[6]
so that it does not quiver.[7]
(10) [And] Thou, my God, hast given it to the weary
(to be) a holy council,[8] and Thou hast[   ]Thy Covenant.

1.8 Thou hast given me no cause to despair of Thy
Covenant - lit: Thou hast not caused despair
from Thy Covenant.

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1.   Cf. Ps.51:14;1QH2:7;9:32;18:13
2.   Cf. 1QH17:26;1QHfg.2:9,13
3.   Cf. 1QS11:12;1QH6:21,27
4.   Cf. 1QH1:32;4:36;16:7
5.   Cf. 1QH3:38;5:25;7:4,5,11
6.   Cf. 1QH6:25
7.   Cf. 1QS8:8;1QH6:27
8.   Cf. 1QS2:25;8:21;1QM3:4;1QS^a 2:9;CD20:24

(6) אודכה אדוני כי סמכתני בעוזכה ורוח (7) קודשכה

הניפותה בי בל אמוט ותחזקני לפני מלחמות רשעה ובכול

הוותם (8) ל[א] החתתה מבריתכה

ותשימני כמגדל עוז כחומה נשגבה ותכן על סלע (9) מבניתי

ואושי עולם לסודי וכול קירותי לחומת בחן ללוא תזדעזע[1]

(10) [ו]אתה אלי נתתו לעפים לעצת קודש ות̂[   ]

בריתכה

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1. The text reads   תד/עזע   ,   ז being also
        in the margin.

1.10   Lohse reads   נתתני for נתתו ; accepted
       Licht restores   ות]כן לבי[by H-N.

My tongue is like Thy learned ones,
(11) but there is no mouthpiece for the spirit of
                                        destruction,
no answer of the tongue[1] for all the [so]ns of guilt,
for lying lips have been made dumb.
(12) For in judgment Thou hast accused as wicked[2]
all those who stir up strife against me,[3]
[to] distinguish in me between the righteous and the
                                        wicked.[4]

(13) For Thou dost know the inclination behind every deed,
and art acquainted with the answer of every tongue.
Thou hast established my heart (14) among Thy learned
                                        .   ones
and in Thy truth, to direct my foot(steps)
in the paths of righteousness, that I may walk in Thy
                                        presence
in the territory of (15)[   ], in the paths of glory
                                and life and peace,
without [   ] to cause [   ] to cease forever.

1.13   the inclination behind every deed - lit: each
       inclination of deed
       art acquainted with - taking   הכרתה   as hiphil
       of   נכר .

---

1.   Cf. 1QH2:7;7:13;11:34;16:6;17:17
2.   Cf. 1QS5:7
3.   Cf. 1QH2:23
4.   Cf. Mal.3:18

ולשוני כלמודיך (11) ואין פֿה לרוֹח הורות ולא מענה

לשון לכול [ב]ני אשמה כי תאלמנה שפתי (12) *[1] שקר כי

כול גרי למשפט תרשיע [ל]הבדיל בי בין צדיק לרשע

(13) כי אתה ידעתה כול יצר מעשה וכול מענה לשון

הכרתה ותכן לבי (14) [בל]מודיכה ובאמתכה ליׄשׄר פעמי

לנתיבות צדקה להתהלך לפניך בגבול (15) [ ] [ס̄]

לשבילי[2] כבוד וחיים[3] ושלום לאין [ ] [להשבת

לנצח

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1.   Deleting   שפתי   at the beginning as dittography.
2.   The final yod of   לשבילי   is supra-linear.
3.   Inserting the marginalia   וחיים . Five slanted lines at this point in the text correspond to five lines in the margin.

1.14   Lohse reads   [כל]מודיכה
1.15   Lohse reads   צדיקי[ם]   as the first word. Mansoor inserts   וחיים   here, assuming it to be dittography later in the line.
      Mansoor restores   [קץ]   at the beginning of the second lacuna.

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(16) And Thou dost know the inclination of Thy servant,
that not [   ] have I [tru]sted[1]
to lift up [   ] (17) [and] to seek refuge[2] in (human)
                                        strength.
There is no human refuge for me[3]
There are no deeds of righteousness
to be delivered[4] from [   ] (18) [   ] forgiveness.

But I have trusted in [   ]
Thy loving goodness I wait,[5]
to cause to blossom (19) [   ] and to make a shoot grow,
to seek refuge in (Thy) strength
and [   ] Thy righteousness.
Thou hast stationed me[6] (20) in Thy Covenant
and I lay hold[7] upon Thy truth and [   ]

1.17   Reading   ומחסי   =   ומחסה ;   so Lohse
       The lacunae make punctuation of the intervening
       words impossible.

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1.   Cf. below 1.18
2.   Cf. below 1.19; also 1QH6:25   נעוז
3.   Cf. Ps.46:1;62:8;71:7;Jer.17:17;1QM15:10
4.   Cf. 1QH2:31;3:5;5:13
5.   Cf. Ps.33:18
6.   Cf. Ezek.2:2
7.   Cf. 1QH1:15;2:21;4:22

(16) ואתה ידעתה יצר עבדכה כי לא ⁻] נש[ענתי [1]

להרים ל] [(17) [ו/]להעיז בכוח ומחסי בשר אין לי

] [אין צדקות להנצל מפ] [(18) [ ] רא[ו

סליחה

ואני נשענתי ב ⁻] [חסדכה אוחיל להציץ

(19) [ש]שע ולגדל נצר להעיז בכוח ו ⁻] [ ]

צדקתכה העמדתני ⁻] (20) לבריתכה ואתמוכה באמתכה ראת] [

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1. Accepting Licht's restoration; Mansoor:
   [על הון ובצע נש[ענתי

1.16 Licht and Mansoor restore ל[מעלה קרני]
   in the 2nd lacuna, but this appears too long;
   ל[בי is possible.

1.17 Mansoor restores [כי לאנוש[אין and at
   the end of the line מפ]שעי.

1.18 Most commentators restore בל[וא as
   the 1st word.
   In the 2nd lacuna, Lohse restores ב[רוב
   ב[רוב רחמיכה ול[חסדכה Mansoor, רחמיכה ובהמון]

1.19 Lohse restores מ[טע as the 1st word, though
   ש seems apparent in the text; Mansoor restores
   ב[ישע , also Licht. Reconstruction of
   the large lacuna is impossible.

Thou hast made me as a father to the sons of mercy,[2]
(21) and as a foster father[1] to the men of portent;[2]
and they open the mouth as a nur[sing infant   ]
and as a child delighting[3] in the embrace of its (22) foster
                                                   father.
Thou hast exalted my horn[4] against all who condemn me,
and [   ]the men who are fighting me,
(23) and those who rise up against me (are) like chaff
                                         before the wind;[5]
and my dominion is upon [   ]

Thou, my [God,] hast assisted[6] my soul,
and hast raised up my horn (24) on high;
and I shine forth in sevenfold light   .
[   ]to Thy glory,
(25) For Thou art to me an [eter]nal light,
and Thou hast established my foot upon[   ]

1.22   delighting in the embrace - lit: playing (?) in
        the bosom
        foster father - lit: foster fathers.

---

1. Cf. Num.11:12;Is.49:23
2. Cf. 1QH7:21;13:16;15:20
3. Cf. Jer.31:19 and Tanh. T'tsavvah 1: "What is a
    child of delight? Three or four years old, when
    it begins to talk and becomes a pleasure to his
    father."
4. Cf. Ps.89:25;112:9;below 1.23
5. Cf. Job 21:18;Ps.1:4;35:5;Hos.13:3
6. Cf. 1QS3:24;1QM13:10;1QH2:34;5:6

ותשימני אב לבני חסד (21) וכאומן לאנשי מופת ויפצו פה

כירו̇נ[ק   ] ד̇כשעשע עולל[1] בחיק[2] (22) אומניו ותרם

קרני על כול מנאצי ויתפ̇]   א̇רות אנשי מלחמתי

ובעלי (23) רבי כמוץ לפני רוח וממשלתי̇ על ב̅־̅־]   [

[א]ל֗י̣ עזרתה נפשי ותרם קרני (24) למעלה והופעתי בא[ור]

שבעתים ב̅־]   [̅נותה לכבודכה (25) כי אתה לי

למאור [עו]לם ותכן רגלי ב̅־̅־]   [

---

1.   The text has   עולול ; emendation Lohse,
        Mansoor, H-N.
2.   The yoḏ is supra-linear.

1.21   Most commentators restore כירו נ[ק ; D-S
        adds [לשדי אמו , accepted by Mansoor;
        H-N [על שדי אמו
1.22   Licht restores ויתפ]וררו כפו[ארות ,
        accepted by Mansoor; H-N suggests ויתפרדו
        for the verb, D-S ויתפוצצו ; Lohse reads
        ויתפ]צצו ש[ארית .
1.24   Most commentators restore בא[ור] .
        Lohse restores ב]אור אשר הכי[נותה   in
        the 2nd lacuna; D-S ב]עדן אשר הכי[נותה .
1.25   Lohse restores ב]מישור נצח[, so
        Licht; D-S ב]מישור לאין חקר[
        Mansoor reads simply צדקה] .

CHAPTER SIX

E T H I C A L   I M P L I C A T I O N S   A R I S I N G

F R O M   1QS 3:13 - 4:26

I   PREDESTINATION

Having established the existence in the Qumran
literature of two morally opposed 'lots' pervading the
cosmos, the questions must be raised: what determined
the lot to which an individual belonged?   was it divinely
fore-ordained, or did it depend on the person's conduct
during his lifetime?   was a man born into one lot to which
he belonged permanently, or was it possible for him to
move from one to the other?   In short, did the Qumran Com-
munity believe in predestination?   The issue has become
as controversial as that of 'dualism'[1], centering on pas-
sages such as 1QS 3:15 ff.:   "From the God of knowledge
comes all that is and shall be ... and nothing can be
changed!"[2]   It has been shown consistently above that the
paradox of determinism and free-will, which to the modern
mind presents a contradiction, was not a problem to the
Community at Qumran.   This merely enhances the interest
in how they regarded the ethics of day to day living.   As
the cosmological level is most clearly expressed in 1QM,
so the individual's moral struggle is most vividly portrayed
in the lyric poetry of 1QH.

The concept of predestination is, of course, closely
allied with that of dualism.   Even the modified descrip-

tion of the opposition as an 'antagonistic view of reality' implies a division of mankind into two camps. Passages such as 1QH 1:7-9; 15:13-19 indicate clearly that the division is pre-determined by God; that this does not exclude an ongoing moral struggle within the individual is equally explicit in passages such as 1QH 1:22; 3:24 ff.; 6:21-26, and supremely in 1QS 4:23 ff. K. G. Kuhn has emphasized the former, Wernberg-Møller the latter, and each, as we have seen, to the extreme of denying the other view any validity. Mansoor shows a deeper grasp of the theology when he pinpoints man's utter dependence on God as the origin of his sinfulness[3]. Mortal man is conceived of as weak, frail, and sinful, incapable of salvation save by the grace of God. The assurance of that grace to the Elect is not seen as a problem in logic but as a cause for thanksgiving. Furthermore, "salvation includes not only deliverance from persecution but also deliverance from sin itself. Though man is predestined to belong to the elect, his election is dependent on his being of a righteous and moral character. It is one of God's gifts to him, the ability to live a righteous life"[4]. This will become clearer in the analysis of some of the 1QH texts.

The theology of the hymn found at 1QH 7:6 ff.[5] is

summarized in its opening lines:

> I praise Thee, O Lord!
>
> For Thou hast supported me with Thy strength
> and hast shed Thy holy Spirit upon me,
> so that I do not totter.

The verb מוט occurs also in 1QH 6:21 where it describes the uncircumcised, unclean, and violent men who do not walk in the way God has commanded, but totter from it[6]. The author then contrasts the Community by comparing it to a fortified city - "and they that enter do not totter". The verb recalls Pederson's comment about the Old Testament picture of a sinner: "The sinner lacks the firm centre of action; his soul is not a pure and firm organism, but full of inner strife, a dissolved mass. Therefore it staggers about aimlessly, like one intoxicated ... the soul of the sinner lacks firmness and strength"[7]. In 1QS 11:12 מוט is used in reference to the author himself and this seeming contradiction is explained by the context which refers to the concepts of predestination and election. Verse 7 speaks of those whom God has chosen (בחר)[8], saying that he has established them 'as an eternal possession; he has bestowed upon them a share in the lot of the holy ones'. He has brought together their assembly to be a community, a house of holiness, but this does not guarantee moral perfection. The passage continues to state that the chosen

still totter (מוט), stumble (כשל), and experience affliction (צרה). All this we know: 1QS 6:27 ff. makes provision for those whose spirit might temporarily deviate from its original intention or permanently back-slide from its previous decision, and the fact that there are punishments listed for those who lie, rebel, speak in anger, ridicule or deceive their neighbour, or commit fraud with the Community property, makes it obvious that members were aware of even their own moral frailty[9]. We have seen that membership in the Community involved a regular ethical evaluation conceived as the 'weighing' of a man's spirit and that at one stage in Qumran thought a person's allotment of good and evil was believed to be measurable mathematically[10]. 1QS 11:12 has a much more deeply spiritual interpretation of how the sins of the Elect are judged: "When I stumble", the author claims, " ... the judgment concerning me (is passed) by the righteousness of God"[11]. Yet not only does the grace of God accept the sinner 'as though' he did not stumble, it also, as Mansoor sees, fortifies him against that weakness. "He makes firm my step on the way", concludes 1QS 11:13.

The opposite of Pederson's picture of a sinner is a man of integrity who on the path of life does not totter from side to side but pursues unhesitatingly a moral course. Such a capacity is the 'steadfast spirit' the Psalmist

prayed for (Ps. 51:12) and the 'steadfast inclination'
that characterized the members of the Qumran Community
(1QS 4:5).   This quality of single-mindedness was further
described by the adjective 'perfect' (תמים), the sense
of wholeness implying unification rather than diversifica-
tion of desire[12].   The self-designation, תמימי דרך ,
in 1QS 4:22 is clarified against this background.   The
integrity of a holy way of life was Qumran's purpose
(1QS 8:10);   the extent to which a man had achieved perfec-
tion of the way was examinable (1QS 5:24) and the plea for
a novice was that "he establish his steps for walking in
perfection of all God's ways, as He commanded at the fixed
time of His revealing them, without turning aside to the
right or to the left and without walking contrary to a
single one of all His words" (1QS 3:9-11).   The virtues
by which such a man is recognizable are listed tersely in
1QS 4:2 ff., followed by an account of contrasting character-
istics.   The fact that these are introduced as the 'ways'
of the two spirits in the world has seemed to many to
present a parallel to the concept of the 'two ways' found
in other literature, particularly The Didache, The Epistle
of Barnabas, and Hermas.

Despite the apparently similar basic antithesis, a
comparison reveals amazingly few parallel phrases in these
four documents.   Of the qualities listed under the spirit

of truth in 1QS, none appear in all three of the above-mentioned works; in both The Didache and The Epistle humility or lack of pride are listed[13], the injunction not to be 'double-minded' can be considered a parallel to the 'steadfast inclination'[14] and various phrases might be interpreted to imply 'purity of worship'[15]. Beyond that, both The Epistle and Hermas mention righteousness[16] and The Didache alone speaks of compassion[17]. Of those characteristics attributed in 1QS to the spirit of perversity, arrogance, pride, and deception find parallels in all three documents[18], impure worship may be inferred from the listings in The Didache and The Epistle[19], misuse of the tongue in The Epistle and Hermas[20], greed, impatience, and evil cunning in The Epistle alone[21] and lying only in Hermas[22]. Much more remarkable are the parallels in the other three documents, not found in 1QS - the emphasis on forgiveness and giving, and the sexual factors in the negative qualities. 1QS, on the other hand, is alone in underlining the blindness, deafness, and obstinacy of those who walk in the spirit of perversity and the wisdom, insight, understanding, and trust in God's faithfulness of those influenced by the spirit of truth[23]. There is nothing resembling the eschatological rewards and afflictions with which 1QS ends its description of the ways of the spirits[24], and the introductions to the passages dif-

fer pointedly as well.   The Didache speaks of the way
of life and the way of death, The Epistle of the way of
light and the way of darkness, Hermas of a straight way
and a crooked way.   The latter two also refer to angels
influencing man in both directions.

As has been noted above, however, 1QS does not
speak of two ways at all, but rather of the ways (plural)
of each of two spirits[25].   It would seem that   דרך   in
this instance refers to the manifestations of two opposing
spirits in human behaviour, the ways by which they can be
recognized;   this is quite a different concept from that
of   דרך   as the path of life.   Whereas the documents
compared reflect a concept of   דרך , perhaps derived from
Jer. 21:8, that conveys in itself the ethical duality,
Qumran seems to have developed the use of   דרך   to
illustrate the singular road of life as God would have it
lived, but on which man may stumble and from which he may
deviate because of the duality of his spirit and of
influences he encounters.   This is illustrated in 1QS 8:13
which implies that the roots of this concept lie in
Is. 40:3:

> When these become a community by these
> norms in Israel, they shall separate them-
> selves from the session of the men of
> deceit by going out into the wilderness in
> order to clear His way there;   as it is
> written ...

Accordingly, Hübner interprets a man's entry into the
Qumran Community as having been a change of direction,
effected by the grace of God:

> Was ihm durch seinen Eintritt von seiten
> Gottes widerfahren ist, das ist eine neue
> Ausrichtung seines Seins: der verkehrte,
> verdrehte (! נעוה) Geist ist wieder
> in die gottgewollte Richtung gebracht.   26

The theology that allowed the men of Qumran, in full
awareness of their shortcomings, to call themselves the

תמימי דרך   is summarized in 1QS 11:10:

> The way of man is ⟨not⟩ his own affair.
> It is not man who makes firm his step,
> but to God belongs the judgment and ⟨in⟩
> his hand is the perfection of the way.

The exegesis of 1QH 7:6 ff. now assumes more sig-
nificance[27].   This gift of God, by which the Elect are
enabled to walk with firmness and be counted as perfect,
is described in many ways, not least by reference to the
power associated with   רוח .   The psalm begins with a
shout of praise because God has supported[28] the author
with divine strength[29] which allowed him to stand firm
in the midst of his moral battles[30].   The struggle has
been experienced as a threat of destruction and God's
help is further described by use of the verb   חזק .
Occuring some fifty-three times in the DSS, this verb

is found in a similar context in 1QH 1:32 where, as we
have seen[31], it is man's spirit that is strengthened
and the threat is labelled 'affliction' (נגע). This
term, used at times to depict animosity from the enemies
of the Community[32], clearly refers to temptation in 1QH
9:10, 11. In such a situation, we are told, the author
has been comforted by God and he hopes in his mercy, trusts
in his strength (כוח). His spirit has been upheld
(עמד), for God has ordained it. So too, in 1QH 4:36
the psalmist, recalling how in a more depressed state he
felt deserted by God's Covenant, tells how he remembered
God's power (כוח) and was able to stand upright;
leaning on God's compassion and mercy, his spirit 'held
fast unto the place of standing'[33]. We may assume that
in our passage too, it is man's spirit that is infused
with strength[34]; the point of interest is that 1QH 7:6
claims the holy Spirit of God as the agent by which that
strength is conveyed. The expression used is unexpected -
הניפותה בי . The verb נוף occurs three other
times with רוח in the DSS; otherwise it is used with
יד as its object, as is the case in the Old Testament[35].
There, and in Rabbinic sources, the usual meaning is 'to
stretch out or brandish' yet one seems too passive, the
other too violent for the present context[36]. The most

likely parallel is found in Ps. 68:10 where the verb
is used of God's shedding the rain abroad[37]. Also
noteworthy is the appearance in 1QH 7:6 of the preposition
ב , denoting interiorization of the power bestowed[38].
God's Spirit, which was holy and, as we saw, in the Old
Testament creative of obedience, was shed upon the Elect
giving their spirit moral strength. The author of our
psalm, in a Covenant relationship with God, thus concludes
his theological statement by attributing his fidelity to
God's initiative.

He then focuses attention on the Community within
which he finds such strength. It is as secure as a
building constructed on a foundation of rock, for its
foundations are God's eternal truths; as a member of it
the psalmist feels like a strong, unassailable tower or
wall of that building, supported by the firmness of the
other parts[39]. It is a holy council. Within it the
tongue, a dangerous instrument[40], is under control; lying
and such characteristics of the spirit of wickedness[41]
have been recognized as inappropriate. God has secured
the psalmist's heart in the Community, thus giving him
ability to differentiate between righteousness and wicked-
ness (1.12) and directing his footsteps along the former
path. This state, graced by God's presence, is conceived
of as unending[42].

The author then reiterates that human strength
provides no defence against man's innate inclination,
that only divine forgiveness can supply deliverance.
He speaks, however, out of his own experience, having
sought refuge in God's strength[43], and now resorts to
two further analogies. The text of the first, dealing
with the growth of blossoms and shoots, is too corrupt
to decipher[44]; the second is unparalleled in comparing
the psalmist to a foster father. This presumably in-
dicates a position of leadership within the Community;
an accompanying feeling of confidence finds expression
in the traditional images of the horn being exalted and
enemies being dispersed like chaff before the wind.
It is the confidence born of the knowledge of election,
the confidence which paradoxically ascribes all credit
to God in profound humility. Thus the psalm ends by
re-establishing that God is to his people an eternal
light and establishes their steps upon the way.

It is with a doctrine of election by grace then
that the Qumran texts answer queries about predestina-
tion. The sons of light sin and are tormented by evil
influences, but they know that evil has no ultimate hold
over them. So Hübner has stressed the point that the
Community's assurance of their destiny affected their

view of the present:

> Grube, Scheol und ewige Höhe sind nicht
> metaphorisch, sondern <u>stricto sensu</u> verwendet,
> insofern die Machtbereiche des Todes und
> des Lebens die gegenwärtige Existenz des
> Qumranfrommen in ihrer Totalität erfassen
> und bestimmen. 45

They know themselves to be chosen, essentially secure,
and at times prevented from stumbling by the power of
God; he is on their side and he is ultimately victorious.
Given the reality that the sons of light sin, Wernberg-
Møller can conceive of the benefit of election only as
an ideal, but in taking this position he is imposing
twentieth century rational analysis on documents of another
era. To the Qumran Community the grace of God was as
real as their sin; this very proclamation witnesses in
fact to the depth of their spirituality.

> An antinomy simultaneously admits the
> truth of two contradictory, logically
> incompatible, but ontologically equally
> necessary assertions. An antinomy
> testifies to the existence of a mystery
> beyond which the human reason cannot
> penetrate. This mystery, nevertheless,
> is actualized and lived in religious
> experience. All fundamental dogmatic
> definitions are of this nature. 46

II HOLINESS[47]

The Spirit of God which gives man moral strength is described in 1QH 7:7 as holy. It is a word used frequently in the DSS, appearing 36 times as the adjective קדוש , 111 times as the noun קודש / קדש , and evenly distributed through the various documents. The Community is referred to as a holy council (1QS 2:12; 8:21; 1QM 3:4), a holy congregation (1QS 8:5), a holy dwelling (1QS 8:11); its members are called 'men of holiness' (1QS 5:13; 8:17, 20; 9:8; CD 20:2, 5, 7) and even 'the holy ones' (1QM 3:4-5; 6:6; 10:10; 16:1; 4QS1.39 1:24; 1QSb 3:25; 4:23)[48]. They are to become separate from other men, as the sanctuary, the Holiest of Holy, is separate (1QS 9:6), the way they walk is to be holy (1QH 6:21)[49] and their integrity in pursuing it is described as 'perfect holiness' (CD 7:5; 20:2, 5, 7). In the major documents, especially 1QH, the noun קודש appears frequently with a suffix ascribing it to God[50], a holy רוח is God's cleansing agent eschatologically (1QS 4:21), but in 1QS 3:8 cleansing is accomplished through holy רוח attributed to the Community. To

better understand our texts, the connotations that gathered around the word 'holy' during its development must, therefore, be investigated.

The concept of holiness has its background in the common soil of primitive religions. Awareness of a mysterious force other than man and dread in its presence are essentials of religious experience[51]; it was to this numinous realm, without moral implication, that 'holiness' was attached. It evoked in man not only awe but a recognition of energy; "at the centre of the holy lay dynamic power"[52]. While there is still debate about the meaning originally conveyed by the word קדש , it seems to have acquired very early the connotation of 'separate-ness'[53]. Whereas in other religions the adjective 'holy' was applied to persons, objects, places and actions but never to the deity, the Hebrews adopted the reverse position. In the earliest strata of the Old Testament, holiness is derived from divine sovereignty[54]; people and things are called holy simply because they belong to Yahweh. This is most vividly illustrated in the case of Israel, whom God has chosen to be his in Covenant relationship; they are to be 'a holy people' (Ex. 19:6; Is. 62:12). Furthermore, it is God's activity which transfers men or things to the sphere of the holy[55]. Eventually, with Isaiah's creation of the phrase 'the Holy One of Israel',

the adjective becomes synonymous with the divine name[56], and we read of God's 'holy arm' (Is. 52:10; Ps. 98:1), 'holy word' (Ps. 105:42; Jer. 23:9), and finally his 'holy Spirit' (Is. 63:10-11; Ps. 51:11). Snaith emphasizes that no-one else's arm, word, or spirit could be holy[57].

Originally, elaborate tabus were devised to protect people from the power of the holy and rites established to propitiate it. When within Israel worship was directed to a personal God, it was thus the priestly cultus that retained the emphasis on the unapproachable majesty of the deity. In accordance with belief in the separation of all that was holy from all that was not, the priestly law developed the ideal of God's holy people as those set apart from all others (Lev. 17-26; Ezek. 40-48) and elaborated the list of unclean things by which they might become defiled. The holy became a quasi-spatial realm of mystery to which people and things belonged inasmuch as they belonged to God. With the ethical insights of the reforming prophets, however, holiness came to be understood as belonging to the moral rather than the ritual sphere. Since קדשׁ depicts what is of God, the concept of what was holy was filled out by the growing recognition of his moral will[58]. "The holy God shows himself holy in righteousness" (Is. 5:16). The authority inherent in

the concept of the Holy One now attached itself to the
ethical demands issued in the preaching of the prophets.
The holiness of Israel as a nation thus came to imply
behaviour in keeping with the moral nature of its God,
observance of his holy laws.   The emphasis shifted from
the ritual removal of objective uncleanness to the re-
moval of subjective sin.   "Ye shall be holy, for I,
Yahweh your God, am holy" (Lev. 19:2).   Yet how does man
acquire such holiness as a personal quality?

    We have met this dilemma before in the preaching
of Ezekiel, who realized that to obey God's moral laws
man needed a new heart and spirit, a nature cleansed, re-
newed, and reoriented towards God[59].   The initiative in
this would come from Yahweh.   We saw another concept
merge in the time of the prophets with the moral nature
of God - that of God's own Spirit which, in Ezekiel's
eyes, became the agent of recreation poured out upon his
people.   The Spirit then became the power creative of
holiness.   Accordingly, in Ps. 51 the Spirit of God on
which the author is dependent for his personal moral
integrity is designated the holy Spirit.   In inter-
Testamental, Apocalyptic writings we noted, despite the
retention of the idea that God's Spirit can act within
the individual in a moral capacity (T. Benj. 8:2;   Sib.
Or. 1:5), an increased emphasis on the human spirit as

man's volitional centre. As such it was open to influence both good and evil, the latter being portrayed by evil spirits, the former by angels. In T. Levi 18:11, however, there is mention of a spirit of holiness which seems equivalent to power over evil spirits. Such power became increasingly difficult to categorize, with רוח being applied to all levels of the cosmic hierarchy. We noted individual exceptions to the Rabbinic teaching that no-one currently experienced the Spirit of God, but also an emphasis on holiness as the criterion necessary for the Spirit's manifestation. The Qumran texts, we found, illustrated the fluidity of the Apocalyptic period in the use of רוח and in the fashion of the day concentrated attention on the spirit of man. There are, however, fifteen passages which refer to the Spirit of God. Of these all but one bears the adjective קודש .

III   HOLY   רוח

1QS 8:13 ff., the passage which declares the purpose of the Community in terms of establishing the way in the desert mentioned in Is. 40:3, further states that

such an aim must be pursued by faithful study of the Law.
Through Moses and the prophets have been revealed the
regulations by which man should live[60].   רוח קודשו in
line 16 is the Spirit of God which, through the prophets,
revealed God's moral will.

The problematic occurrence of the same phrase in
CD 2:12 would seem to carry a similar meaning.   Here the
author is assuring the faithful that God knows the ways
and the destiny of the wicked, that in every generation of
their existence he has created for himself a remnant of
the Elect[61].   These fill the earth with their seed, are
made known through the prophets[62] and seers, and their
names are recorded with exactitude.   The Hebrew is dif-
ficult[63].   Charles, reading   משיחו , translates "and
through His Messiah He shall make them know His holy spirit",
noting that this may be a reference either to the Messiah
or to Zadok[64].   Yet the parallel 'seers of truth'[65]
argues for the plural   משיחי , interpreted as 'those
anointed by God's holy Spirit', i.e. the prophets.
There is no reason to read a Messianic reference here,
for the whole context is referring to the past rather than
the future.   Neither is there any need for Wernberg-Møller's
incredibly complicated emendation[66].   משיחו appears
again in CD 6:1 where the content is parallel to 1QS 8:16
although the word   רוח is missing.   The commandments

of God are considered to have been given through Moses
and those anointed by the holy [Spirit]⁶⁷.

This revelatory role of the divine Spirit seems
supported by 1QH 14:13 where   רוח קודשך ⁶⁸ appears in
a context praising God for the insight to distinguish
between good and evil. The text is corrupt but, as a
result of God's holy Spirit, the psalmist claims under-
standing of God⁶⁹ - presumably of his moral will - and
consequently membership in the elect Community. Further-
more,   רוח קדשכה   in 1QH 12:12 is the phrase used by
the author to describe the means by which he has per-
ceived God's wonders. As one of a Community sharing the
secrets of the divine precepts⁷⁰, he has had this know-
ledge revealed to him, the mysterious insight of God con-
veyed to his innermost being⁷¹, by the activity of God's
holy Spirit.

1QH 7:6 ff. has illustrated that the holy Spirit
of God was experienced by individuals at Qumran also as
a force which strengthened them in the battle against
evil. Further evidence is found in 1QH 16:7 where, after
extolling the achievements of God, the psalmist claims
that his knowledge of all this will enable him, among
other things, to 'show himself strong' through God's holy
Spirit⁷². The verb is   התחזק , an example of the
interplay assumed between human will and divine influence.

1QH 9:32 offers an unusual occurrence of רוח קודשכה
with the intensive תשעשעני . The context stresses
God's care of the psalmist since his youth, the psalm
being one of thanksgiving for his election. The state-
ment that truth has supported him (n.b. the use of סמך)
precedes the expression that the divine Spirit has
delighted him; hence the connotation of strength received
is still present. However, the delight may be simply
in the compassion of God as evidenced in his faithfulness
to the Covenant. So in 9:8 delight is expressed that
'thou hast not disowned me'. In 1QH 16:9, the one in-
stance where the divine Spirit is not described as holy,
such compassion is in fact the characteristic attributed
to it. "Thou showest grace toward me by Thy compassion-
ate Spirit" (רוח רחמיך). The verb נוף found in
1QH 7:6 is used of the divine Spirit again in 1QH 17:26
(with על) and fg. 2:9, 13, but with insufficient context
to warrant comment[73]. It is perhaps significant to note
the use of this verb in Num. 8:11 where it depicts the
setting apart of the Levites for the priesthood. Though
not obvious in translation, there is perhaps a double
entendre in the 1QH passages, implying that the holy Spirit
of God 'shed upon' the Qumran Community creates not only
moral fortitude but the true priesthood.

1QH 16:12 provides an instance where the cultic
associations are more obvious: the Spirit of God as-
sumes a cleansing function.   The psalm is a superb
example of the paradox of free-will and determinism, of
the movement between human and divine:

> And since I know that Thou hast designed
>   the spirit of the upright,
> therefore I have chosen to cleanse my hands
>   in accordance with Thy will:
> and the soul of Thy servant [hateth]
>   all the works of wickedness.
> And I know that none can be righteous
>   apart from Thee.
> And I beseech Thee, by that spirit
>   which Thou hast given [me],
> to fulfil Thy [mercy] toward [Thy servant];
>   [   ] and to cleanse me by Thy holy Spirit.
>
> (1QH 16:10-12)

The human spirit is the centre of decision, but to be-
come righteous man must decide to avail himself of God's
help.   Significantly, the verb used to describe the
author's intention is different from that portraying the
actual cleansing activity[74].   טהר , used of the lat-
ter, is the verb found in cultic language (cf. Lev. 16:30)
and finally, symbolically, in Ps. 51 and Ezek. 36:25 ff.
In both instances the new heart and spirit which will
enable man to obey God's Law is dependent on his first
having been cleansed from iniquity by God[75];   the Qumran
development is to make explicit the connection with the

Spirit which was implicit in Ezekiel.

Against this background it becomes easier to understand those passages in the DSS which seem to speak of a holy spirit in man. In particular, attention has been drawn by Wernberg-Møller to lQS 3:7 [76]. Dealing with entry to the Community, Column Three of The Manual of Discipline begins by speaking about the man who still 'walks in the stubbornness of his heart'; he cannot become one of the 'perfect ones' (1.4). The reason is then elaborated: he cannot cleanse himself - not by any of the ritual means - for what is needed here is a heart re-oriented toward the statutes of God. Here we encounter again the Qumran paradox of predestination - it is only within the Community that this man could be cleansed and instructed, but because he remains unclean he must not be admitted[77]! Verses 6-8 provide a series of three parallel statements:

(1) It is 'by the spirit of God's true council'

(ברוח עצת אמת אל) that the ways of man,

all his sins can be atoned (כפר).

(2) It is 'by the holy, moral power (given to) the

Community in his truth' (ברוח קדושה ליחד באמתו) that he can be cleansed (טהר) from all his sins.

(3) It is 'by an upright and humble spirit' (ברוח יושר

וענוה) that his sin can be atoned (כפר).

There is no problem with the first and third. A humble
and upright spirit is the disposition an individual re-
quires in order to escape his moral dilemma. In 1QS 3:6,
then, we have the well established use of רוח depicting
an aspect of human personality that is sufficently strong
to characterize the whole person. A humble spirit is
listed explicitly as a characteristic of the Elect in
1QS 4:3; the meaning of an upright spirit may be con-
sidered similar to that of a יצר סמוך (1QS 4:5)[78].
Assuming the interpretation of עצה as 'council' rather
than 'counsel' in 3:6 [79], Wernberg-Møller's translation
is quite acceptable: it is 'the spirit of God's true
council' that is here the means of atonement. With the
understanding of the human spirit developed above in
Chapter Three, there is no difficulty in seeing here the
ethical intention of the Community; as רוח can depict
the volitional centre of an individual, so it can surely
describe the moral orientation of a group[80]. Our present
passage tells us that the spirit of the Sect was such that
within it a man might find atonement for his sins. The
preposition ב need not be pressed to mean a direct,
exclusive agent in either line six or eight; such a moral
stance was a prerequisite to atonement and therefore
indirectly the means by which it was achieved. Qumran
evidence to this point has been consistent in echoing the

Old Testament theme that man's salvation is ultimately
dependent on God's grace. It is not necessary to see
any exception in 1QS 3:7. Again we can accept Wernberg-
Møller's translation: "It is by the holy spirit of the
Community in his truth" that man can be cleansed[81].

The verb now changes to טהר and accordingly the
subject acquires the adjective 'holy'; this is referring
not merely to forgiveness, but to a refining process that
will produce a change of character (cf. 1QH 5:16). We
have seen the holy Spirit of God portrayed in 1QH as a
cleansing power and the temptation is to force this inter-
pretation on our present text, but the construction assures
that the רוח belongs to the Community, though the Com-
munity belongs to God[82]. We have also seen the degree to
which, in inter-Testamental literature, the divine Spirit's
activity within a human being cannot be differentiated
from the volition of his own spirit. Hence it is the
argument of this thesis that the Qumran texts witness to
a development in the use of the word רוח , where it is
used to designate simply moral power without categoriza-
tion. It is here suggested that 1QS 3:7 provides a further
example where it is an injustice to the text to confine
רוח to a divine or human realm. The spirits of the
Community members were open to influence by the Spirit of
God; consequently there was in their midst the power to

save man from his sins and redirect him in the path of holiness. Though this power was thought of as a property of the Community, the ל serves as a reminder of the Hebraic assumption that such power could not be exclusively human. Furthermore, the initiative in cleansing came from God. Man could plead for it, appropriate it, and find symbolic, ritual expression for it, but the actual transforming power was God's to give[83]. We would therefore translate: "It is by the holy, moral power (given to) the Community in his truth that he can be cleansed from all his sins"[84].

Line nine introduces cultic language, at once conveying the sense of a force external to man. His flesh can be cleansed by sprinkling with water of purification and by sanctifying himself with waters of purity. The verb is טהר , the מי נדה and מי דוכי reminiscent once again of the setting apart of the Levites in Num. 8 [85]. The interpretation given to רוח in 1QS 3:7 is equally applicable in 1QS 9:3, where the Community is referred to as a 'congregation of the holy spirit of eternal truth'[86]. The point here seems to be that the Sect will atone (כפר) for the guilt of all mankind, which seems a momentous claim. Again, the means of achieving this are ethical[87]; 'a perfect way of life' is described as a freewill offering and we are reminded that these men were convinced of a

power in their lives that worked for holiness. In ob-
serving the Law which had been given through prophets
anointed by God's holy Spirit, they made themselves
receptive to the influence of that same Spirit. Cleansed
and purified themselves by this dynamic, holy power which
continued to fortify them, they were enabled to preserve a
way of life that made possible an oasis of holiness in a
corrupt world. Hence they could atone or 'pay for' (כפר)
the guilt of mankind. This is summarized in the words of
1QM 11:10: "And for the sake of Thy glory Thou hast
cleansed man from transgression, so that he may consecrate
himself for Thee".

The one remaining occurrence of רוח קודש is that
discussed above in Chapter Four, occurring in 1QS 4:21 in
the context of the divine Visitation when evil finally will
be destroyed[88]. The complex eschatology of the age makes
it no simple matter to unravel Qumran's thoughts about time
beyond the epoch in which the Community was living, but this
is an issue into which we must not digress[89]. Discussion
of Qumran's Messianic expectations is not relevant here,
for nowhere in any of the more controversial 'Messianic'
texts does the word רוח occur[90]. 11Q Melch. 16
quotes Is. 52:7 and the following verses give the inter-
pretation that the 'herald' is in fact the 'Anointed One';

van der Woude reads מ]שיח הרו[ח, Fitzmyer המ[שיח
הוא[ה] [91]. 4Qp Is., fg.c. quotes Is. 11:2 in which
רוח occurs four times, but the following pešer makes
no reference to the concept. Starcky's 'Elect of God'
text from Cave Four contains two interesting occurrences
of רוח , but as Fitzmyer has pointed out, the text makes
no mention of an Anointed One and it is not yet certain
whether the phrase 'Elect of God' is to be understood in
a Messianic sense[92]. It can be assumed from everything
we know of inter-Testamental literature that whatever
eschatological figure(s) Qumran hoped for, he (they) would
be envisaged as empowered by the Spirit of God[93]. The
Isaianic tradition, as found in 11:2, is quoted in
1QSb 5:20-25 in relation to the Prince of the Congregation.
Yet what is startling is the infrequency of that theme in
our texts and the retention of the Old Testament concept that
רוח will be the means of cleansing and renewing the
nation (i.e. the Elect).

We have seen that the Qumran Community claimed
experience of the cleansing power of רוח and that they
considered themselves empowered to live in 'perfect holi-
ness'. 1QS 4:21 presents us with this as an eschatological
experience to take place after mankind has been tested and
the Community selected as those to be purified. This is
not as contradictory as it first appears. It would be

true to say that in the knowledge of God's ultimate
victory over evil and the foretaste of this in the strength
which his Spirit supplied to them, the men of Qumran lived
with a 'realized eschatology'. This did not, however,
replace a future hope. H.-W. Kuhn errs in stressing the
present experience of the Spirit to the exclusion of its
expectation in the future[94]. In 1QS 4:20 we are told
that at the End Time all perverseness will be removed from
human nature. This, then, is the difference: presently
the faithful, no matter how holy, still battle the force
of evil; at the time of the Visitation its power will be
completely obliterated. The Elect are to be cleansed
(again   טהר) by a spirit of holiness and again we find
the phrase   רוח קודש appearing as a power which, though
originating from God, becomes indistinguishable from man.
'Thus a man cleansed by a spirit of holiness would there-
after have a spirit which was holy'[95].

That   רוח here is not exclusively a human faculty
is again preserved in cultic language. God is the subject
of the verb   נזה and what he sprinkles on the remaining
portion of mankind to make them holy is   רוח . The
appearance of the phrase   מי נדה reflects even more
closely than 1QS 3:9 the purification of the Levites in
Num. 8:7. Here we have blended the priestly and prophetic

traditions, the concept of ceremonial cleansing, which
Ezekiel had already used to symbolize moral transformation,
now for the first time combined with רוח .   Interestingly,
it would seem that in this process the prophetic concept
of Spirit was slightly modified.   In contrast to Joel 2:28,
Is. 42:1; 44:3, Ezek. 39:29, the רוח that is sprinkled
on people eschatologically in 1QS 4:21 is not presented
as the Spirit of God, but as an uncategorized moral power;
in this role the רוח of holiness and the רוח of truth
are parallel[96].

Footnotes

1. For fuller discussion of the subject, see Flusser, loc. cit., pp. 220-227; Licht, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll ... (I)", pp. 1-13; "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll ... (II)", pp. 89-97; Mansoor, op. cit., pp. 55-65; and especially Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration", passim, contra Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen ... ", and "Die Sektenschrift ... ".

2. It is not necessary to interpret this as rigidly as Flusser, who translates: "From the God of knowledge (comes) all that is and shall be, and before their being He established all their designs and when they become whatever they had been destined to become according to his glorious design they fulfil their task and nothing can be changed", loc. cit., p. 220.

3. Mansoor, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

4. Ibid., p. 64.

5. See text and translation above, pp. 382-385.

6. Holm-Nielsen translates: "but they roam about away from the way of Thine heart".

7. Johannes Pederson, Israel III - IV, (Oxford: The University Press, 1954), p. 411. Cf. also above, p. 35 ff. re Ps. 51.

8. Cf. the use of בחר in 1QH 10:13; 1QS 9:14. Flusser compares this to ἐκλεκτοί, ἐκλεκτοί Θεοῦ in Rom. 8:33; Col. 3:12; Tit. 1:1 and notes also the similarity between κλητοί, κεκλημένοι and the Qumran use of קרא . "These common terms", he claims, "indicate that there is some connection between the Christian and Sectarian concepts of election and warrant a closer examination of these concepts". Flusser, loc. cit., p. 222.

9. Cf. above, p. 151 ff. In his analysis of 1QH's use of the terms 'dust' and 'perverted spirit', Hübner grasps the /

the fact that the individual, who in entering the
Community has experienced a redirection of his will,
nonetheless remains 'dust'.   Arguing against
Brandenburg, he interprets the words   יצרתה
עולם לסוד מעפר   as referring to the original,
substantial creation of man and concludes: "Ich
als hier und jetzt vorfindliches Staubwesen bin dazu
ausersehen, einmal zur ewigen Gemeinschaft zu gehören";
loc. cit., p. 276.   Understanding   סוד עולם
as the Qumran Community, Hübner realizes that here
the eschatological impinges on the empirical and
that, despite the assurance of their destiny, the
present contains a 'not yet' aspect; loc. cit.,
p. 273.   See above, pp. 144, 159 ff.   Sjöberg, on
the other hand, has reversed his previous position
and now accepts K. G. Kuhn's argument that entrance
to the Community brings a 'new creation' which trans-
forms man 'aus dem Staub';   Erik Sjöberg, "Neuschöp-
fung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen", ST IX (1956), pp. 131-
136.   So also H.-W. Kuhn;   see below, n. 94.

10.   Cf. above, p. 167 ff.

11.   So Wernberg-Møller translates;   cf. verse 14:   "In
his great goodness he condones (יכפר) my sins".

12.   It also gave rise to the opposing concept of a
'double heart' in Rabbinic literature.   Cf. the
prayer quoted by Schechter, op. cit., p. 279:   "May
our heart become single in the fear of Thy name".

13.   In the following notes, the initials B, D, and H are
used to refer to the Epistle of Barnabas, The Didache
and The Shepherd of Hermas respectively;   cf. D III, 9;
B XIX, 3.

14.   Cf. D II, 4;   IV, 4;   B XIX, 7.

15.   Cf. "Thou shalt love God who made Thee", D I, 2;
"In the congregation (in church) thou shalt confess
thy transgressions, and thou shalt not come to thy
prayer (or, place of prayer) with an evil conscience",
IV, 14;   "As much as thou canst, thou shalt make
purification for thy soul", B XIX, 12.

16.   Cf. B XIX, 6;   H Mand. VI, 1, 2.

17.   Cf. D III, 8.

18.   D V, 1;   B XX, 1;   H Mand. VI, 2;   VIII, 3-5.

19. /

19. 'Idolatries', 'witchcrafts' and 'sorceries', D V, 1; 'idolatry', B XX, 1.

20. 'Evil speaking', B XX, 2 and H Mand. VIII, 3-5.

21. B XX, 1 and 2.

22. H Mand. VIII, 3-5.

23. Cf. D I, 3 (∥ Mt. 5:43 ff.). Among the most striking differences in these four passages is the exclusiveness of 1QS 4:5, which speaks of "love towards all the sons of truth", in contrast to the seemingly Christian emphasis of The Didache which teaches love even towards "those who hate you".

24. Cf. the warning to "remember the day of judgment night and day" in B XIX, 10.

25. See above, pp. 275-276.

26. Hübner, loc. cit., p. 281.

27. See text and translation above, pp. 382-385.

28. **N.b.** סמך , with the connotation of integrity discussed above.

29. **N.b.** עזר , the term used in Qumran for the moral assistance given man by supernatural powers.

30. Lit.: "so that I do not totter" (מוט).

31. See above, p. 156.

32. So Holm-Nielsen interprets 8:27; see Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 27, n. 66.

33. The phrase is: ורוחי החזיקה במעמד .

34. See רוח as the volitional centre in man, above, p. 155 ff. Cf. also Licht's comment: "Thus the all-important act of predestination is described as the granting of the appropriate spirit or spirits. The term spirit, in its meaning which interests us most, is thus best defined as the vehicle of determination, or as the carrier of divinely ordained characteristics, or that part of the human being which/

which receives these characteristic traits - i.e.
man's personality"; Licht, "The Doctrine of the
Thanksgiving Scroll ... (II)", p. 91, my underlining.

35. 1QH 8:22, 33 of the author's hand; 1QM 17:9 of God's
    hand.

36. Holm-Nielsen translates: "And Thy holy Spirit Thou
    hast stretched out over me, so that I do not fail",
    but notes the translation 'sprinkle'. Cf. also the
    use of the verb in Num. 8:11 to signify the setting
    apart of the Levites.

37. Hence the above translation: " ... and hast shed
    Thy holy Spirit upon me". Mansoor also notes this
    parallel.

38. Usually with על or אל . Cf. the use of ב and
    על with רוח in the Old Testament, above, p. 23.

39. Cf. Ps. 40:3. Lohse, op. cit., p. 289, n. 33 com-
    pares Is. 28:16. Cf. also 1QH 6:26 where the Com-
    munity is compared, with similar intention, to a
    fortified city; also 1QS 8:8. The verb רוט ,
    used here to depict the city whose walls do not quiver,
    is used of man's footstep in 1QS 11:4 ("A support is
    at my right hand, on a firm rock is the way of my
    footstep. It shall not be shaken ... "), also with
    רוח in 1QS 7:18 to describe the man whose spirit
    swerves from the Community.

40. Cf. 1QS 4:11.

41. Cf. 1QS 4:9.

42. This should not be supposed to support a doctrine of
    immortality in the Scrolls. The intent is to
    emphasize that the gift of election cannot be lost,
    but will find its fulfilment at the End-Time.

43. Cf. Ps. 46:1.

44. For the Community as a 'plant' cf. 1QS 8:5; 1QH 8:4 ff.

45. Hübner, loc. cit., p. 273. Cf. the use of ממשל
    in 1QS 3:20, 22 as discussed above, pp. 250 and 255.

46. Sergius Bulgakov, The Wisdom of God, p. 116 as quoted
    by /

by Donald Baillie in his chapter on "The Paradoxes of Faith" in <u>God was in Christ</u>, (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1961), pp. 108-109. For the place and necessity of paradox in any expression of religious experience, <u>ibid</u>., pp. 106-113.

47. For fuller discussion of the concept of 'holiness' in the DSS, see Jürgen Becker, <u>Das Heil Gottes</u>, Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, Bd. 3, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964) and H.-W. Kuhn, <u>op. cit</u>., <u>passim</u>; also F. Nötscher, "Heiligkeit in den Qumranschriften", RQ 2 (1959-1960), pp. 163-182; 315-344.

48. For the argument that קדושים in these instances (and perhaps more) refers to men and not angels, see C. H. W. Brekelmans, <u>loc. cit</u>., <u>contra</u> Dequeker who considers 1QM 10:10 the only instance.

49. Restoring the lacuna as Holm-Nielsen, קודש(כה).

50. In 14 out of 20 occurrences in 1QH, 5 out of 10 in 1QM; CD and 1QS both witness to this thought, but the proportion of instances is much smaller.

51. As depicted by Otto's 'mysterium tremendum'; Rudolph Otto, The Idea of the Holy, trans. John W. Harvey (Oxford: The University Press, 1923), pp. 12-24.

52. Powell, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 12.

53. One school of thought traces the word to the Semitic root קד - 'to cut', the other to קדא or קדו , known in Arabic and Ethiopic as 'to be pure or bright'. For discussion of the two points of view, see Eichrodt, <u>op. cit</u>., Vol. 1, p. 271. M. Black, The Hoyt Lectures, No. 2, p. 12, draws attention to Aubrey Johnson's view that both קדש and חדש derive from a bi-consonantal Semitic root implying 'separation'.

54. Of theophany (Ex. 3:5; 19:23; Josh. 5:15); of people encountering God (Ex. 19:6, 10, 14; Num. 11:18; Josh. 3:5; 7:13); of spoils of war which belong to Yahweh (Josh. 6:19). Snaith, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 42 ff., points /

points to this use of קדש for the sphere of the divine <u>alone</u> as distinctively Hebraic.

55. See Eichrodt, <u>op. cit.</u>, Vol. 1, p. 272.

56. Cf. Is. 40:25; 41:14.

57. Snaith, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 43.

58. This tendency can be seen in Ex. 3:1, where Moses feels awe before a God who is portrayed in terms of goodness as well as power; in Is. 6:1, where it is a consciousness not of his humanity but of his sin that makes the prophet tremble in the presence of God. In Amos 4:2 holiness contrasted with creaturliness appears parallel to the contrast of morality and irresponsibility.

59. See above, p. 21 ff.

60. Cf. the following line which dictates the punishment for anyone "who abolishes one single word from the regulations"; also 8:22. A parallel in content is found at 1QS 1:3 where the prophets are referred to as נביאים.

61. Lit.: 'men called by name, to be a remnant'. Cf. CD 4:4; Num. 16:2; 1 En. 45:3.

62. Amending משיחו to משיחי with Cothenet and Lohse. Cf. Ps. 105:15. Rabin, retaining the waw, still interprets 'prophets'.

63. ויודיעם ביד משיחו רוח קדשו . Rabin, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 8, n. 3, points out that of 16 cases in the Old Testament where this verb in its present form has only one object, in 12 it is the thing made known, in 4 the person who is informed. Vermes reads a double object: "And He made known His Holy Spirit to them by the hand of His anointed ones and He proclaimed the truth (to them)".

64. Charles, <u>Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha</u>, p. 804.

65. Reading וחוזי אמת . Cf. 1QM 11:7-8 where משיחכה is parallel to חוזי תעודות.

66. Wernberg-Møller claims that 1QS 3:7 is the key to understanding/

understanding CD 2:12.   Relying heavily on his
interpretation of the former (see above, p. 409)
he reconstructs the latter to read as follows: ביד
אמתו יחיד קדש רוח משיחי - "through those
who were anointed with the holy spirit of his true
community".   This is ingenious, but highly doubt-
ful.   For details of his emendations, op. cit.,
pp. 61-64, n. 21.

67.   So Rabin, op. cit., p. 21, n. 2.

68.   Restoring the lacuna with Holm-Nielsen who suggests
that the preceding verb must have been either   נזוף
(cf. 1QH 7:7) or   טהר   (cf. 1QH 16:12).

69.   The Hebrew is   לבינתך .   Hübner, loc. cit., p. 282,
comparing this text with 1QS 8:16, writes: "Im
yaḥad gewonnene Einsicht würde dann prophetischer
Botschaft qualitativ gleichgestellt".   H.-W. Kuhn,
op. cit., p. 130 ff. uses this text as an illustra-
tion that the Spirit of God was a gift received upon
entrance to the Community.

70.   See the discussion of Qumran mysteries above, p. 256.

71.   The expression   לתוכי   indicates the extent to
which it was considered possible for the divine to
penetrate the human.

72.   Restoring   קודשך   with Holm-Nielsen and Lohse.
Both take the   ב   instrumentally.

73.   References to the divine Spirit are also obvious at
1QH 16:2, 3; 39, 1:6 and 34, 2:7 but the text is
too corrupt to attempt reconstruction.

74.   להבר כפי   in the first instance;   לטהרני
in the second.   Both verbs were used in the Old
Testament of ceremonial cleansing.   Hübner sees in
this interaction of human and divine spirit a
retention of the Old Testament's concern with
dynamics rather than philosophy: "Gott gibt seinen
heiligen Geist in den in den yaḥad Eintretenden;
dieser heilige Geist reinigt den menschlichen Geist
von seiner Verkehrtheit.   Damit wird weder eine
Seinsaussage über Gott noch über den Menschen gemacht.
Gott wird - gut alttestamentlich! - nicht als
Seiender gesehen, sondern als Handelnder.   Und
ebenso /

ebenso wird der Mensch nicht als Seiender gesehen,
sondern als der, dem Gottes Handeln widerfährt.
Auch hier befinden wir uns noch ganz in alttestament-
lichen Bahnen"; Hübner, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 283.

75. The DSS retain the emphasis that it is God who
cleanses even when the Spirit is not mentioned;
(cf. 1QS 11:14; 1QH 1:32; 3:21; 4:37; 5:16;
6:8; 1QM 11:10).

76. Wernberg-Møller, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 61 and 64, n. 21.

77. This paradox has been noted explicitly by Hübner,
<u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 275. Wernberg-Møller accepts
Brownlee's idea that this passage is based on
Lev. 13:45 ff. which concerns the leper who, being
unclean, is ostracized from the camp.

78. Cf. Jer. 33:8.

79. The word appears with the same sense in the previous
phrase and as Wernberg-Møller points out, <u>loc. cit.</u>,
p. 61, n. 18, is paralleled in the following line
by יחד . Wernberg-Møller, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 46, n. 18,
cites Yalon's comment that the word is used with
this meaning in Aramaic and Christian-Palestinian.
Brownlee, assuming dependence on Is. 11:2 translates:
"through the spirit of God's true counsel"; so
also Vermes.

80. As we have seen above (cf. p. 160), CD 5:11 and 7:4
witness to a completely different tradition.
Appearing first as   רוח קדשיהם   , then as
רוח קדשיו   , the spirit is a divine deposit
in man, 'holy' when it was given and to be returned
in the same condition at the end of a man's life.
The concept, perhaps derived from the strict separa-
tion of holy and unclean in Lev. 20:25, is also
found in the Hebrew T. Naph. 10:9 and T. Asher 2:7.
In such cases,   רוח   seems equivalent to   נפש
though T. Naph. 10:9 equates it with the holy Spirit
of God. The concept appears again in <u>Hermas</u>,
Mand. 5:1-2.

81. He does not elaborate on his interpretation of 'the
holy spirit of the Community', save for illustrating
what he thinks is parallelism with CD 2:12; <u>op. cit.</u>,
pp. 61-64, n. 21.   The Hebrew is difficult:
וברוח קדושה ליחד באמתו . Guilbert, <u>op. cit.</u>,
p. 31, n. 76, thinks   ליחד   a form of the genitive,
which/

which the participle קדושה made it impossible to render normally. Vermes translates: "He shall be cleansed from all his sins by the spirit of holiness uniting him to his truth".

82. Interpreting the ל as referential; so Lohse translates: "Und durch den heiligen Geist (der) der Gemeinschaft in seiner Wahrheit (gegeben ist)".

83. This might account for the unexpected קדושה . Guilbert, op. cit., p. 31, n. 76, contrasts the expression in 1QH 3:7, which he takes to mean the spirit of man sanctified by the Spirit of God, with רוח קודש which he thinks refers to the spirit which God put in man. Certainly there is a distinction in the Hebrew. Cf. Driver, op. cit., p. 181, who thinks 1QH 3:7 reflects the Greek. Whether or not this reflects actual ceremonial ritual at Qumran is a question beyond the range of this thesis.

84. Cf. מי חטאת in Num. 8:6.

85. In the DSS, the verb טהר with the sense of purifying man, is used exclusively of God. The statement in 1QS 5:13 that man cannot be cleansed unless he turns from wickedness does not assume a different agent. 1QM 7:2 refers to cleansing the land after a war (∥ to collecting booty); CD 10:10, 12 seem technical references to ritual waters of purification and cleansing of vessels. In the remaining references, God's righteousness is mentioned three times (as instrument? 1QH 4:37; 11:30; 1QS 11:14), his Spirit twice (1QH 16:12; 1QS 4:21 - plus 1QS 3:7?).

86. Hebrew: ליסוד רוח קודש .

87. Accepting with Wernberg-Møller the reading first suggested by Milik, contra Burrows. Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., p. 133, n. 9. Cf. 1QS 8:3 ff.

88. Above, p. 323 ff.

89. For an attempt to distinguish between Transcendental Eschatology, Historical Eschatology and a combination of the two and further to categorize the views of Qumran, see John Pryke, "Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls" in The Scrolls and Christianity, ed. Matthew Black, S.P.C.K. Theological Collections, 11, (London: /

(London: S.P.C.K., 1969), pp. 45-57.

90. For refutation of the view that 1QS 4:20 ff. should be interpreted as a reference to the Messiah, see above, p. 318. Other texts frequently discussed in this connection are 1QS 9:10, 11; 1QSa 2:8 ff.; 1QH 3:9; CD 12:23; 14:19; 19:10; 20:1. CD 2:12 and 6:1 are debatable, but often consulted for grammatical reasons alone. Cf. also 4QMess.ar. 1:10; 2:7; 4QPat. 3; 4QpIsa. fg.c.; 4QpGen. 49, and 11QMelch. 18. For discussion of Qumran's eschatological expectations:
   (1) J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature", JBL 75 (1956), pp. 174-187.
   (2) R. E. Brown, "The Messianism of Qumran", CBQ 19 (1957), pp. 53-82.
   (3) J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' Text from Qumran Cave IV", CBQ 27 (1965), pp. 348-372.
   (4) J. A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11", JBL 86 (1967), pp. 25-41.
   (5) A. J. B. Higgins, "The Priestly Messiah", NTS 13 (1966-1967), pp. 211-239.
   (6) M. de Jonge, "The Use of the Word 'Anointed' in the Time of Jesus", NT 8 (1966), pp. 132-148.
   (7) M. de Jonge and A. S. van der Woude, "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament", NTS 12 (1965-1966), pp. 301-326.
   (8) K. G. Kuhn, "Die beiden Messias Aarons und Israels", NTS 1 (1954-1955), pp. 168-179.
   (9) R. N. Laurin, "The Problem of Two Messiahs in the Qumran Scrolls", RQ 4 (1963-1964), pp. 39-52.
   (10) J. Liver, "The Doctrine of the Two Messiahs in Sectarian Literature in the Time of the Second Commonwealth", HTR 52 (1959), pp. 149-185.
   (11) John F. Priest, "Mebaqqer, Paqid, and the Messiah", JBL 81 (1962), pp. 55-61.
   (12) J. Starcky, "Les quatres Étapes du Messianisme à Qumrân", RB 70 (1963), pp. 481-505.
   (13) A. S. van der Woude, "Melchizedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI", OTS XIV (1964), pp. 354-373.

91. The identity of this figure is still being debated. Fitzmyer refers to Dan. 9:25 which would accord with van der Woude's suggestion that this is a prophetic figure, yet Melchizedek is still a possibility, raising /

raising connotations of priest and even king.
Fitzmyer, "Further Light ... ", pp. 27, 40;
van der Woude, loc. cit., p. 367.

92. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' ... ", p. 360.

93. See above, p. 78; cf. especially T. Levi 18:7.

94. H.-W. Kuhn, op. cit., pp. 136-139. The radical
nature of the change which Kuhn envisages taking
place at the moment of entry into the Community
allows no continued moral struggle, no further
growth or development. His emphasis on this one
moment in time leads him to posit an eschatological
hope completely realized in the present. That
this is not a necessary deduction has been shown
by Hübner, loc. cit., p. 273.

95. See above, p. 324.

96. W. D. Davies is one of the few scholars who has
noticed this modification. Concerning 1QS 4:20 ff.,
he says: " ... the reference to the Spirit here
somehow lacks that connotation of empowering energy
which we associate with the eschatological gift of
the Spirit in both the Old Testament and the New.
Moreover, it must be doubly emphasized that it is
only here that the spirit is ascribed a strictly
eschatological significance at all in the Scrolls.
This is particularly noteworthy in the literary re-
mains of a sect which was steeped in the interpreta-
tion of Scriptures that made the Spirit a sign of
the End, and which apparently regarded itself as
living in the period preceding the End". Davies,
"Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls ... ", p. 173.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has been based on an examination of
the 173 occurrences of the word   רוח   in the now-
published Hebrew, non-Biblical documents found at Qumran,
with particular attention to the identity and role of
the two spirits as mentioned in 1QS 3:13 - 4:26.   The
method of the inquiry was exegetical, its objective
theological.   The two introductory Chapters, in response
to Wernberg-Møller's plea for a return to Jewish sources,
outlined the use of   רוח   in the Old Testament and
inter-Testamental literature.   The final two Chapters
elaborated some of the cosmological and ethical implica-
tions arising from the exegesis of the Qumran material.

                                I

     The frequency with which   רוח   designates the hu-
man spirit in the DSS is remarkable;   as such it retains
most of the already established Hebrew meanings and
witnesses to a new development in the word's usage.
While   רוח   never depicts a disembodied or translated
spirit in the Qumran literature and only once the prin-
ciple of life, it represents (a) a disposition, either

positive or negative, (b) the 'self' and particularly
(c) the volitional centre of man. As the locus of his
moral will a man's רוח in the Old Testament was
peculiarly susceptible to the invasion of divine power;
in inter-Testamental literature it was open also to
affliction by demons. Qumran maintained the idea that
the human spirit was the site of moral conflict, able
to be influenced by good or evil. Furthermore, the
texts witness to the development of the thought that a
man's spiritual allegiance was obvious in the tenor of
his spirit (above, pp. 167-168). Accordingly, the hu-
man spirit was the faculty examined and weighed to
determine whether or not a man belonged to the Sect
(1QS 5:20-24; 6:24; 7:18; 9:12). We have seen this
concept taken to the extreme of mathematical calculation
in the cryptic document 4QA1.(above, p. 170). Its
more usual use is illustrated at the beginning and end
of the 1QS 3:13 - 4:26 passage: the משכיל is to
give instruction about the variety of such human spirits,
with their signs and their behaviour, and at the End-
Time the 'lot' of each individual will be in accordance
with his spirit. In so depicting the quality of life
which indicates the individual's spiritual allegiance,
רוח has acquired a role beyond that previously known
in Jewish literature.

II

The anthropology of the DSS presumes that the spirit
of an individual comprises both good and evil, the pre-
determined dominance of one establishing to which side
he ultimately adheres.   The ethical balance of a man's
spirit does not represent a random conglomeration of
characteristics, but a divinely ordained inheritance
(נחל ;   above, p. 305 contra Wernberg-Møller) which
would seem to imply a concept of predestination.   Yet
while the members of the Qumran Community knew themselves
predestined to belong to the sphere of light, they con-
tinued to experience moral conflict.   To interpret the
Scrolls' determinism as exclusive of the element of
threat is to do injustice to the texts.   The two spirits
of 'truth' and perversity struggle in the heart of man
until the End-Time (1QS 4:24).   The men of Qumran sin
and their conviction of their moral weakness results in
a complete dependence upon God (above, pp. 252, 303
contra K. G. Kuhn).   We have seen that such reliance
on divine initiative has its roots in the Old Testament
(above, pp. 21 ff. and 302).   The paradoxes implicit
in this theology seem not to have been a problem at Qum-
ran;   rather, the appropriation of God's saving,

strengthening power produced the assurance of a doctrine
of election by grace (above, p. 396 ff.).   No matter
how fierce the onslaught of temptation and affliction,
members of the Community were confident that they could
not ultimately succumb to the power of evil.

III

Although the purpose of 1QS 3:13 - 4:26 is to
explain the ethical dilemma confronting man, Qumran's
understanding of the two spirits of 'truth' and perversity
is not confined to the human level.   The use of the
contrasting terms 'light' and 'darkness' in the 1QS
passage (above, p. 243), as well as the appearance of
such figures as Belial, the Prince of Lights, the Angel
of Darkness and the Angel of God's Truth, confirm that
the action extends onto a supernatural plane.   We have
found Wernberg-Møller's 'psychological' interpretation
of the two spirits to be untenable even on linguistic
grounds (above, p. 226 ff.);   furthermore it ignores
all cosmological references in the DSS and their roots
in the Jewish sources to which he wishes us to refer.

In the Old Testament God, not man, is the centre

of interest, spiritual experience giving meaning to
daily life (above, p. 44). Man's moral struggle is
interpreted as part of a cosmic tension, the resolu-
tion of which is envisaged in eschatological terms
(above, p. 352 ff.). Under the impact of Persian in-
fluence this antagonistic view of reality developed in
the inter-Testamental period into a vivid dichotomy of
two opposing, ethical camps. This is reflected in the
DSS, yet nowhere is there a hint of dualism in the
Iranian sense of the universe being ruled by two con-
flicting principles (above, p. 340 contra Kuhn). To
distinguish 'metaphysical' and 'psychological' uses of
רוח in the Scrolls, as does Wernberg-Møller, is to
impose the wrong categories on the texts (above, pp. 203-
204); in true Hebraic fashion the interest is in the
dynamics, not the essence, of the antithesis.

In Qumran's use of the term גורל we saw how
foreign influence had been modified by contact with
Jewish thought. The Old Testament background of the
partitioning of land gave rise to the spatial concept
of גורל denoting a realm of moral significance.
The cosmos is divided vertically into two spheres, one
comprised of forces opposed to God, the other of those
belonging to him in special relationship; the fluidity
of thought allows contact between various hierarchical

levels of the same 'lot'. To be a member of the elect
Community was to be in communion (יחד) with the
'hosts of heaven', to belong to the סוד עולם , to
receive a foretaste of eschatological bliss. The DSS
portray a detailed anthropology, but in accord with
Jewish tradition it is a reflection of theology and
cannot be properly understood apart from its cosmological
frame of reference (above, p. 364).

IV

The repeated use of the word רוח in the DSS to
depict supernatural beings of moral significance suggests
Persian influence, but an influence that has been in-
corporated firmly into Jewish monotheism. Demons are
called 'spirits' even more frequently than in the
Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha and the term is now applied
also to angels in their capacity of aiding human beings
(above, pp. 87, 142). Spirits, good and evil, were
thought to wage a continuous war against each other, hu-
man nature being the battlefield most often described.
The esoteric ideas of The Angelic Liturgy (above, p. 141)
and the detailed engagement of supernatural armies en-

visaged in <u>The War Scroll</u> (1QM) illustrate the complex,
foreign speculation about angels and demons that is
reflected in other inter-Testamental literature (above,
p. 82 ff.). That the conflict is not one of equal
powers is, however, deliberately stated in the Qumran
writings. Belial, the leader of the army of evil
spirits, functions in his task of corruption by the
appointment of God; the God of Israel is 'Lord of every
spirit' (1QH 10:8), the battle is in fact his (1QM 11:4).
The common inter-Testamental concept of man receiving
supernatural aid from angels was a basic conviction.
The Old Testament figure of Michael emerges as the counter-
part of Belial, the Prince of Light(s) whose task is to
strengthen the Elect in their moral struggle. Supremely,
God himself fights in their midst (1QM 12:8) as the
source of assistance (עזר). The ease with which

רוח as a supernatural influence (be it angel, demon
or uncategorized) intermingles with the רוח of man
is distinctly Hebraic (<u>e.g.</u> Is. 11:2; Jub. 1:20). It
is in the treatment of angelology/demonology (above,
p. 350 ff.) that Qumran most clearly betrays its exposure
to foreign ideas; this makes all the more striking the
basic fidelity to Jewish concepts.

V

     The DSS display a fluidity in the use of רוח
that makes strict categorization impossible; this cul-
minates in a development of meaning in which the word
denotes simply moral power.   In the Old Testament, we
discovered, force is of the essence of רוח .   Whether
as the wind sweeping the desert or the sustaining breath
of life, the charisma of leadership or the ecstasy of
prophetic inspiration, the power of רוח transformed
all with which it came in contact.   Conceived primarily
as the Spirit of God, רוח acquired ethical connota-
tions in the time of Ezekiel and became the power creative
of obedience.   As such it was described as immanent in
man, without losing contact with its divine source
(above, p. 22 ff.).   When in the inter-Testamental
period this fluidity is extended to angels and demons
(also known as 'spirits'), it becomes increasingly dif-
ficult to distinguish between their influence on man,
that of the Spirit of God, and the volitional activity
of man's own spirit (above, p. 89).   The stress is no
longer on differences in the cosmic hierarchy, but on
the distinction between good and evil.   Accordingly,

there are references to 'spirits' which are not further designated angels or demons but merely qualified by a moral adjective (cf. the interpretation of T. Jud. 20:1-2 given above, p. 369 ff.).

In the DSS רוח retains all the traditional meanings, but with considerable overlapping of categories (above, p. 124 ff.). In 1QS 3:13 - 4:26 no previously known interpretation of the word seems to exhaust the significance of the two spirits of 'truth' and perversity, light and darkness (above, p. 227 ff.). It is, therefore, the argument of this thesis (above, p. 267 ff.) that we have here a new use of רוח , conveying uncategorized moral power, both good and evil (cf. also 1QS 3:7; 4:21). Through Persian influence Qumran must have encountered the concept of two cosmic principles; the ethical dichotomy inherited from apocalyptic Judaism would make the antithesis seem familiar and would provide the monotheistic framework in which it could safely be absorbed. Expressly how the cosmological affected the anthropological would remain an open question. It seems to have been in the fluid Hebrew concept of רוח as power that Qumran found the dynamic to relate theologically all levels of the moral conflict (above, p. 368).

VI

The Spirit of God, while not finding frequent overt
expression in the DSS, is nonetheless a basic assumption
underlying the texts.   The phrase   רוח יהוה   does not
appear in the Qumran writings and the lack of interest in
the Spirit's eschatological role is startling (above,
p. 412).   Only fifteen passages in the Scrolls make ex-
plicit mention of the Spirit of God;   significantly, in
all but one   רוח   is qualified by the adjective   קודש
(above, p. 402 ff.).   Twice in the Old Testament we
found God's Spirit described as holy, noting especially
Psalm 51 in which it epitomized the intimate relation-
ship of God and man within which forgiveness and healing
take place (above, p. 35 ff.).   In tracing the develop-
ment of the concept of holiness we saw that, originally
an awesome force 'other than' man, it became at the time
of the reforming prophets a moral attribute (above, p. 398 ff.)
- yet an attribute belonging to, and bestowed by, God.
At this point the concept blends with that of the Spirit.
The Old Testament eschatological vision was that when
the elect remnant had been cleansed by the Spirit of God,
there would be a path through the desert called the Way
of holiness (Is. 35:8;   above, pp. 29, 392).   This back-

ground should not be forgotten when reading the Qumran claim to have established that Way and to be a Community of holiness (above, p. 398 ff.).

The holy Spirit of God is recognized in 1QS 8:13; CD 2:12; 6:1 as the source of inspiration behind the Biblical prophets and in possessing their writings Qumran was exposed to its influence. The Scrolls also witness to the fact, however, that members of the Sect experienced the Spirit as a source of delight in their own lives (1QH 9:32). That it is God's strengthening, supporting grace that enables the Elect to be faithful and prevents their feet from slipping from the Way is a favourite theme of The Thanksgiving Hymns (above, p. 387 ff.). In 1QH 7:6 ff. such grace is attributed to God's holy Spirit, which the author claims has been shed upon him (נוף). In the Old Testament moral fidelity is possible only through the transformation of man's inner being by God's Spirit (above, p. 22 ff.); in the inter-Testamental period, with the increased emphasis on man's responsibility, we saw the Spirit of God begin to blend with other categories in a process of interiorization (above, p. 77 ff.). As we have noted, the Qumran texts reflect this interest in the human spirit, but their repeated emphasis on God's initiative would seem to illustrate Lys' point that in Hebrew thought the human

spirit is never completely isolated from the divine
(above, p. 45). We dare not assume that lack of ref-
erence to God's Spirit indicates lack of experience or
comprehension of it.

The plea for God's holy Spirit as a cleansing
agent in 1QH 6:12 makes explicit the association implied
by Ezekiel between רוח and the cultic rituals in-
volving water. The eschatological hope expressed in
1QS 4:21 is that רוח will be sprinkled upon the sur-
viving remnant. The priestly emphasis of the Qumran
Community, reflecting here the purification of the
Levites in Num. 8:7, has modified the prophetic concept
of רוח to the point that it is no longer described
as the Spirit of God, but it is still God who bequeaths
this holy power (above, p. 325 ff.). So 1QS 3:8 af-
firms that a man cannot cleanse himself. Here, in
this controversial passage, lies an important clue to
Qumran's spirituality: within the Community the holy,
moral power of רוח is available as a means of redemp-
tion (above, p. 407 ff.). Given all we have discovered
about the background of the Hebrew term רוח , this
presupposes a Community who knew in their own experience
the influence of the Spirit of God.

APPENDIX

A   NOTE   ON   THE   OCCURRENCE   OF

רוח/רוחא

IN   THE   ARAMAIC   QUMRAN   TEXTS

OCCURRENCES OF רוח/רוחא

IN THE ARAMAIC QUMRAN TEXTS

lQGen. Apoc.   2:13

                       2:17

                  20:16 (2)

                  20:20

                  20:26

                  20:28

4QMess.ar.   1:10

                    2:7

5Q15   I   1:1

6Q23   I   3

The word רוח appears ten times, רוחא twice
(1QGen. Apoc. 20:20, 28), in the presently published
Aramaic texts found at Qumran.   6Q23 I 3 is a fragment
on which רוח can be clearly seen, but there is no con-
text available.   In the Description of the New Jerusalem
found in Cave Five the term appears twice with the sense
of 'direction' (I 1:1, 14).   The other occurrences de-
serve further comment.

I   1QGen. Apoc. 20:16-32

Column 20 of 1QGenesis Apocryphon, which echoes
the story found in MT Gen. 12:10-20, employs the word
רוח/רוחא five times[1].   A sixth occurrence is probable
in the reconstruction of line 29 [2].   Whereas the MT
records that 'the Lord afflicted Pharoah and his house
with great plagues'[3], the Qumran text introduces the
instrumentality of an evil   רוח/א [4].

Editors Avigad and Yadin translate   רוחא   as 'wind'.
Pierre Grelot, in emending the text of line 26, pointed
out, however, that their translation of this verse ig-
nores the occurrence of   רוח , and suggested that the

word be rendered as 'spirit' throughout the passage[5].
Grelot refers to the Jerusalem Targum on Deut. 32:24
as Judaic attestation of an evil spirit sent by God to
afflict man (cf. also 1 Sam. 16:14) and claims that in
1QGen. Apoc. 20:26 such a spirit is the subject of the
transitive verb 'to cease' (afflicting).

Pursuing this argument, Lignée holds that the
attribution of evil to a 'spirit' in this passage indicates
an important development in exorcism as well as in
demonology[6]. He draws attention to line 29, where the
departure of the plague and the evil [spirit] follow
prayer and the laying of Abraham's hand on Pharoah's
head, and finds here a distinctive Qumranian emphasis[7].
Lignée supports his interpretation of this verse as an
exorcism by reference to Vermes' theory that the etymology
of 'Essenes' conveys the concept of healing[8]. Indeed
Vermes cites 1QGen. Apoc. 20:29 as indication of the
corporal aspect of the Qumran Community's therapeutic
concern[9].

A similar passage in 4QPrayer of Nabonidus seems
to strengthen Lignée's position. Milik translates 1:4
" [but when I had confessed my sins] and faults, (God)
granted me a diviner"[10]. Dupont-Sommer, however, accepts
Furlani's interpretation of 'gazir' as 'exorcist'[11] and

takes it as subject of the verb 'shebaq' which he renders
as 'forgive', thus justifying the translation "and an
exorcist forgave my sins"[12].   If there is a moral con-
notation to the passage it would seem to be in the result
of the healing, namely that the king turned from gods of
silver, gold, wood, and stone to worship the God of
Israel[13].   Yet, given Dupont-Sommer's interpretation,
the incapacity of these false gods is contrasted to the
power of an individual Jew to heal physical illness and
to forgive the sins that caused it.

It is in this role of Daniel as healer and exorcist
that Lignée sees the analogy between 4QPrayer of
Nabonidus 1:4 and 1QGen. Apoc. 20:29 [14].   In the latter
passage, however, the healing of Abraham's actions is
dependent on Pharoah's having first returned Sarai.
Lignée distinguishes between this and an act of healing
to demonstrate magic powers, and in this moral criterion
he sees a victory over Belial which makes Abraham's
healing of Pharoah an authentic exorcism[15].

II   1QGen. Apoc. 2:13, 17

In Column 2 of the Genesis Apocryphon, which
relates events and reactions surrounding the birth of
Noah, the word רוח appears twice.   In line 13,
רוחהא   occurs in a phrase which Lignée has trans-
lated "elle reprit ses esprits"[16].   Such an instance
might be described today by saying that 'she gathered
herself together'.   רוח here obviously refers to
the human spirit, in the sense of disposition, a common
usage in the Old Testament.

The spirit of man is again signified by   רוח
in line 17 where Batenosh asks Lamech, "Why is your
face thus changed and dismayed, and why is your spirit
thus distressed?" (רוחך)   .   This seems to be an in-
stance where the prevailing character so overwhelms the
total personality that   רוח conveys the meaning of
'the self'.

III   4QMess.ar. 1:10; 2:7

In 1:10 of the 'Elect of God' text, we find the
phrase ורוח נשמוהי , followed by a lacuna which
presumably contained a verb[17].   Most scholars take the
complete phrase as the subject of the sentence[18], though
Carmignac translates "parce que sa naissance est choisie
de Dieu", beginning a new sentence with "le vent de son
souffle".   ורוח נש [19] recurs in 2:7 which suggests
a repetition of the phrase in 1:10, though Starcky reads
ורוח בעד [20].   Fitzmyer thinks that the redundancy
of רוח נשמוהי is a natural development from such
Old Testament passages as Gen. 7:22; Job 34:14 where the
breath of man is thought to be derived from God.   The
crucial word seems to be מולדה and the problem its
contextual meaning.

Fitzmyer, who denies both the Messianic and astro-
logical interpretation of the document, thinks that the
author is giving reasons why the 'plans' or 'calculations'
of the new born child will be successful; these reasons
include the fact that he is the 'Elect of God' and that
his birth and the (very) spirit of his breath are under
divine influence[21].   Though the Hebrew המולד occurs

in 4QAl. 2:8 in a sense which may be astrological,

Fitzmyer refuses to attach that connotation to מולדה

in this passage.   Starcky, however, alluding to Allegro's

'Astrological Cryptic Document', translates   מולדה

as 'geniture' in the astrological sense of 'généthlique',

and finds here a reference to the sign of the Zodiac and

its influence over the destiny of the new-born child[22].

Allegro's text indicates that the sign of the Zodiac

under which a man was born was thought to determine his

participation in the House of Light and the Pit of Dark-

ness (2:7 - "He has six (parts) spirit in the House of

Light, and three in the Pit of Darkness";   3:5 - "He has

[ei]ght (parts) spirit in the House of [Darkness] and

one (part) from the House of Light").   Starcky therefore

argues that 'the spirit of his breath' in 4QMess.ar. is

the 'spirit' which in 4QAl. expresses the spiritual nature

and tells us "the state of grace" of each man at birth[23]!

Accepting the Messianic interpretation of the 'Elect of

God' text, both Starcky and Allegro see its purpose to be

a description of the astrological significance of the

Messiah's birth.

Footnotes

1. 1QGen. Apoc. 20:16 (2), 20, 26, 28.

2. So N. Avigad and Y. Yadin in *A Genesis Apocryphon*, (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1956), and all commentators thereafter.

3. Gen. 12:17.

4. Lignée thinks that the redactor has attributed to the evil spirit the plague of boils mentioned in Ex. 9:8-12. *Les Textes de Qumran*, p. 231, n. 26.

5. Pierre Grelot, "Sur l'Apocryphe de la Genèse", RQ 1 (1958-1959), pp. 273-276.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

7. *Ibid.* Lignée, at pains to show that *The Genesis Apocryphon* belongs to the Midrashic literary genre (pp. 208-215), thinks that this incident cannot be explained as simply an expansion of Gen. 20.

8. G. Vermes, "The Etymology of 'Essenes'", RQ 2 (1959-1960), pp. 427-443, cited by Lignée, *op. cit.*, p. 214, n. 31.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

10. J. T. Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide' et autres écrits d'un Cycle de Daniel", RB 63 (1956), pp. 407-415. For criticism of Milik's emendation and translation, see A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, trans. G. Vermes, (Oxford: The University Press, 1961), p. 322, n. 3.

11. Furlani, "Atti della Academia Nazionale dei Lincei" (1948), p. 177 ff. as cited by Dupont-Sommer; *ibid*.

12. Since the context involves an ill man, someone who according to contemporary ideas would be therefore in the grip of the devil (?), Dupont-Sommer thinks this translation preferable to 'astrologer' or 'diviner' (so Milik) and cites the occurrences of the /

the word in Daniel where its meaning is uncertain.
He also draws attention to Mk. 2:5 where the verb
used in the Syriac version is 'shebaq'. He
thinks 'to him' probably an expletive, but if Milik's
emendation is preferred, he suggests the translation
"an exorcist forgave me my sins". Cf. Lk. 4:20.

13. 4QPrayer of Nabonidus 1:5 contrasted with 1:7; the
    text is too fragmentary to be certain.

14. Lignée, op. cit., p. 214.

15. Ibid. For similar significance Lignée points to
    Jub. 11.

16. Ibid., p. 222. Cf. Vermes: "then she mastered
    her anger", The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, p. 216.

17. J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' ... ",
    p. 367, suggests "are blessed" or "are from God".
    For the latter possibility, cf. 1Q28a 2:2 as read by
    Barthélemy in DJD I, p. 110.

18. So Starcky, Dupont-Sommer, Carmignac. N.b. Fitzmyer's
    linguistic argument to justify   מולדה   as a noun;
    ibid.

19. As cited by Fitzmyer; ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. J. Starcky, "Les quatres Etapes ... ", p. 503, n. 67.

23. Ibid.

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